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6. *The French Grammar of Grammars*. *Veneroni's Italian Grammar*, *Tiarke's German Grammar*.

THIRTY years ago French was the only modern language which formed an indispensable part of an ordinarily good education in these countries. Girls sometimes, and boys more rarely, were instructed in Italian. But the German language was seldom or never thought of. It was ridiculed as an inharmonious, unsettled, and almost barbarous jargon, which could not be acquired in less than half-a-dozen years, and which, when acquired, was worth nothing. Some parents took up the opinion at second-hand that a knowledge of German was a positive evil, and they guarded their children against it as jealously as they

would have kept them from the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge. Others were led to believe that the study of so difficult a language would interfere with the more essential parts of a good education. It would distract the boy from his Latin and Greek, and the girl from her music and French, and so it was excluded from the curriculum of studies.

Such pretexts, happily, are no longer tolerated. The old saw, *quod ignoro sperno*, has had its day in this as well as in other branches of knowledge. No scholar would now question the copiousness and grandeur of the German tongue. It can boast of a vast number of noble works in literature, science, and philology, and though its philosophy and theology are dimmed by many wild and wicked speculations, yet even these departments are illustrated by many splendid productions, and many of the prodigals who have wandered farthest away from the sublime truths of Christianity, and have squandered the riches of their genius in building up worthless systems, have at length found peace and happiness in the bosom of the Catholic Church. But it is in the great field of philology that the Germans have most eminently excelled. Our most esteemed works on Hebrew and other oriental languages, as well as on Greek and Latin, are little more than translations from the German; and surely a language filled with such rich and varied treasures is well worthy of being studied. It is true that persons who are ignorant of the language are enabled to avail themselves of many of its learned works by means of translations. But then they must wait for the translation, and trust to its fidelity, both of which are serious evils. Besides, all the beauties of the language and all its splendid literature are lost—these cannot be translated. The translator is often a mere drudge, incapable of appreciating the works which he translates, and at best he can only represent the body, he cannot animate his likeness with the spirit which gave life to the original.

It is quite a mistake to imagine that the German is a peculiarly difficult language, as far at least as those are concerned who understand English. There are wonderful stories current in all countries regarding individuals who could pick up a strange language in an incredibly short time. St. Jerome, according to some ancient legends, learned Hebrew in three days. But although Hebrew is a very easy language, and the genius of St. Jerome

undoubted, the space is too short for human powers. Nothing but supernatural inspiration could teach a language in so short a space. But undoubtedly some persons have the "gift of languages," and can master them with an ease and rapidity which is quite astonishing. We venture, however, to affirm that all those individuals possessed great energy of character, and that their application to whatever they took in hand was intense and unwearied. Amongst sovereigns, Mithridates of old, and more recently Queen Mary of England, and her relative, Charles V., were celebrated for their proficiency in languages. Mithridates could converse with each of his subjects in his native tongue, although this required a knowledge of twenty-two languages. Charles V., although he became king of Spain before he was sixteen, and Emperor before he was twenty, had added to his knowledge of ancient classics a familiar acquaintance with most of the European languages, which he spoke with fluency. His estimate of the English spoken in the sixteenth century was not more flattering than that which we have been in the habit of forming regarding the German. He used to say that we should speak Spanish with the gods, Italian with ladies, French with our friends, German with soldiers, English with geese, Hungarian with horses, and Bohemian with the devil. But Cardinal Metzzofante was certainly the greatest linguist of whom we have any authentic history. He was able to converse familiarly in more than seventy languages, more than forty of which he spoke like a native.

Persons, however, of ordinary capacity must not expect to master a language except by diligent application. Even the greatest genius must be assisted by industry, for there is no royal road to knowledge. But it is vastly easier to learn a language now than in the days of Queen Mary and Charles V., some of the most eminent men in this country, as well as in Germany, have devoted their lives to the preparation of elementary books, by which they have greatly simplified and facilitated the acquisition of languages. A knowledge of French, Italian, and German, can now be acquired by every young lady and gentleman during an ordinary course of education, without at all interfering with their other studies; and without a competent knowledge of these three languages no person can be now said to be well educated. This state of feeling is to be attri-

buted in a great measure to the steam-boat and the railroad. We can travel to Germany or Italy now in far less time, and with infinitely more comfort, than it would have cost us thirty years ago to have gone from London to Scotland or to Ireland. The result is, that everybody travels on the continent. We are thus constantly brought into contact with foreigners, vast numbers of whom speak our language as correctly as we do ourselves. The French, indeed, are not much greater proficient in languages than we are, for outside of Paris, and a few of the principal towns, nothing but French is spoken or understood. But in Belgium and Germany not only the educated classes, but the common attendants in the hotels, and even the porters and guards connected with the railways, speak English. We have heard an Englishman, who said he made it a point to know no language but his own, ask a railway guard in the very heart of Germany, "How long does the train stop here?" and he was answered without hesitation, "Ten minutes." By constantly witnessing this state of things on the continent, we have at length been made ashamed of our ignorance, and have been forced to get our children instructed in the languages of the nations with which we hold such familiar intercourse. The late war has opened our eyes to the grossly defective education of our officers in this as well as in other important particulars. Almost all the Russian officers spoke German, Italian, French, and English. They could address their antagonists in their native tongue, whilst a little indifferent French was the highest effort of our officers. Indeed, most of them were as slow at this as the German burgomaster who attempted to address Charles V. in Spanish. "Alexander the Great," said the burgomaster, "Alexander the Great," and there he stuck. "My friend," said the young Emperor, in excellent German, "Alexander the Great had dined, and I have not tasted food for fourteen hours; see, dinner is on the table." Saying this he walked into the banqueting hall. The ignorance of the burgomaster was much more excusable than that of our officers. It is, in fact, very discreditable, and must be remedied. We must no longer verify the story of the shoemaker's widow, who begged that her son might not be taken away to be made a soldier. "Oh," said the Prince, "my own son is a soldier." "True," replied the widow,

"but your son has learnt nothing, and mine has learnt his trade."

It is not our object to recommend elementary books. The labours of Tiarke, Ollendorff, and many others, are too well known to need our commendation. But it is not so easy to find a reading book fitted in all respects to be put into the hands of young persons. The tales of Andersen, of which we propose to give a few specimens, are admirably suited to this purpose. Their style is perfect, easy, lucid, and flowing; the tales are brief, moral, and interesting. In fact we do not know any language which can supply young persons with so delightful and at the same time so perfectly unobjectionable a volume as this. It has, we need scarcely say, considering its great popularity, "been done into English." But the translation, though by no means inferior to the ordinary run of translations, preserves little of the sweet childlike simplicity and quaint humour which are the characteristics of the original. We have not proposed to ourselves to examine the translation in detail—indeed we have read very little of it—but wherever we opened it we found that the construction was unnecessarily changed, that suppressions and additions were frequent, and that the charm of simplicity was often lost in pompous phraseology. The title of the second story is, "*Der Schweinhirt*, the Swineherd, which is translated, "*The Prince in Disguise*." This story is the only one in which anything that could offend the most fastidious delicacy is introduced, but even here it is done in such a way as to render it perfectly innocent. The following is the story of

THE SWINEHERD.

There was once a poor prince; he had a kingdom which was very small, but it was yet large enough to marry on, and to marry he was resolved. Now it was undoubtedly somewhat presumptuous of him to say to the emperor's daughter, "Wilt thou have me?" but he did venture notwithstanding, for his name was celebrated far and wide; there were hundreds,* of princesses who would gladly have said Yes, but would she do so?

* Hunderte is translated scores, for what reason we cannot see.

Now we shall see.*

On the grave of the prince's father was a rosebush, such a beautiful rosebush!† which bloomed only every fifth year, and even then it bore only a single rose; but such a rose! It emitted so sweet a fragrance that when a person smelt it he forgot all his care and all his sorrow. And then he had a nightingale which sang as if all beautiful melodies‡ dwelt in her little throat. This rose and this nightingale should the princess have, and therefore they were both placed in large silver shrines and sent to her.

The emperor had them brought into the great hall where the princess was, and was playing "There comes a visiting,"§ with her court ladies; and when she beheld the large shrines which contained the presents she clapped her hands for joy.

"Oh if it should be a little pussy cat," said she; but straightway came forth the rosebush with the beautiful rose.

"Oh how prettily it is formed!" said all the court ladies.

"It is more than pretty," said the emperor, "it is charming." But the princess felt it and was thereupon ready to weep.

"Fie papa!" said she, "it is not artificial, it is natural!"

"Fie!" said all the court ladies, "it is natural."

Let us first see what is in the other repository before we

* The word "presently" is added in the translation.

† This passage is totally mistranslated. The rosebush (*rosenstrauch*) which grew upon (*auf*) the grave, and bore but one only rose every fifth year, is transformed into a *tree* which grew *over* the grave. And the climax "a rosebush, such a beautiful rosebush" is completely lost, for it is translated "a rose tree, and a beautiful rose tree it was."

‡ Instead of this literal translation, the English version has, "as if all the lovely melodies *in the world* had been assembled in her little throat." There is not a word about the world in the original, which is certainly far more simple and beautiful than the English.

§ Translated, "there came a knight a wooing," which is neither the meaning of the words, nor does such a thought seem to have troubled the silly head of the princess.

get angry, thought* the emperor, and then out came the nightingale; it sang so beautifully that no one could find the least fault with it.

"*Superbe ! charmant !*" said the court ladies, for they all chattered French, one always worse than another.

"How the bird does remind me of the late emperor's musical box," said an old cavalier,† "ah that is exactly the same tone, the same execution !"

"Yes," said the emperor, and then he wept like a little child.

"But it is to be hoped that it is not a natural bird," said the princess.

"Yes, it is a natural bird," said those who had brought it.

"Then let the bird fly away," said the princess, and she would by no means permit the prince to come.

But he did not allow himself to be discouraged, he daubed his countenance brown and black, pulled his cap over his brows, and knocked.

"Good day, emperor," said he, "can't I get service here in the palace ?"

"Really," said the emperor, "there are so many begging places, that I do not know if we can make out one; but I will think of you; stay, it just strikes me that I am in need of some one to look after the swine, for of these I have many, very many."

And the prince was appointed imperial swineherd. He got a miserable little room below, along side of the pigsty, and here he must stay; but he sat and worked the whole day, and when evening came he had made, a beautiful little pot, round about it were bells, and as soon as the pot boiled, they tinkled most beautifully and played the old melody,

"Ah thou dearest Augustine
All's away, away, away !"

But the most ingenious thing was, that a person, if he held his finger in the steam of the pot, could immediately smell what dinner was cooking on every hearth in the

* Falsely translated "said," the emperor was too wise to tell his thought.

† The old cavalier is magnified into a lord in waiting, and the whole passage spoiled !

town. That was indeed quite a different thing from the rose.

Now the princess happened to be walking out with all her court ladies, and when she heard the melody, she stood still, and appeared quite delighted, for she also could play, "Ah thou dearest Augustine;" it was the only melody she knew, but this she played with one finger.

"That is the thing which I know!" said she, "he must be a very clever swineherd. Hark, go down and ask him what is the price of the instrument."

And so one of the court ladies was obliged to go down; but she put on pattens.

"What wilt thou take for the pot?" asked the court lady.

"I will take ten kisses from the princess," said the swineherd.

"God forbid," said the court lady.

"Certainly I will not give it for less," said the swineherd.

"Now what did he say?" asked the princess.

"I could by no means mention it," said the court lady.

"Indeed, then you can whisper it into my ear."

"He is naughty," said the princess, and then she went on. But when she had gone a little way the bells rang so lovely,

"Ah dearest Augustine
All's away, away, away!"

"I say," said the princess, "ask him if he will take ten kisses from my court ladies."

"I am much obliged," said the swineherd; "ten kisses from the princess or I keep my pot."

"Was there ever such a tiresome thing," said the princess, "but then you must stand before me so that no one may see."

And the court ladies placed themselves before her, and then spread out their clothes, and the swineherd got ten kisses, and she received the pot.

Yes, that was an enjoyment! The pot must boil the whole evening, and all the day long; there was not a hearth in the whole town of which they did not know what was cooked upon it,* as well in the Lord Chamberlain's as in

* *Stadt* is here translated kingdom, and the whole passage is incorrect.

the shoemaker's. The court ladies danced and clapped their hands.

"We know who will eat sweet porridge and omelet, who get groats and griskins—how interesting that is!"

"Mighty interesting!" said the governess of the princess.*

"Yes, but be secret, for I am the emperor's daughter."

"Oh surely; that is a matter of course," said all.

The swineherd—so the prince was called, but they knew no better than that he was a real swineherd—allowed no day to pass without doing something, and so he made a rattle, if one swung it round, all the waltzes, galopes and polkas, which have been known since the creation of the world, resounded on it.

"Oh that is superb!" said the princess, as she was passing by. "I have never heard a more delightful composition. Hark, go in and ask him what he will take for that instrument; but I kiss not any more."

"He will take a hundred kisses from the princess," said the court lady who had gone in to inquire.

"I think he is mad," said the princess, and then she went on; but when she had gone a little way she stopped. "One must encourage art," said she. "I am the emperor's daughter. Tell him he shall have ten kisses as before. He can take the rest from my court ladies."

"Ah, but we do it so unwillingly," said the court ladies.†

"That is prattle," said the princess; "if I can kiss him, so can you also. Remember I give you board and wages!" And so the court ladies were obliged to go again to him.

"A hundred kisses from the princess," said he, "or each one keeps his own."

* *Oberhofmeisterin*, the governess of the princess, is raised to the dignity of mistress of the robes in the English translation.

† In the same spirit which transformed the governess into the mistress of the robes, the princess now becomes Her Royal Highness, the court ladies, ladies-in-waiting, and not only the naïveté, but the meaning of their declaration *Ach, aber wir thun es so ungern!* is lost in the cockney version, "Nay, but we should not much relish that." The literal meaning word for word, is that given in the text. Ah, but we do it so unwillingly.

"Place yourselves before me, then," said she, and so all the court ladies placed themselves before her, and then he kissed the princess.

"What means that concourse at the pig-sty?" said the emperor, who had stepped out on the balcony. He rubbed his eyes and put on his spectacles. "Those are surely the court ladies who are engaged in their frolics; I must go down to them;" so he raised the heels of his slippers, for they were shoes which he had put down at heel.

Zounds, how he sped along!

As soon as he reached the court beneath, he went quite softly, and the court ladies were so engaged in counting the kisses, that the thing might be done honestly, that they did not perceive the emperor at all. He stood upon his toes.

"What is that?" said he, as he saw that they were kissing, and he struck them on the head with his slipper, just as the swineherd received the eighty-sixth kiss.

"Be off with you!" said the emperor, for he was angry, and the princess, as well as the swineherd, were pushed out of his empire.

She stood now and wept; the swineherd scolded, and the rain streamed down.

"Alas, I am a wretched creature!" said the princess; "would that I had taken the beautiful prince. Ah, how unhappy I am!"

Then the swineherd went behind a tree, wiped the black and brown off his face, flung away from him the mean clothes, and now stepped forth in his princely garb, so beautiful, that the princess could not help courtesying to him.

"I have now learnt to despise thee!" said he. "Thou wouldst not have a decent prince; thou couldst not appreciate the rose and the nightingale; but thou couldst kiss the swineherd for a toy; thou now hast thy deserts."

And then he went into his kingdom, and shut the door upon her. There she may stand outside and sing,

"Ah, thou dearest Augustine,

All's away, away, away!"

In the English translation, the second person singular, "thou" is invariably changed into the complimentary plural, "you;" this shows exceedingly bad taste, for it greatly impairs the simplicity of the stories. When the

emperor says, "Be off with ye! for he was angry," the translator is not content with changing the form of expression, but must also insert an adverb, which is not in the German, and which certainly is no improvement. Then we are told that both the princess and the swineherd were *turned out* of his empire. The word is "*hinausgestossen*," which means that they were thrust or pushed out. The expression implies that the thing was done by a physical action. The English version gives us no idea of the extent of the empire of this emperor, whose slippers were old shoes, down at heel, and who kept the piggery within the precincts of the palace. The German leaves us in no doubt on this point. The extent of the empire may be easily inferred from the fact that it only required a shove to drive a person from the piggery outside of his imperial majesty's dominions. The kingdom of the prince was still smaller than the empire. The smallness of its dimensions is beautifully insinuated in the original, for the prince, after rebuking the princess, went into his kingdom, and shut the door upon her. It is clear, therefore, that it was just at hand, and the only entrance to it was by a single door. To have expressed these things in this plain way would have spoilt the story; the artful way in which they are implied constitutes one of its greatest charms. And it must be remembered that the chief charm of all stories—but especially of these little tales—consists in the manner of telling them. The insertion of a single word in the English version changes the whole narrative. We are told that the prince went *back* into his kingdom. This word *back*, gives us the idea that he had a journey to make, that the empire and kingdom were far separated from each other, and we should be inclined to infer that the dominions of the emperor and prince were of considerable extent. In the German we are simply told that he went into his kingdom, and shut the door on the princess.

We do not mean to say that purely idiomatic expressions should be literally translated, but as a general rule the translation should be literal whenever such rendering makes pure and perspicuous English. A departure from this rule is the great fault, not only of translations, but of the countless conversation books which are intended to enable us to converse in foreign languages. These latter

always select the most peculiar and intricate phraseology in each language. The result is that the English is not a literal translation of the French, Italian, or German. Words are chosen which are used in a metaphorical sense, and whose meaning depends entirely on the context. The construction also of the various languages is completely different, and all this is done when words might be used in their literal meaning, and a uniformity of construction might be preserved without the least violation of propriety. Murray's *Hand Book of Conversation in French, German, and Italian*, is a complete failure, for the reasons we have mentioned. The Conversations, we are told, were drawn up by several learned professors, the object of each of whom seems to have been, to make his own language as unlike any other in form and construction as possible. The result is that the learner derives but little help from his knowledge of the words and grammar. He may express himself quite correctly, but when he looks to his conversation book, he finds the same ideas expressed in a totally different manner. He must, therefore, either abandon the conversation book, or get each phrase by heart, a task which he could not accomplish in a lifetime.

We shall now present our readers with a few of the little tales in the volume before us, without wearying either ourselves or the reader with frequent references to the English translation. We shall select some that are appropriate to the season.

THE LITTLE MAIDEN WITH THE MATCHES.

It was terribly cold; it snowed, and was almost quite dark, and evening; the last evening of the year.

Amid this cold and darkness, a poor little maiden went through the streets, with bare head and naked feet. When she left the house, she had indeed slippers on; but of what use was that? They were very large slippers, which her mother had used until now, so large were they. But the little one lost them, as she hurried across the street, because two carriages rolled by with frightful rapidity. One of the slippers could not be found again, a lad had picked up the other and ran away with it; he thought it would serve right well for a cradle, when he should have children himself.

There now went the little maiden with her tiny naked feet, which were quite red and blue with cold. In an old apron she carried a large number of matches, and a bundle of them in her hand. No person had bought any from her during the entire long day. No person had given her a penny. Shivering with cold and hunger she crept along, a picture of misery, the poor little one!

The snow-flakes covered her long, fair hair, that fell in beautiful ringlets on her neck; but now, indeed, she thought not of that.

Out of all the windows shone the lights, and there was a delicious smell of roast goose; it was indeed the evening of the feast of Saint Sylvester; yes, she thought of that!

In a corner, formed by two houses, one of which projected a little beyond the other, she sat down, cowering closely. She had drawn her little feet under her, but she became still more frozen, and she dare not go home; she had sold no matches, and had not received a penny of money.

From her father she would certainly receive a beating, and at home it was also cold; they had only the roof over them, through which the wind blew, although the largest openings were stuffed with straw and rags.

Her little hands were almost benumbed with cold.

Ah! a match might do her good, if she might draw only a single one out of the bundle, rub it against the wall, and warm her fingers. She drew one out. Fizz! how it sparkled, how it burned! It was a warm, bright flame, like a little candle, as she held her hands over it; it was a wonderful little candle! It really appeared to the little maiden as if she were sitting before a large iron stove, with polished brass feet, and a brazen ornament.* The fire burnt so blessedly, it warmed so delightfully; the little one already stretched out her feet, in order to warm these also. Oh! the little blaze went out, the stove vanished, she had only the little fragments of the burnt-out match in her hand.

A second was rubbed against the wall; it lighted, and

* In the English version "Aufsatze" is absurdly translated "shovel and tongs!" The allusion is to the large brass ball on the top of the stove.

where the light fell upon the wall, this became as transparent as a veil; she could see into the room.

On the table was spread a snow-white table-cloth, on which stood dazzling china-ware, and delightfully steamed the roast goose, stuffed with apples and dried plums. And what was still more enchanting to behold, the goose hopped down from the dish, and waddled across the floor, with knife and fork in its breast, until it came to the poor little maiden.

Then the match went out, and there remained behind only the thick, cold, damp wall.

She ignited another match. There, she sat now under the most beautiful Christmas tree; it was even larger and more splendidly decorated than the one she had seen through the glass door, at the rich merchant's house. Thousands of little lights burned on its green branches, and variegated pictures, such as are to be seen in show windows,* looked down on her. The little one stretched out her hands towards them: there the match went out.

The Christmas lights ascend higher and higher: she saw them now like stars in heaven; one of them fell down, and formed a long fire-streak.

"Now some one dies!" thought the little maiden, for her old grandmother, the only one who had loved her, and who was now dead, had told her that, when a star falls down a soul flies up to God.

She again rubbed a match against the wall, it became again bright, and in the splendour stood her old grandmother, so bright and shining, so mild and loving.

"Grandmother!" cried the little one, "oh, take me with thee! I know thou wilt go away, when the match goes out; thou wilt vanish like the warm stove, like the delicious roast goose, and the large magnificent Christmas tree!"

And she rubbed quickly the whole bundle of matches, for she wished to hold her grandmother right fast.

And the matches burst into such a blaze, that it became clearer than mid-day; the grandmother had never before been so beautiful, so large; she took the little maiden in her arms, and both flew in brightness and joy,

* *Schaufenstern*, in the English version, "target!"

so high—so high; and there above was neither cold, nor hunger, nor anguish—they were with God!*

But, in the corner, leant against the wall, sat in the cold morning hour, the poor little maiden, with red cheeks and smiling mouth—frozen on the last evening of the old year.

The new year's sun rose over the little corpse.

There the child sat, stiff, with the matches, of which one bundle was burnt out.

"She wanted to warm herself!" people said.

No one imagined what beautiful things she had seen, in what splendour she, with her grandmother, had entered on the new year's joy.

THE STORY OF A MOTHER.

A mother sat by her little child; she was so sad, so fearful lest it should die. It was so pale; its little eyes were closed. The child breathed as heavily, and sometimes as deeply as if it sighed; and the mother looked still more sadly upon the little creature.

Some one knocked at the door, and a poor old man entered, who was wrapped up in what appeared to be a large horse rug, for that keeps one warm, and he required it. It was indeed cold winter.

Out of doors everything was covered with ice and snow, and the wind blew so sharp, that it cut one's face.

And as the old man shivered with cold, and the little child slept a moment, the mother went and put a little pot of beer on the stove, in order to warm it for him. And the old man sat and rocked the cradle, and the mother sat on a chair near him, looked at her sick child which breathed so painfully, and clasped its little hand.

"Is it not so, thou believest that I shall keep him?" asked she. "The good God will not take him from me."

And the old man—it was death himself—nodded so strangely that it might quite as well mean yes, as no. And the mother cast down her eyes and tears rolled down

* "Sic waren bei Gott," they were with God, becomes, in the English translation, "for it was to the land of the blessed they had flown!"

her cheeks. Her head was so heavy; during three days and three nights she had not closed an eye; and now she slept; but only a minute. Then she raised herself up and shivered with cold. "What is this?" asked she, and looked round on all sides. But the old man was gone, and the little child was gone: he had taken it with him. And there in the corner the old clock ticked, and hummed; * the heavy leaden weight fell down on the ground. Whirr! —and then the clock also stopped.

But the poor mother rushed out of the house and called after her child.

Without in the midst of the snow sat a woman in long black clothes, and she said: "Death has been in your room, I saw him hastening away with your little child; he steps† quicker than the wind, and never brings back what he has taken!"

"Tell me only which way he has gone!" said the mother. "Tell me the way and I will find him."

"I know it," said the woman in the black dress; "but before I tell thee, thou must sing all the songs for me that thou hast sung for thy child. I love these songs; I have heard them before; I am Night, and I saw thy tears when thou wert singing them."

"I will sing them all, all," said the mother. "But do not detain me, that I may overtake him; that I may recover my child!"

But Night sat silent and still. Then the mother rung her hands, sang and wept. And there were many songs, but still more tears. And then said Night: "Go to the right into the dark pine forest, thither I saw death take his way with the little child."

In the depth of the forest there was a cross way, and she knew no longer which direction she should take. There stood a thorn-bush, that had neither leaves nor flowers; but it was indeed the cold winter season, and icicles hung on the branches.

"Hast thou not seen death pass by with my little child?"

* "Schnurrte und furrte," in the English version, began to rattle.

† In the translation the meaning is injured, because it is put in the past tense.

"Yes," said the thorn; "but I will not tell thee, which way he has taken, until thou warmest me on thy bosom! I am freezing to death here, I am becoming pure ice!"

And she pressed the thorn bush quite close to her breast, that it might thaw perfectly. And the thorns pierced her flesh; and the blood flowed in large drops. But the thorn bush put forth fresh green leaves, and it blossomed in the cold winter night; so warm is the heart of an afflicted mother!

And the thorn bush told her the way she should go.

Then she came to a great lake, on which there was neither ship nor boat. The lake was not frozen enough to bear her, neither was it unobstructed* and shallow enough to be waded through—and yet she must pass over it if she would find her child. Then she lay down in order to drink up the lake; and that was impossible for a mortal. But the afflicted mother thought that perhaps a miracle might take place.

"No, that will never do!" said the lake. "Let us two rather make a bargain. I love to gather pearls, and thy eyes are the two brightest I ever saw; if thou wilt weep them out into me, then I will carry thee over to the large hothouse where death dwells, and tends flowers and trees; each one of which is the life of a human being."

"Oh, what would I not give in order to reach my child," said the weeping mother. And she wept still more, and her eyes fell down† to the bottom of the lake and became two costly pearls. But the lake raised her in the air, as if she sat in a swing, and with one vibration she flew over to the opposite shore, where stood a wonderful house a mile long. One knew not if it was a hill with woods and caves, or if it was timbered. But the poor mother could not see it, she had indeed wept out her eyes.

"Where shall I find death, who took away my little child?" asked she.

* The word "often," open, is not translated in the English because it was not understood. It means that the lake was too much frozen to be waded through.

† Hinabfielen, fell down, is translated "dissolved," which is not at all the meaning of the author; for they fell to the bottom of the lake and became two costly pearls.

"He has not arrived here yet," said an old greyhaired woman, who wandered about there and took care of the hothouse of death. "How hast thou found thy way to this place, and who has helped thee?"

"The good God has helped me!" the mother answered. "He is merciful, and thou wilt be merciful also. Where shall I find my little child?"

"I do not know it," said the old woman, "and thou canst not see! Many flowers and trees have withered to-night, death will soon come and transplant them. Thou knowest well that every human being has his tree or flower of life, exactly as each one is adapted to it. They look like other plants, but their hearts beat. The hearts of children also beat! Guide thyself by that, perhaps thou knowest the beating of the heart of thy child."

"But what wilt thou give me if I tell thee what thou must yet do?"

"I have nothing to give," said the afflicted mother, "but I will go for thee even to the end of the world."

"There is nothing there that I care for," said the old woman, "but thou canst give me thy long black hair; thou knowest thyself well that it is beautiful; it pleases me; thou mayest receive my white hair in exchange for it; that is still something."

"Dost thou ask nothing more?" said the mother, "that I will give thee with pleasure!" And she gave her beautiful hair to the old woman and received in exchange her snow-white tresses.

And then they went into the large hothouse of death, where flowers and trees grew strangely mixed together. There were tender hyacinths under glass shades, and large robust peonies. There grew water plants, some quite fresh, others half decayed; water serpents lay on them,* and black crawfish clung fast to their stems. There were splendid palm-trees, oaks and planetrees; there was parsley and blooming thyme. Each tree and each flower had its name; each one of them was the life of a human being; these people still lived, some in China, others in Greenland, in all parts of the world.† There were

* There is here much in the translation which is not in the original.

† This passage is not correctly translated in the English version.

large trees in little pots, so that they were quite straitened, and were ready to break the pots: there were also many little weak flowers in rich earth, with moss round them, and tended and nursed. But the afflicted mother bent down over all the smallest plants, she heard the beating of a human heart in each, and recognised that of her child out of a million.

"There it is!" cried she, and stretched out her hand over a little crocus, that hung down to one side quite sick.

"Do not touch the flower," said the old woman. "But place yourself here, and when death comes—I expect him every moment—then do not let him pull up the plant, but threaten him, that you will do the same with the other plants; then he will become afraid! He must answer for them to our good God; none must be pulled up before He gives permission to do it."

Then an icy coldness rushed all at once through the hall, and the blind mother felt that it was death who had just arrived.

"How has thou been able to find the way hither?" asked he. "How hast thou been able to come quicker than I did?"

"I am a mother," she answered.

And death stretched out his long hand towards the little tender flower; but she held her hands so fast around it, so close, so close, and yet with such anxious care, that she did not disturb a single leaf. Then death breathed on her hands, and she felt that this was colder than the cold wind, and her hands fell down powerless.

"Against me thou canst accomplish nothing," said death.

"But the good God can," said she.

"I do only what He wills," said death. "I am His gardener. I take all His flowers and trees and transplant them into the vast garden of paradise, in the unknown land. But how they thrive there, and what that place is like; that I dare not tell thee!"

"Give me back my child," said the mother, and she wept and entreated. Suddenly she seized hold of two beautiful flowers, and cried to death, "I will tear up all thy flowers, for I am in despair."

"Do not touch them," said death. "Thou sayest that

thou art so unhappy, and now wouldst thou make another mother quite as miserable?"

"Another mother!" said the poor woman, and she took her hands immediately off the two flowers.

"There thou hast thy eyes," said death, "I fished them up out of the lake; they sparkled so bright; I did not know that they were thine.* Take them back, they are now more brilliant than before; then look down into the deep well close at hand. I will name the two flowers that thou wouldest have torn out, and thou wilt see their whole future, their whole life on earth. Thou wilt see what thou wouldest destroy and ruin!"

And she looked down into the well; and it was delightful to see, how the one became a blessing to the world, to see how much happiness and joy diffused themselves around it. And she saw the life of the other, and it was made up of cares and trouble, sorrow and misery.

"Both are the will of God!" said death.

"Which of them is the flower of misfortune, and which the blessed one?" asked she.

"That I will not tell thee," answered death; "but thou shalt know this from me, that one of these was the flower of thy own child. It was the destiny of thy child that thou sawest, the future life of thy own child."

Then the mother cried aloud from terror. "Which of them is the flower of my child? Tell me that! Set free the innocent child! Deliver my child from all this misery! Oh! I beseech thee, bear him away! bear him away into God's kingdom! Forget my tears, forget my supplications and everything that I have done!"

"I do not understand thee!" said death; "wilt thou have back thy child, or shall I go with him to that place which thou knowest not?"

Then the mother rung her hands, fell on her knees and prayed to the good God. "Hear me not when I ask anything contrary to Thy will, which is at all times best! oh hear me not."

And she let her head sink down on her breast.

* This is falsely translated in the English, they were so bright, that I knew they were yours, whereas death was astonished to find her there before him.

And death went with her child towards the unknown land.

THE LITTLE DAISY.

Now listen once more !

Down in the country, near the highway, a country house was situated ; thou hast certainly seen it thyself sometime. In front of it is a little garden with flowers and a railing which is painted ; close by it at the ditch, in the midst of the most beautiful green grass, grew a little daisy ; the sun shone on her quite as warm and beautiful, as on the large splendid show flowers in the garden, and therefore she grew from hour to hour.

One morning she appeared with her little dazzling white leaves, quite unfolded, which seemed like rays round the little yellow sun in the centre. She never thought that no human being looked at her here in the grass, and that she was a poor despised flower ; no, she was so contented, she turned herself directly towards the warm sun, looked up to it, and listened to the lark that sang in the air.

The little daisy was as happy as if it were a great holiday, and yet it was a Monday. All the children were in the school ; whilst they sat on their benches and learned something, she sat on her little green stem and learned also from the warm sun and all things round about, how good God is ; and it pleased her greatly that the little lark sang so clearly and beautifully, all that she silently felt. And the daisy regarded with a kind of veneration the happy bird that could sing and fly upwards, but was not at all grieved that she could not do so herself. I see and hear indeed ! thought she ; the sun shines on me and the wind kisses me ! Oh, how richly have I been endowed.

Inside the railing stood so many stiff genteel flowers ; always the less perfume they had, the more shew they made. The peonies blew themselves out in order to be larger than a rose ; but size is not everything ! The tulips had the most beautiful colours, and this they knew well and kept themselves straight as tapers, in order that one might see it better. They paid no regard to the little daisy without, but she looked still more at them and thought ! How rich and beautiful they are ! Yes, surely the splendid bird is flying down here to them to visit them !

God be thanked that I stand near enough to see their splendour!

And directly as she thought that! Quivit!—then the lark flew down; but not down to the peonies, and tulips. No, down into the grass to the poor daisy. She was so frightened for pure joy, that she knew not at all what to think.

The little bird danced round her and sang; Oh how soft the grass is! And see, what a lovely little flower with gold in its heart and silver on its dress! The yellow spot in the daisy appeared exactly like gold, and the little leaves round about shone white as silver.

How happy the little daisy was—Oh no one can comprehend that! The bird kissed her with his beak, sang before her and then flew up again into the blue sky. A full quarter of an hour surely passed, before the little daisy could recover herself. Half ashamed and yet inwardly pleased, she looked towards the other flowers in the garden; they had certainly seen the honor and happiness which had befallen her, and they must surely feel what joy it was. But the tulips stood still, as stiff as before; and then they were as sharp and as red in the face as if they had been scandalized. The peonies were quite jolt-headed; it was well that they could not speak or the daisy would have received a regular lecture.

The poor little flower could see well that they were not in good humour, and that pained her heartily. At this very time a maiden came into the garden with a large, sharp, and shining knife; she went directly through the tulips and cut off one after the other. Ah! sighed the little daisy; that is really frightful; now it is all over with them! Then the maid went away with the tulips. The little daisy was glad that she was without in the grass, and that she was a poor little flower; she felt so thankful, and as the sun set she folded her leaves, fell asleep and dreamed the whole night of the sun and of the little bird.

Next morning, as the little flower again joyously stretched out all her white leaves exactly like little arms, towards air and light, she recognized the voice of the bird; but its song was so sad. Indeed the poor lark had good reason for it; he had been taken prisoner and sat now in a cage close by the open window. He sang of the free and happy flying around, sang of the young

green corn in the field, and of the delightful journeys he could make on his wings high up in the air. The poor bird was not in good spirits. He was a prisoner there in the cage.

The little daisy wished so earnestly to help him. But how should she begin that? Indeed it was difficult to imagine. She forgot entirely how beautiful everything round about was, how warmly the sun shone, and how beautifully white her leaves appeared. Oh! she could only think of the imprisoned bird, for whom she was by no means in a situation to do anything.

At the same time two boys came out of the garden; one of them carried a knife in his hands, large and sharp, like that which the maid had used to cut off the tulips. They went straight to the little daisy, who could not at all imagine what they wanted.

"Here we can cut out a splendid sod for the lark!" said one of the boys, and began forthwith to cut a square round the daisy, so that she stood in the middle of the sod.

"Pull up the flower!" said the other boy, and the daisy trembled with fear, as to be plucked off was indeed to lose life, and now she so wished to live, as she was to go with the sod to the imprisoned lark in his cage.

"No, let her remain!" said the other boy; "she looks so pretty;" and so she remained in her place, and came with the sod into the lark's cage.

But the poor bird complained loudly of his lost freedom, and beat his wings against the iron wire of the cage; the little daisy could not speak, could utter no comforting word, however anxiously she wished it. So passed the whole forenoon.

"There is no water here!" said the imprisoned lark, "they have all gone out and have forgotten to give me a drop to drink. My throat is parched and burning! There are fire and ice within me, and the air is so heavy! Ah I must die, I must depart from the warm sunshine, from the fresh green grass, from all the happiness that God has made!"

And then he bored his beak into the cool sod, in order by this means to refresh himself a little. Then his eyes fell on the little daisy, and the bird bowed to her, kissed her with his beak and said: "Thou must here within also dry up, thou poor little flower! Thee and the little spot of green grass have they given me for the whole world which

I had without! Each little stalk of grass must serve me for a green tree, each of thy white leaves, for a perfumed flower! Ah, ye only tell me how much I have lost!"

"Who then can console him?" thought the daisy; but she could not move a single leaf; however the perfume which gushed out from her delicate leaves was far stronger than that which we usually receive from this flower. The bird perceived this also, and although he was fainting away on account of his thirst, and in his anguish tore up the green grass-stalks, yet he did not touch the flower.

It was evening, and still no one came to fetch the poor bird a drop of water; then he stretched out his beautiful wings and shook them convulsively; his song was a mournful "peep-peep;" his little head fell down towards the flower, and want and longing desire broke the bird's heart. Nor could the flower, as on the previous evening, fold up her leaves and sleep; she drooped sick and mournful to the earth.

The boys did not come before the next morning, and when they saw the bird dead they wept, wept many tears and dug him a pretty grave, which was adorned with the leaves of flowers. The corpse of the bird was laid in a beautiful red box; he should be buried royally, the poor bird! Whilst he lived and sang they forgot him, left him to sit in his cage and suffer from want; now he received finery and many tears.

But the sod with the daisy was thrown out into the dust of the highway; nobody thought of her who had felt most for the little bird, and who wished so earnestly to comfort him!

We have lingered so long over these beautiful stories that we have only room for a parting word. No one can appreciate their entire beauty who cannot read them in the original. But they have many charms even in the translation, and though the execution does not please us in many respects, yet to those who do not know German we can recommend it as a highly interesting little volume. We cannot conceive why the translator should have changed the very name of so many of the stories. For instance in the exquisite story of the "Garden of Paradise," the name of Paradise is everywhere changed into the "Garden of the World." A prince is brought into the Garden of

Paradise, he is warned that he will be tempted by a beautiful Fairy, and that if he yields to any sinful thing, if he touches her with his lips, he is lost. His trial is to last for a hundred years—the longest term of human life. He confides too much in his own strength, puts himself in the way of temptation, touches her lips, and Paradise immediately vanishes. He finds himself on the cold earth and can only behold Paradise like a distant star, which he can only regain by a life of penance and holiness.

We find again a beautiful story entitled "The Angel," which the translator transforms into "The Flower Pot!"

One of God's Angels tells a dead child, whom he is carrying to heaven, that the Almighty sends one of His blessed spirits to perform this office to all good children as soon as they die. On their way, in a little lane of a city, the angel sees a broken flower pot lying in the street, with a withered field flower in it. He tells the child whom he is carrying to God to take up that flower, because it had belonged to a poor sickly boy who had been bed-ridden from his childhood, and lived in a poor cellar. All he knew of the beautiful spring, the flowery summer, and the rich autumn, was from a few wild flowers which a neighbour's son used to bring him. One of these happened to have a root, he planted it in a little pot and it blossomed every year. "The boy is now dead," said the angel, "and this is his flower." "How do you know it?" said the child. "Because," replied the angel, "I am that sick boy who could only walk on crutches." And the child fixed his eyes on the beautiful countenance of the Angel, and at the same moment they reached the kingdom of God where all is joy and blessedness. And God pressed the dead child to his heart, and he got wings like the other angels and joined the heavenly quires, some of which are quite near God and some farther off in endless circles around His throne, and from His presence they all derive perfect happiness. It is really provoking to see this beautiful little Angel translated into a "Flower Pot."

ART. II.—1. *Dr. Lingard's History of England.* Sixth edition, vols. ix. and x. London: Dolman.

2. *Macaulay's History of England.* Vols. v. and vi. London: Longmans.

THE "Church of England as by law established," prescribes, for the "Feast of King Charles the Martyr," a prayer, in which it is stated, that his life was taken away by "cruel and bloody men," that this was a "heavy judgment, which the sins of the nation brought upon it," "and for which the country was delivered into the hands of cruel and unreasonable men." And on the double anniversary of the pretended discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, and of the landing of "our Deliverer from Popery," the State Church requires its ministers to thank God "for discovering and confounding the horrible and wicked enterprise plotted and intended to have been executed against the King and State of England, for the subversion of the government and religion established among us, and for wonderfully conducting King William to preserve us from the attempts of our enemies to bereave us of our religion and laws, and for the deliverance of our Church and nation from Popish tyranny and arbitrary power;" and furthermore, in the fulness of its devotion the State Church prays the Almighty to cut off all such workers of iniquity as "turn Religion into Rebellion and Faith into Faction." To appreciate the mingled blasphemy, absurdity and hypocrisy, of these specimens of the "Services" of a State Church, it is necessary to bear in mind, what we have shewn in former articles, that tyranny was first established in this country by those monarchs who suppressed "Popery;" and that the reaction from this tyranny was combined with the anticatholic prejudices they had inspired, and produced the bitter and sour spirit of Puritanism which first "turned faith into faction and religion into rebellion." That the great Rebellion was the conspiracy of a no popery faction, that it was at once the retribution and the result of royal tyranny, we have shown. And that the Revolution was the work of the *same faction*, originating in the same spirit, and conducted for the same ends, we have now to show.

It exhibits in the most ridiculous light the Services we have referred to, that the Revolution, for which one of them expresses fulness of gratitude, was the work of the very party, which, in the other of the Services is denounced as "cruel," and "bloody, and unreasonable." Yet it is literally true. Thus Col. Okey, one of the regicides, when on the scaffold, prayed and preached and prophesied (all at once) about the "good old cause" and its success. Another of the regicides, Algernon Sydney, was one of a council of six who conspired to dethrone the restored king; used on the scaffold the same fanatic language about the "good old cause," and showed what he meant by it. Lord William Russell was an associate of Sydney and one of the council of six, i. e. he was a fellow conspirator with one of the regicides; and he had for other associates such men as Lord Howard of Escrick; who had sat in the House of Commons under Cromwell. Another of the council of six—the prime mover in the odious and horrible Plot of Oates—the execrable Shaftesbury, had been the intimate friend and associate of Col. Hutchinson, one of the leaders of the Rebellion, and began his career of infamy and treachery by betraying his former associates, and *sitting in judgment upon them as traitors!* And Hampden, the grandson of the first "patriot" of that name, boasted after the Revolution that it was only "the continuation of the Council of Six," which was not merely as we see a continuation of the Rebellion, but was actually composed of men who had been concerned in it, or the associates of those who were so.

The truth is, that during the whole reign of Charles II. the same aristocratic faction who had brought about the Rebellion were working insidiously to renew it, and working by means the most infamous. What could be too infamous for miscreants such as Shaftesbury; or too atrocious for traitors such as Sydney, who boasted of regicide, and betrayed his country for French gold? And what could be too infamous or atrocious for their associate, —Russell!

The reign of Charles may be divided into three epochs; the first, that of the fall of Clarendon and the rise of the "Cabal." The second commencing with the *avowed* conversion of James to the Catholic Faith, and which we will call the epoch of the machinations to exclude him from the throne; including the horrible Oates' Plot. The

second era commences with the *reaction* from the Plot, and the triumph of the court, and it is marked by the flight of Shaftesbury and the conspiracy of Russell and Sydney. To understand the position of James at his accession to the throne, and to appreciate the Revolution, it is necessary to have regard to the *antecedents* of his accession, and to the character and conduct, and secret machinations of the aristocratic faction which conspired to dethrone him. And above all it is important to bear this in mind, that not only was there a conspiracy to dethrone him long before he came to the throne, but that this was only continuing a conspiracy to dethrone his predecessor; or that again was only a continuation of the successful conspiracy which had dethroned the father. The spirit of a Protestant aristocracy would never be satisfied until it had extirpated the Catholic dynasty. We have seen that it was an aristocratical faction and an uncatholic faction which brought about the Rebellion; and so of the Revolution. A great living statesman says it was the conspiracy of an oligarchy. It was the *same* oligarchy which had dethroned their sovereign by means of a no-popery fanaticism, and which had never ceased working by the same means for the same ends. Those ends were power and plunder,—the retention of plunder, the acquisition of power. The aristocracy were now for the most part new; the ancient nobility had been well nigh extirpated by the wars of the Roses and the tyranny of the Tudors; and we have shewn the new aristocracy, needy and hungry, foremost in the spoliations of the Reformation and the Rebellion. The new aristocracy were almost entirely founded upon the spoils of the Church. It would be difficult to fix on any family of the aristocracy, still less on any of the leaders among them, whose estates had not been enriched, if not entirely derived, from Church lands. We have already drawn particular attention to this, in some of the most remarkable instances, as the houses of Russell, Seymour, Paget, Herbert, &c. These men were the prime movers of the Reformation, and they were the original movers of the Rebellion. Their motive, in the first case, was, the acquisition of Church lands; in the second, the retention of those lands. This was the reason of their perpetual recourse to a “no-popery cry;” and let it be observed, that the lands of religious houses had been, to a great extent, divided and resold, and parcelled out

among a large number of persons; so that (especially when the case of Ireland is borne in mind, with the wholesale confiscations which there took place) there were few landed proprietors in the country who had not a pecuniary interest in Protestantism, and hereditary reasons for hating Popery, or affecting to hate it. Hence there was now a darker and more malignant element infused into the struggle between the aristocracy and the crown, which was now about to be renewed; and it was not the mere struggle of a proud old nobility for power, but also the sordid struggle of robbers to retain their plunder. Moreover the arts of the *interested* portion of the community had contrived in the course of a century to infuse into the minds of the rest an undefinable horror of "popery," by continually conjuring up before them all kinds of vague but horrible chimeras. And thus in *this* struggle the aristocracy could easily calculate upon the active or passive aid of a large body of the people, provided only they could diffuse the notion that the Sovereign was tainted with "popery."

To have a clearer idea of the state of things at the Restoration it may be as well to look in particular at two men who were the chief actors in the great events which were to follow—Shaftesbury and Danby. As to the first, his estates, like those of the house of Russell, were entirely derived from Church lands, and this was enough to render such men jealous of any monarch who shewed a disposition towards the ancient faith. He had been acquainted with many of those who had taken a part in raising the flame of no-popery fanaticism, and had received from them an instruction which he afterwards "bettered in the example." But it was not only that the instinct of self-preservation led him and others to be jealous of "popery." There was another motive in which even better natures shared, and which led them to profess a jealousy they felt not, and to raise the no-popery cry for purposes of their own. *That* motive was the passion for power, and of the efficacy of the no-popery cry for its gratification the Rebellion had afforded too recent an illustration to be forgotten by restless unscrupulous spirits such as Shaftesbury, or ambitious men like Danby. The latter, like Shaftesbury, was a *new* man; and Osborne, like Ashley, thirsted for that rank and power, and distinction, which had never yet belonged to any of their name.

There is a passage in the *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson* which curiously illustrates the early history and character of Shaftesbury. "Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper at that time (speaking of the time immediately preceding the Restoration) insinuated himself into a particular friendship with the Colonel, and made him all the honourable pretences that can be imagined; called him his *dear friend*, and caressed him with such embraces as none but a traitor as vile as himself could have suspected; yet was he the most intimate of Monk's confidants. The Colonel upon the confidence of his friendship, entreated him to tell him what were Monk's intentions that he and others might consider their safety who were likely to be given up as a public sacrifice. Cooper denied to the death any intention besides a commonwealth; 'but,' said he, with the greatest semblance of reality that could be put on, 'if the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damned, body and soul, if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel!' This he backed with so many and such deep protestations of that kind, as made the Colonel after his treachery was apparent, detest him of all mankind, and think himself obliged, if ever he had opportunity, to procure exemplary justice on him, who was so *vile a wretch as to sit himself and sentence some of those who died*," as, for instance, Vane. "When the court sat," says Mr. Hutchinson, "and the Colonel was brought in, and saw the *judges*, among whom was that vile traitor, (Monk,) who sold the men that trusted him, and he that openly said he abhorred the word accommodation, when moderate men could have prevented the war, and the Colonel's own *dear friend*, (Shaftesbury,) who had wished damnation to his soul if he ever suffered a penny of any man's estate, or hair of any man's head to be touched, the sight of these provoked his spirit." As well it might. The history of infamy has no viler chapter; and never let it be forgotten that the chief figure in it is that of Shaftesbury. Such was the character of the creature who blew the horrible Plot into a flame, which consumed so many innocent men, merely that he and his associates might retain place and power. We find him the associate and the betrayer of regicides; of traitors no less than himself,—retaining their principles of treason without their redeeming virtues, and joining to it an atrocious treachery all his own. Such was the man who was the leading

minister in the infamous "Cabal," and who afterwards formed one of that treasonable "Council of Six," who formed the Rye House Plot, and of whose traitorous machinations one of their own number, Hampden, boasted that "the Revolution was the continuation." Truly the Revolution was as unfortunate in its parents as the Reformation and the Rebellion. We have in a former article cited the authority of Carlyle to shew that these were all three but different acts of the same fearful tragedy. But our object has also been, and is, to shew that it was a tragedy of crime, and crime of which the most damning infamy belongs to the last and closing act—the Revolution.

The Revolution, says a distinguished living statesman, was the "conspiracy of an oligarchy." It was so. It was the conspiracy of an oligarchy to obtain piratically, the power of government; and with that view to exclude from the throne a Catholic sovereign, whose ideas of duty and of justice would not permit him to enslave royalty to their corrupt will. Let us see who were the conspirators. Look at the *dramatis personæ* before considering the parts they play in this most detestable drama of villany: and then see how far we can trust their testimony as to its character. We will not trust *ourselves* to describe them; we will take their portraits from Protestant painters, and to be sure of impartiality, we will even have recourse to *liberal* writers. We have quoted one "liberal" writer, Carlyle, we will now quote a French author equally "liberal," the ill-fated Carrel.

After the fall of Clarendon, chiefly through the secret machinations of Shaftesbury and Buckingham, and their creature, Osborne, (afterwards Earl of Danby,) the Duke of Ormond was for a short time minister, and their power passed into the hands of the 'Cabal,' the Duke of Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, (created Earl of Shaftesbury,) Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Clifford, and Lauderdale, "pernicious favourites," (says Carrel) "who interested the king by their brilliant vices. First among them was Buckingham, whom a precocious maturity in every kind of corruption had, from earliest manhood, rendered master of the weak and profligate mind of Charles. Then Ashley Cooper, less noted for the disorders of his private life than for his political treachery." In fact, he was a cold and crafty schemer, a kind of Robespierre.

"Each of these men had about him two or three dependants of a quality presenting some resemblance to his own," and Buckingham's dependant was Osborne, the future Earl of Danby. Their cry, says Carrel, was at first toleration. Shaftesbury was soon scheming for supremacy, and seized the occasion of the Test Bill, opposed by Clifford, the Lord Treasurer, and by Buckingham, with the concurrence of the king, who was sincerely in favour of toleration. Shaftesbury, seeing that the puritan bigotry of the Commons was still in the ascendant, resolved to pander to it, and thus to overthrow his colleague and betray his sovereign, and to the astonishment of every one he, the Chancellor, rose and strongly supported a measure of intolerance and persecution opposed by the Crown! "The house," says Carrel, "could scarcely believe that it was Shaftesbury who made this strange speech. The members looked at one another in stupor, as if this new treachery of a man whom they had ever known to anticipate the fall of the parties he had served, revealed the existence of some great danger. They decided amidst an unexampled agitation, and the bill was carried by a very small majority. The minority, composed of the lords most eminent for their talents and fortune, protested against a decision as surprising as all that had taken place at the sitting. The Duke of York, as he left the house, said to the king, "What a knave of a chancellor have you there." "And you, brother," answered the king, "what a fool of a treasurer have you given me." There are two things as well as the treachery of Shaftesbury worth noting here; first, that James at the very era of the Restoration was in favour of toleration; which is strong to show the sincerity of his professions in his own reign. And next, that the men most eminent for talents and fortune were in favour of it likewise. Only the hungry, crafty schemers like Shaftesbury were against it, for selfish party purposes. The result of his treachery was that toleration failed, the Test Bill passed; the result was to exclude Clifford from the cabinet, and the Duke of York from the office of admiral. It laid the basis for the intrigues to exclude him from the throne, and fed the foul spirit of fanaticism, which satiated itself subsequently in the horrors of Oates' Plot, and ultimately was made the means of that other plot, the Revolution. To mark the course of these intrigues is to see that the Papist Plot and the Revolu-

tion were children of the same parent. Both were Protestant plots, both vile conspiracies of an oligarchy, practised in all the artifices by which faction pandered to bigotry.

The fall of Buckingham was an indirect result of the destruction of the Cabal Ministry. A striking anecdote, well told by Carrel, illustrates the idea of his character. An attempt had been made by the desperado Blood, to murder the Duke of Ormond. "The son of the duke soon afterwards seeing Buckingham standing by the king, addressed him thus, 'My Lord of Buckingham, I know well that you are at the bottom of the late attempt of Blood's upon my father, and therefore I give you fair warning, that if my father comes to a violent end by sword or pistol, if he dies by the hand of a ruffian, or by the more secret hand of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the foul author of it; I shall consider you as the assassin, I shall treat you as such, and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you shall stand behind the king's chair.' No one spoke a word; Buckingham and the king kept silence." This incident speaks volumes.

On the fall of Buckingham the Earl of Danby came into power, and the opposition, says Carrel, included Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and Lord *Cavendish*, (ancestor to the Duke of Devonshire,) "a man of great ambition, whom disappointment had alienated from the court," and Lord Russell, the traitor, who afterwards was engaged in the horrible Plot of Oates, and who betrayed all through life, the character which inspired his descendant to indite the Durham Letter. Strange coincidences of history! The names of Russell and Shaftesbury are still in our own times associated as pandering to the popular bigotry against "Popery," and seeking to prop up the power of a faction by the baleful influence of fanaticism. Observe all the names most honoured by Whiggism, actively or tacitly abetting the horrible plot. Cavendish, (so eulogized by Fox,) and Godolphin—"the wise Godolphin," as Lord John delights to call him—Russell and Shaftesbury, and Lord Leveson Gower, the ancestor of the present house of Sutherland. Osborne was one of the first who joined in raising that no-popery cry which had been used with such fatal effect to bring about the Rebellion, and was now to be used to bring about another Revolution. He used it before Shaftesbury, and with as little scruple, though not with such appalling recklessness and horrible results. He

raised it under the influence of the profligate Buckingham to supplant Clarendon. Here was retribution, for Clarendon, either from his own bigotry, or from a cowardly dread of it in others, had been the chief cause of the failure of the measure of indulgence to conscience. This was opposed, upon the avowed ground that, under cover of indulgence to Dissenters there would be relief to Catholics. Ashley introduced a measure into the Lords, enabling the Crown to dispense with laws requiring subscriptions or obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church. It is to be observed in passing, that this is not to be confounded with the mere dispensation of penal laws, i.e., laws imposing not merely conditions on the enjoyment of privileges, but penalties for the exercise or non-exercise of a particular religion. The Crown having clearly by the common law the prerogative of *pardon*, could undoubtedly remit penalties or punishments, and if their infliction would be contrary to conscience, it is impossible to conceive that the sovereign should be bound to inflict them. The scope of the bill brought in by Ashley was larger, and it proposed to empower the Crown to admit Catholics along with Dissenters to places of trust and profit, or to the enjoyment of privileges from which they were by law debarred. For this an act of parliament was necessary, and though it could only be resisted by bigotry, it was opposed by Clarendon in the Lords, and it was also resisted by Osborne in the Commons. Probably this was the first occasion on which he acquired distinction, as it was in 1663, and he only entered parliament two years before. There can be no doubt that Ashley was insincere, as he was utterly unscrupulous. Of Clarendon and Osborne there may be more question. Four years after, in 1667, Osborne was engaged with Buckingham, very likely in league with Ashley, in the scheme to supplant Clarendon, which proved successful. It is a curious and ominous circumstance that in the notes of Osborne's speech on this occasion occur these significant words, "The king ready to change his religion." It was suspected that Charles was in heart a Catholic, and it is plain that Osborne had already learnt how to harp on that string, which was afterwards to "create such horrible discord." He was most active and unscrupulous in promoting the impeachment of Clarendon, the old resource of envious hostility against a

minister to whose charge nothing specific could be laid by those who desired to supplant him, the course taken against Spenser, and Suffolk, and Strafford, and (curious retribution) at a subsequent period, against Danby himself. Mr. Forster, a great admirer of Danby, says, "In the abhorrence of Popery daily becoming more violent in England, and soon afterwards the main principle of opposition to the court, Sir Thomas Osborne largely participated." In the very next sentence, however, his biographer gives unconsciously an excellent reason for that "abhorrence of Popery." "Such were the sentiments of Osborne when he commenced his official career." Ah! he was one of a long series of statesmen who have "commenced their official career" by the aid of a no-popery cry. The value of his "abhorrence of popery" may be further appreciated from the fact stated by Burnet, that he was one of those who at the commencement of Charles's reign had sought to supplant Clarendon, by assuring the king that they would secure him larger revenues and greater power, in other words, manage to make him as nearly as possible absolute. Such was the servile and unscrupulous character of these no-popery ministers, equally ready to truckle either to prince or to people so that they might retain power.

Osborne first took office under the "Cabal," the ministry of the profligate Buckingham and Ashley, the parent of the "Plot." Five or six years after we find Osborne seeking to supplant Ashley on the very question of popery. Ashley had been a party to the "declaration of indulgence" issued by the king in 1673. Osborne resolved to bid against Ashley for power, and took the side of bigotry. He drew up an address on the vote that the penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament, and the measure of toleration was again defeated. Osborne (now joined by Ashley) still pressed the no-popery principle, and carried a measure establishing as a test a declaration against transubstantiation. This displaced Clifford, (as it was no doubt designed to do,) from the post of Lord Treasurer, and Osborne, now made Earl of Danby, obtained that distinguished post. He was therefore clearly the originator of the no-Popery policy, which we say resulted in the Revolution. What a type of your sound Protestant statesman!

But now a deeper pit of policy opened before the aspiring statesman. By his anti-Catholic dealings he had of

course provoked the hostility of the next heir to the throne, now an avowed Catholic. *He must be displaced from the succession.* And at this very time we find Danby in secret correspondence with William of Orange. This fact seems to have escaped the notice of Dr. Lingard, and is to our minds very important to a due appreciation of the Revolution. The fact is mentioned by Danby's biographer, Forster, who does not seem to be aware of its force, in more ways than one. Thus, not only does it tell upon the real motives of the machinations, for the Revolution thus commenced *fourteen years* before it occurred, but it also tells upon another subject, on which credit has been very absurdly given to Danby, and affords an excellent reason for his opposition to the pecuniary arrangements with France. Why, if he were in secret league with William of Orange, he must of course be adverse to relations with France, with whom William had a deadly contest. Mr. Forster states, "while Danby was impeding, by all means in his power, the conclusion of the pecuniary bargain with France, he was in close correspondence with the Prince of Orange. This correspondence began in 1674, and at the end of the same year the good understanding was improved by a visit made to Holland by Danby's son, whom William commissioned to procure from his father the payment of a debt (?) due to him by the king of England. This payment was effected, an *accommodation* which the prince, probably with justice, ascribed to the influence of the treasurer." No doubt. But an "accommodation" is an ambiguous expression for simple payment of a *bona fide* debt; and we suspect there was more reason for the application of the phrase. On other and more important matters we think we have detected Danby's desire to assist the Prince of Orange in farsighted anticipation of the Revolution. We imagine he had something to do, in 1674, with that arrangement, the result of which was, that when the Catholic king came to the throne he found four of his best regiments in Holland, where they were retained and debauched from their allegiance. There is another and still more important matter in which Danby's share is not obscure. His biographer says: "In 1677, Lady Temple" (wife of Danby's intimate friend, Sir W. Temple, a diplomatist who had the closest relations with the Dutch Prince,) "brought over, with special instructions to communicate it to *Lord Danby*

alone, the first intimation of William's desire to court the princess Mary, and the treasurer immediately espoused with much eagerness, an affair which promised to give an advantage to his favourite views of foreign policy, while his furtherance of the wishes of William, connected here with a Protestant prince, *not remotely allied to the throne.*" Thus this sound Protestant went on craftily scheming to secure himself place and power under a Protestant successor. We have omitted to mention that even while in the House of Commons he had made himself busy with plans—"expedients," as they were called, for practically destroying the power of a Catholic successor, without actually excluding him. Our impression is that he was feeling his way towards a measure of absolute exclusion, when he proposed one of these expedients, not long before the Plot; but he durst not venture further, from fear of losing the favour of the king. It is most clear that he was the earliest and most adroit and active of those who were scheming, in concert with William, to secure him the succession. As years rolled on, he became of course more anxious for the success of the scheme, on which, in the event of the king's death, his own continuance in office entirely depended. And four years after his secret correspondence with William had commenced, the very year after the marriage of the Prince with Mary, we find Danby, if not the parent, at least the careful foster-father of the "Plot," which raised the anti-Catholic bigotry to frenzy, and all but carried an Exclusion Bill.

He was the first of the ministers to whom Charles communicated the papers, and advised that the two persons absurdly accused of the design to assassinate the king, should be apprehended, and the matter referred to the Privy Council. The king particularly desired that the matter should be concluded at once, and *before the meeting of Parliament.* Danby, on the contrary, wilfully delayed it *until* the meeting of Parliament, for which he was well punished, for Shaftesbury, whom he had managed to supplant some years before, upon the no-papery cry, by opposing the declaration of indulgence, which Ashley had supported, now took the "Plot" out of his hands, and thus turned the tables upon Danby, who lost favour with the king and the nation, and was unable to protect himself from impeachment, except by retirement and imprisonment. There can be no doubt the conduct of Danby was

as unscrupulous as that of Shaftesbury. The king told him he would live to repent it. "And indeed," adds Danby, writing thirty years afterwards, "I have seen *many villanous designs acted under cover of the popish plot*, and of that I have repented, as of another matter, since I have seen such very wrong uses made of them." His biographer feebly defends him, and ventures to say that it is not improbable, he so far gave credit to the tales of Titus Oates, as to attribute such projects to the Romanists. Alas! with amusing want of memory Mr. Forster has inserted elsewhere a little note, in which it appears that Danby said once on seeing Oates, "There goes one of the saviours of England! but I hope to see him hanged within a month!" and Roger North's remark is true enough, "that Danby, thinking to work with a plot, brought about his own ruin." "He fancied," says James, in his *Memoirs*, "by the helpe of his pretended conspiracie, and crying out against popery, he would pass for a pillar of the Church, and ward the blow which he foresaw was falling on his shoulders, but my Lord Shaftesbury, who soon found out his drift, sayd, Let the treasurer cry as lowd as he pleases against popery, and think to put himself at the head of the plot, *I will cry a note lowder, and soone take his place*, which he failed not to make good." A portraiture and satire of all anti-Catholic ministers from that time to the present.

Of the management of the "Plot," and the atrocious means employed to foster it, and to murder innocent men on false evidence, obtained by bribery or torture, it is enough to say that it was a Plot like unto the Gunpowder Plot of James I. and Cecil, with this difference alone, that in the case of Charles the monarch was guiltless of the crime, and it was only the *ministers* who were responsible for it. The poor wretch France, who was terrified or tortured into lunacy, in order to make him swear falsely, or forswear his recantation of the horrid perjury he had been frightened into committing, declared solemnly, in words which, under dread of death he could not retract, that the wretch who had been with him, to entrap him, had disclosed to him that he had been several times *with Lord Shaftesbury and Bedloe*, and told him that *he would certainly be hanged if he agreed not with Bedloe's evidence*. Dangerfield, another of the miscreants, was in possession of letters addressed by an assador to

Shaftesbury, in his official capacity, and which were doubtless obtained from him, and he himself suborned false witnesses, and took their informations.

Such were the means employed in the Plot ; we need not advert to the innocent blood which was shed by such detestable machinations ; but we direct attention to the *object*, which James himself truly described, when he said, that it was the subversion of the monarchy, and the establishment of such an oligarchy as under the Commonwealth. He observed " that many of the leaders were men who had acquired power and influence under the Revolution ; and still cherished under the mask of patriotism their former principles, that they put forward the safety of religion, as they had done during the Rebellion, for the sole purpose of inflaming the people ; that they had begun with a bill of exclusion to render the monarchy elective ; and that when they had accomplished that object they might indeed gratify Charles with the title of king, but would reduce him in point of power to a level with the Doge of Venice." How true this was subsequent events too soon showed, and it is a striking proof of James's acuteness of perception, that an illustrious living statesman has described the Revolution as the conspiracy of an oligarchy, and its results a Venetian Republic. There might be a difference among the conspirators as to the nature of the republic. Danby and Shaftesbury were for an aristocracy, Sydney's ideas may have been more favourable to democracy, but no doubt his republic would have approached an oligarchy, and he gloried on the scaffold in his attachment to the " good old cause," that of the Commonwealth. This is the proper opportunity for observing that the Whig conspirators who suffered death under Charles, clearly were guilty of treason, and not only were they traitors in legal guilt, but with a sordid treachery, casting on them all the shame of moral infamy. They were all in the pay of France, and traitors to their country not less than their sovereign ; and it speaks strongly of the historical delusions which prevail in this nation, that Russell and Sydney should still by so many be taken as types of patriotism ! Let us take the most impartial view, derived from Protestant and even Whig writers, of the conduct of parliament under their auspices, and never forget that Sydney and Russell were political allies of the infamous Shaftesbury. Speaking parliament of Charles II., Mr.

Hallam says that there were no such general infringements of liberty in his reign, as had occurred under the Long Parliament, and even Lord J. Russell agrees with this opinion. But as to the *parliament*, Mr. Ward* calls it "the Whig parliament which brooded over and hatched the Popish Plot, and under which neither life, nor property, nor character, were safe,—all was violence, prejudice, and blood; wilful perjury was rashly believed, if not suborned, and men such as Lord Russell, proved themselves to be more bloody, *ruthless, and tyrannical, than all the Stuarts put together.*" Who can doubt it who has ever read the history of that dreadful period of our history? Is it necessary to say anything of the horrors perpetrated under pretence of the "Plot?" Mr. Fox, the unscrupulous apologist of the Whigs, found himself compelled to admit that it was the "grand engine of their power," and that to their "furious and sanguinary prosecution of it" they owed their political influence and their *power to bring about the Revolution*. Now, the very men who committed all these atrocities were the accusers of James, and engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone him. Is anything more necessary to show the hypocrisy of the pretences under which the Revolution was effected? "These encroachments," says Hallam, "under the name of privilege, were exactly in the spirit of the Long Parliament, and revived too forcibly the recollection of that awful period. It was commonly in men's minds that 1641 had come again. There appeared for several months a very imminent danger of civil war."

Now, what we wish to be observed is, that these men were the enemies of James II.; these men were, for years before he came to the throne, engaged in designs to exclude him from it, and these men, when he came to the throne, were already engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone him. These men were his enemies because they knew that he was too firm and honest a king to submit to their iniquitous tyranny or connive at their shameless corruption. These pretended patriots, Sydney, or Danby, or Shaftesbury, who were scheming for their own interests, and ever ready to betray the interests of their country,

* Author of *Tremaine*, and father of the present Sir G. H. Ward, so long a Whig member of parliament, and now Governor of the Ionian Isles.

even to foreign foes, in order to attain their selfish objects, these men were the enemies of James, not because they hated tyranny, but because they were resolved to practice it, and they hated him because he would not succumb to the tyranny of an oligarchy; he was resolved to govern as well as reign; they were his foes, not because he was a tyrant, but because they were tyrants. They imposed the yoke of their tyranny on England during the reign of Charles, and knew that the succession of James would be its destruction. When the reaction from the Plot came, and the Whigs were in decline, they resorted to treason, and the result of their conspiracy was the Rye House Plot. The celebrated "Council of Six" were its authors, in which figured the well-known Whig names of Russell, Shaftesbury, Grey, and Howard, with the two historic names of Hampden and Sydney, those two idols of Whigism. These, with Essex, were the conspirators concerned in this Whig Plot. Of its existence no man can doubt, for after the Revolution Hampden boasted that the Revolution was its continuation. There was the confession of Howard, the suicide of Essex, the conviction of Russell and Sydney. Carrel says (and his testimony, as that of an impartial and intelligent French liberal, is decisive,) that Russell was convicted by honourable men, and upon *proofs sufficiently strong*. Mr. Ward, in his remarkable work on the Revolution, most thoroughly establishes Russell's guilt, and the fairness of his trial, both of which have been, with most temerarious and inconclusive efforts, endeavoured to be disproved by his descendant, Lord John.

Lord William Russell and Lord Shaftesbury came into power entirely by means of the Popish Plot. They bid higher and higher for popular favour by pandering more and more to the popular bigotry. Thus Carrel says, "a new test more rigorous than that which had overthrown the reign of the Cabal passed almost without opposition." One of those who supported it in the upper house, Lord Lucas, spoke of it in terms, the *coarse brutality* of which would not have been tolerated a few months before. 'I would not have so much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here; not so much as a popish dog or popish bitch; not so much as a popish cat to pur or mew about the king.' Yet these words were loudly applauded. The Duke of York, then present, only obtained an exception by two votes. The bill had been

directed against him. This was in 1679, nearly ten years before the Revolution. So long had the conspiracy been *hatching* to exclude him from the throne. One object of this article is to bring out the force of the fact; and its full bearing upon the events of his reign; and the true view of the Revolution. That event, we contend, had no connection at all with the course he pursued, or the conduct of which he was accused. It was a foregone conclusion—a pre-arranged plot. It was a conspiracy formed long ere he had the crown. The main conspirators were Russell, and Halifax, and Godolphin, Shaftesbury and Danby; they had a host of lesser adherents, such as Leveson Gower, who, in 1681, wanted the House of Commons to pursue the course of the Long Parliament under colour of a fear of popery. "I move," said he, "that we withdraw and return to our counties; make the people acquainted with the manner in which their representatives are treated, (i. e. in the opposition given by the crown to the persecuting measures directed against the Catholics), our cause is theirs; they will maintain it by the sword." Thus we find the ancestor of the great Whig House of Sutherland active in suggesting treason, with the aid of fanaticism for the purpose of establishing a no-popery tyranny. At the present moment we find the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, with the Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord John Russell, the main supporters of the anti-Catholic faction in these realms; and building the power of their faction upon the bigotry of the people. Mr. Fox, the great oracle of the Whig party, confesses in his fragment upon the *History of the Reign of James II.*, that the horrible Popish Plot was then the grand engine of their power; and that their prosecution of it was "furious and sanguinary." The Rye House Plot formed with the Popish Plot the intermediate links between the Rebellion and the Revolution, and connects together the chief actors in all those events. They were all merely different acts of the same oligarchical conspiracy. Sydney, a regicide, was associated with Howard, one of the satellites of Cromwell, and with Russell and Shaftesbury, the prime movers of Oates' Plot, in the Rye House conspiracy. And Danby and others who had been at various times their associates or their rivals, were already engaged in their machinations which had for their object the dethronement of James. Danby had been employed with Shaftesbury and Russell

in tests and schemes for "exclusion." The Rye House Plot was in 1684, only a year before the close of Charles's reign, and four years before the Revolution. Hampden, who was one of the Council of Six, concerned in the Rye House Plot, lived to boast of his share in it, and to declare, that the Revolution was only the continuation of it. What could more clearly show the substantial identity of the two grand conspiracies—the Rebellion and the Revolution; or prove that both were conspiracies of an oligarchy, working by means of no-popery bigotry?

Sir J. Mackintosh calls Lord Russell a victim—"Victim of what?" asks shrewd Mr. Ward. "He plotted rebellion and was fairly tried for it under the law that existed then and exists now. By being fairly tried I mean (he explains) that the evidence was legal and fairly left to the jury by the judge." And he refers to the warm encomium upon the integrity and learning of that judge (Pemberton) by Sir Vicary Gibbs, while actually defending Hardy and Horn Tooke, indicted like Russell, for constructive treason. "In the trial of Lord Russell (continues Mr. Ward) complaint was made that constructive treason only was proved, and that was made the chief ground for the renewal of his attainder. But exclusive that this constructive treason was held to be law, even after the Revolution, and, to use Mr. Hallam's own expression, "established for ever, by the correct Holt, it was upon this very species of treason that the injured old man, Lord Stafford, was condemned, Lord Russell being one of his prosecutors." Mr. Ward also notices the opposition malignantly made by Lord Russell to the remission, in the case of Lord Stafford, of the horrors of cruelty which formed part of the sentence of treason. Mr. Ward declares that the conduct of the Whig Parliament was marked by an "infatuated despotism, and an extent of tyranny infinitely exceeding anything ever attempted by the Stuarts." He gives instances. They brought persons to their bar for remissness in searching for papists! "When," asks Mr. Ward, "did the law pronounce this a crime? It is like the crime invented by the French murderers, the suspicion of being suspected. Sir R. Cann was taken into custody for declaring that there was *no Popish*, but a *Presbyterian Plot*. This assumed dominion over opinion beats, or at least equals, Domitian or Nero. A general panic spread over the country in consequence of these infamous inva-

sions of liberty by its pretended guardians, and even Lord John Russell is forced to allow that these practices became so oppressive that the people began to turn their suspicions of an arbitrary king into fears of an arbitrary parliament. Again, without enquiring, much less hearing, they passed resolutions against Worcester, Halifax, Clarendon, Feversham and Seymour, as dangerous enemies to the kingdom and promoters of popery, for having advised the king to refuse the exclusion bill!" Well might Mr. Ward say that "by such usurpation all government, nay all society, was torn up by the roots."

Hence their ceaseless machinations for his exclusion. "The chief feature of this parliament," we again quote Mr. Ward, "was its unmitigable rage against the Duke of York, and its persevering determination to exclude him from the throne. Yet he had offended no law; he had usurped no power; he had been guilty of no oppression; his right to the succession was undoubted. His only offence was being a Papist; a matter between himself and his God; and for which at that time the law of the land did not exclude him from the throne. The oppression therefore was on the other side." "The general character of the Government," says Lord John Russell in the life of his ancestor, "was not tyrannical; the religion and property of the subject had not yet been attacked." This was speaking of 1683. The reign of Charles closed in two years from that time. Down, then, to the close of Charles's reign there had been no tyranny on the part of the Government. This is the testimony even of the descendant of Lord William Russell; one of the leaders of the Rye House Plot; which on that account Lord John is forced to condemn. Now mark, the administration of James was less open to the charge of tyranny than that of Charles as we shall see. And if Charles, as we have shown, is acquitted from the charge, then James must be absolved.

The truth is his accusers were the tyrants. His accusers were conspirators against him before even he came to the throne. Were they likely to be loyal subjects, or fair judges of his administration?

The enforced surrender of the charters, which took place at the end of Charles's reign, if it was a strong measure, was justified by a strong emergency, and by conduct on the part of the corporations marked by extraordinary activity. They had been hotbeds of sedition and the chief

supports of the horrible "Plot." One of the city sheriffs, with the sympathy of a great part of the livery, was a traitor, and another, the whig sheriff, Bethel, began the abuse of nominating the juries.

Even Hallam admits, while enumerating the encroachments by proclamation on the rights of parliament, that "there were no such general infringements of liberty in the reign of Charles II. as occurred continually before the Long Parliament." Nor were there, we will add, any such great or general violations of freedom under James; while, as we see, there were infinitely greater under William. "On the other hand," observes Mr. Ward, "the association formed by Shaftesbury against Government, and the plan by force of arms to continue the parliament after dissolution, were contemplated long before any of the alleged grievances commenced."

Let us look a little more closely at the heroes of the Revolution. Even the continuator of Mackintosh says: "The Whigs of 1688 had no notion of freedom beyond their sect or party; and, with liberty on their lip, monopoly and persecution were in their hearts." "A degenerate race succeeds the era of the Commonwealth. The aristocracy seem to have been born without that sense which is supposed to be their peculiar distinction, the sense of honour." And Mr. Ward thus paraphrases the opinion of this writer, which entirely coincides with his and with our own. "Instead of patriots they were all selfish jobbers. Vigour and virtue had fled from the 'seven heroes,' (as we were taught to think them) who invited William to aid their oppressed country; and the names of Danby, Shrewsbury, Devonshire, and Sydney, and Russell, sink into the dirt." Elsewhere Mr. Ward says, "The 'seven heroes' were Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Compton, Russell, and Sydney. They were all eminent rogues." Danby and Sydney we have already spoken of. It is enough to say that they were convicted traitors, and the associates of the infamous Shaftesbury, and that while Danby and Shaftesbury were co-conspirators in the horrible "Popish Plot" of Oates, Sydney was one of the regicides. Then as to all of them (except Devonshire, of whom we have spoken already, as simply a selfish, disappointed man,) Mr. Ward says, "they were all *eminent rogues*, and Russell

(*admiral Russell*) and Shrewsbury afterwards proved traitors to the cause they had espoused."

Of Churchill, afterwards Marlborough, Mr. Ward says, "if the military glory of his after-life had not gilded his early baseness, he would have only been known in history as a villain." "This," he adds, "and the *infamies* of Cornbury, Grafton and many others, make the heart sick. Was Halifax, the polished, the eloquent, the witty, one jot better? No! Less daring than his uncle, Shaftesbury, not less corrupt than Sunderland, he was their equal in versatility of intrigue." "Not less corrupt than Sunderland," exclaims Mr. Ward, "though that infamous man, while he contributed perhaps most to the Revolution, was the pattern and father of all corruption." Elsewhere Mr. Ward characterizes the Revolution as a conspiracy carried out by false pretences. "Then as to Godolphin, he had," says this shrewd and pungent writer, "the dexterity or dishonesty to possess at the same time the confidence both of James and William." Lord John Russell *admires* Godolphin's character. "The baseness of Halifax," says Mr. Ward, "exceeds all belief." And he acted with Godolphin all along in betraying James." Well might Mr. Ward say that, when James came to the throne he had not one person whom he could trust.

"In describing the real character of our 'patriotic deliverers,'" says Mr. Ward, with severe sarcasm, "the pen falters as it proceeds." He quotes Hallam and Hume as to Churchill. "We find in the whole of his political life nothing but ambition and rapacity in his motives; nothing but treachery and intrigue in his means." Then as to Danby, "he was guilty of the most infamous corruptions from private motives; at one time the scourge of honest men, the tool of a tyrant; at another the champion of liberty and resistance. Again the obsequious placeman, the bribed of the East India Company, twice impeached for enormous dishonesty; screened but not acquitted; yet attaining the first honours of the state, which he had thus perpetually betrayed. *He* also took arms against James and was one of the seven champions. Well might Dryden satirize him in those stinging lines:—

"And Danby's matchless impudence
Helped to support the knave."

Of Compton, "the lying Bishop of London," as Mr.

Ward calls him, Sir James Mackintosh says, "he signed the invitation, and in the presence of King James fore-swore in the worst form, that of an equivocation, his knowledge and his deed. He was ready to sign anything, like the libertine, and swear anything, like the Jew in the "School for Scandal. For these merits he was named the Protestant Bishop and enjoyed vast reputation."

What miscreants were all the characters in any way associated with the Revolution! Take Lord Grey, who was one of the "Council of Six," with Hampden, and with Sydney and Shaftesbury. Lord John Russell says of him—"He was stained with the private vices of licentiousness, cowardice, falsehood, and ingratitude. The seduction of his wife's sister was aggravated by duplicity to her parents and barbarity to her. No doubt he was a base and sensual man." But he was one of the "Council of Six," whose machinations were the precursors of the Revolution; and his vices did not prevent the Whigs from rewarding him or employing him. He was created Earl of Tankerville by William, and was placed in offices of high trust along with such unscrupulous men as Halifax, Godolphin, and Danby. He was a Lord of the Treasury and died Privy Seal. And this, although he had the meanness to save his own life by betraying his associates, and gave evidence which helped to convict Sydney and Russell. Well might Mr. Ward say that the promoters of the Revolution were all "eminent rogues." It would be in vain to search for one honest man among them.

The same spirit which produced treason under Charles, produced it under James. The excuses alleged for it were mere pretences. The rebellion of Monmouth, and the machinations of traitors, made a standing army necessary. The judges of England solemnly affirmed the royal power to dispense with the penal laws,* and independently of the general principle, these particular laws were repugnant to Christianity, and contrary to the common law and the

* See Year Book ii. Hen. VII. 12, laying it down that the King can dispense with laws except against acts *mala in se*, as murder. In the case of the penal laws, the *laws themselves*, not the acts prohibited, were *mala in se*, and the execution of them amounted to judicial murder. See Roll's Abr. "Prærogative," "Dispensing Power."

ancient and fundamental constitution of the realm. Even that servile lawyer, Coke, lays it down that statutes contrary to the law of God, as these clearly were, are void. And it has always seemed plain to us that these penal laws were of no really binding force. If any of them were, then all of them were so; and if all, then the laws rendering it a capital crime to offer the adorable, sacrifice, or reconcile persons to the Church. But surely not only a Catholic, but even a Protestant king, might conscientiously refuse to enforce such laws, and a Catholic king *could* not conscientiously enforce them. He was, nevertheless, rightful sovereign, and parliament had refused to exclude him from the throne. He had all the prerogatives of the Crown, and the judges declared the dispensing power one of them. But whether it was so or not, as a *general* principle, we say that it was so with regard to these particular laws, because they were morally criminal, and legally unconstitutional.

The real errors of James were in the various matters in which he was rather imprudent than illegal, and in which he was craftily urged on by the insidious Sunderland. The fact is, the king was in the meshes of a conspiracy, the threads of which had been laid long before, when Danby, in 1674, twelve or fourteen years ago, had been planning with William of Orange the scheme which was now in execution. Danby had been reconciled to his old enemy, Montague, (now Halifax,) the only bond of reconciliation between them being their common concern in this conspiracy. Halifax, though President of the Council, openly opposed his measures. Sunderland, though his confidential minister, treacherously betrayed him. Danby, still more dangerous, stood aloof, and continued his crafty correspondence with William, and in concert with the heads of the nobility, Nottingham, Somerset, Derby, &c., assured him of their support. Meanwhile the king's councils were frustrated, petitions to him intercepted, and his troops and fleet seduced from their allegiance. Had he been as wise as Solomon he could not have escaped the machinations of his enemies. It is idle to ascribe them to his alleged misrule; the conspiracy was concocted eleven years before he came to the throne, fourteen years before it was consummated, by his dethronement. It had nothing to do with his rule, good or bad. It had no real connection with dread of arbitrary power. The real cause on the part of the *leaders* was not even, or at all events not *alone*, an

aversion to popery. There was a conspiracy against the monarchy. It was the old movement of the aristocracy, the same which had originated the Rebellion. It was a struggle by the aristocracy for the control and virtual exercise of royal authority. No one can extract from any of the facts of James' reign any real grievance to the body of the people. All the complaints against him resolved themselves either into this, that he did not allow one portion of the people to persecute the other under wicked penal laws, or that he punished traitors as his brother had done, or that he committed indiscretions in the manifestation of his religion: or of his irritation against those of the Protestant prelacy, or nobility, whom he knew to be secretly hostile to him, and had been for a long course of years machinating his dethronement. With regard to his acts of indiscretion, it should be borne in mind that he was led on to them by the traitor Sunderland; and as to his resentments, who could be otherwise than irritated at the apostasy of Shrewsbury, the hypocrisy of Halifax, or the treachery of Danby, and above all, the insincerity of the Protestant prelacy?

What of the character and the conduct of William? Even Mackintosh, as good a Whig as Macaulay, but not such a reckless and servile eulogist of the Revolution and its hero, believes that William had been implicated in the horrible massacre of the brothers De Witt; and that he was privy, or capable of being privy to a plot for murdering James. Any how, he for years machinated most treacherously and unscrupulously to rob his wife's father of his throne, and did so by the basest means and on the falsest pretences. "The prince had already the reputation of being not only a phlegmatic but an unscrupulous politician. His policy was charged by some with tolerating, by others with sharing the practices which stimulated the populace of the Hague to massacre the patriot brothers De Witt, and give him undivided sway over the republic."* His agents in England got up the horrible Popish plot; and so soon as he landed he concocted another. He caused to be issued a proclamation setting forth that the papists were in arms to destroy London by fire, and massacre the Protestants: called upon the magistrates to secure them, and

* Hist. Revolution, ii. 235.

declared that not only if they resisted, but even if found with arms in their houses, or were in office, they should be treated as robbers and refused quarter! This, which the writer just quoted calls "an impudent and atrocious fabrication," was a direct incitement to the massacre of the Catholics, and of course was designed to terrify them from loyalty to their sovereign. When it is recollected how short a time had elapsed since the horrible Plot of Oates, and Shaftesbury had shed such torrents of innocent blood, no wonder that the Catholics should have been paralyzed. The proclamation did its work. It was indeed, (says Mr. Ward,) afterwards disavowed by William, but not only the advantage of it was pocketed, but Speke, who claimed to be the forger, declared after William's death that he showed it to him, and that he approved. His disavowal of it was only verbal, and confined to those about him: it therefore only showed his consciousness of its atrocity. "It is clear, (says Mr. Ward,) even in his historian's own opinion, that the great cause of his invasion was under false pretences to obtain the crown of England." He was not, says the same writer, "a deliverer, but a trickster. In this point James will bear a comparison. He might be arbitrary, he might be a tyrant" (he was, as we have shewn, neither), "but he was a man of honour. William landed with a lie in his mouth, and chiefly by means of that lie obtained the kingdom." Elsewhere he says, "Wilful and deliberate falsehood formed one of the bases of his declaration. The deceptions practised on the kings his uncles, one of them his father-in-law, and whose subjects he was seducing, while he denied all sinister views upon them, stamp him with a stain not a little resembling dishonour."

"The throne of England had been for years (says Mr. Ward) the object of William's ardent longings; for which he had for years been laying the ground, and for which for years he had sacrificed his character." The means used in the actual execution were as vile as those precedent machinations. For instance, the declaration imputing James's flight to "popish counsels was (says Mr. Ward) a falsehood; because it arose from the fears purposely instilled into him by Halifax and Godolphin, in league with the Prince though trusted by James." How much reason James had to fear from the secret machinations of his treacherous rival, and how little from the disaffection of his people, Mr. Ward has shown most clearly. On

James's return, after his first flight, he was received with enthusiasm, and was about to take the command of his army, which would soon have destroyed his enemies, when a foul plot was laid by William's emissaries for the assassination of the king; a peril from which he was preserved by Providence, through the means of a sudden and violent bleeding at the nose, which prevented his departure. The delay was fatal to his cause, but preserved his life. The dastard Churchill was in the conspiracy to assassinate him, and the fact of the plot is the best proof of the hold which James had upon the hearts of his people. The conspirators were sure that if he once showed himself at the head of his army, he would arouse the national sentiment of loyalty, and crush the conspiracy. Hence they took counsel to cut him off, and Marlborough was ready to stab him in his carriage. Mr. Ward shows the proofs of this.

It is the grossest of historical delusions to suppose that James left the kingdom voluntarily, or through fear of the people. He was wakened at the dead of night by two of his traitor subjects, emissaries of his assassin-enemy, and compelled to leave, under terror of murder. He found himself surrounded by traitors, who had already betrayed, and would not scruple to sacrifice his life. He was literally in their power, personally in their hands. Foreign troops had seized his palace, and he was a prisoner. He departed to prevent them from being his murderer. Sheffield says that the Prince had the support of the London rabble, and Mr. Ward had no doubt that the terrors both of his army and of the populace were employed on the occasion. "The fury of the rabble was regarded as a familiar agent of state policy to promote the objects or interests of the Prince. It was associated with the policy of William both in Holland and in England, by an odious byword well understood, "*De Witting*." An allusion to William's complicity in the horrible massacre of the brothers *De Witt*. Such were the means by which the king was driven from the country. "Attacked and betrayed in the midst of peace, and of declarations of duty; attacked by his invader nephew and son-in-law;

"Deserted in his utmost need
By those his former bounty fed;"

informed by his own minister that his life was threatened ;



without refuge, without power, what could he do but fly?" This is the language of Mr. Ward, a Protestant, and a Whig.

Even allowing that James was a tyrant, the Revolution could only be vindicated on the detestable maxim that the end justifies the means. But was the end attained? Admitting James to have been a tyrant, was it more than the exchange of one tyrant for another? If so, assuredly it was a change for the worse, since William's rule was infinitely more oppressive and sanguinary than any that had preceded it. We have already maintained that his predecessor was not a tyrant. We will now show that William was.

"Even Wildman, (says Mr. Ward), that rough commonwealth man, who objected to the declaration of the Prince of Orange as not containing the true grounds of the invasion, even he, in a declaration framed by himself to correct the other, did not count much upon the acts of tyranny in James. He even allowed the dispensing power; and fairly avowed that although it had of late been stretched too far, the stretching of a power which was in the crown, was not a just ground for war. He added, that the king had a right to bring any man to trial, that the bishops had one, and were acquitted and discharged, and that in all this there was nothing contrary to law." Even the Whig Bishop Burnet is forced to say that the king had done nothing to justify an insurrection. Even Lord John Russell is obliged, in his history of his traitor ancestor, Lord William, to say, that Charles at that time had done nothing to justify insurrection, and yet he had done more than James ever did, as, for instance, with regard to the charters. And Mr. Hallam, unable to discover in the acts of James any justification of his dethronement, is driven to rely upon the tyranny he might have committed had he not been dethroned. Mr. Ward likens this to a burglar killing the owner of the house he is robbing, on pretence of apprehension lest the owner should kill him. Yet many Catholics entertain the vulgar idea that James lost his crown through tyranny. He lost it rather because he would not sanction it: and would not surrender a large portion of his subjects to the vile machinations of that wicked oligarchy which had already sacrificed so much innocent blood to rivet their yoke upon the people, and were ready to commit any crime in order to preserve it.

It is to the last degree unfair to James to judge of his acts without regarding the circumstances in which he was placed, and the antecedents of his reign. He knew, as we have shown, that the same sinister policy which had brought about the rebellion, was pursued by most of those around him, and that there was scarcely a peer or commoner who was not engaged against him. The Monmouth insurrection was incited by the same party as had concocted the Ryehouse plot, and Mrs. Lisle, like Sydney, boasted of her adherence to "the good old cause," of Rebellion. As the trial of this lady, the widow of a regicide, and the harbourer of traitors taken in arms, has been made the main topic of accusation against Jeffreys and James, and is, we believe, the principal, if not the only instance relied on in support of the bill of indictment framed against the king, it is well to notice in passing, that she received men fresh from the field, and flying in arms from the forces of their sovereign; and that the facts were so flagrant, that all she could allege as any pretence of a plea was, that the traitors had not been themselves tried at the time she was arraigned; (a legal quibble, since they were fugitives from a field of battle, in which they had been fighting against their sovereign,) and the only other excuse that could be alleged for reversing her attainder after the Revolution was, that the verdict had been extorted by the menaces and violences and other illegal practices of the Judge; a pretence as false as the other was frivolous; for all that Jeffreys said to the jury when they asked, in the face of flagrant facts whether there was any evidence, was, that he was surprised at the question, that they indeed were judges of the evidence, but for his own part he thought the proof as plain as it could be, which it certainly was; and he would have betrayed his duty had he given any other answer than he did give. It is the answer continually given at this day. Those who affect to think this "menacing a jury," have never heard the late Chief Justice Jervis, or many other Chief Justices we could name, whose way of dealing with suitors or jurors, has been infinitely stronger than anything which could be fairly imputed to Jeffreys: and who rarely failed to do their best to influence juries in most cases they tried. It is really ridiculous to fasten on the mere manner of a judge, very often the result of a real zeal for justice, as any ground for serious imputation. With

regard to the conduct of Jeffreys on his "Bloody Assize," as it is called, in order to cast odium on him and James. It is unreasonable to throw on the Judge, who only tries prisoners arraigned before him, and passes the sentences imposed by law, an odium arising from the severities inflicted; and it is peculiarly inconsistent in the admirers of the Revolution, whose main charge against James is the dispensing with penal laws. With respect to imputations on the personal manner of Jeffreys, they are less important, as strictly personal to himself, and the only answer worth giving is that given by the candour of Lingard, that no reliance can be placed on the statement of those whose hatred he had earned,* and who qualified their revenge by heaping disgrace on his character. This is an observation of the utmost importance, and applies to James as well as to Jeffreys. It is indeed as regards the king that it is chiefly important. James was a dethroned king; and all the accounts we had of him prior to Dr. Lingard, were those of adherents to the Revolution. For the first century after that event, all the historical writers of this country, as is usually the case after a Revolution, did their best to blacken his character, and defame his memory. How mendacious they were may appear from a single specimen out of Burnet, in regard to the very case of Mrs. Lisle: he says that she was twice acquitted, and tried a third time; the former two trials being pure inventions of his own.

The truth is, as regards the Monmouth insurrection the ordinary course of law was followed, and there is no pretence for casting blame either on Jeffreys or James; while as regards James, he rejected no application for mercy which can be shown to have reached him, and he cordially acceded to some that did reach him. The Earl of Mulgrave afterwards declared that James never forgave Jeffreys for executing so many in the west, contrary to his express orders; but while this exonerates James, it can hardly be received as any credible evidence against Jeffreys, and is not easily reconcilable with the known course of law, which is for a judge to pass sentence, and leave the

* The words of Lingard are "deservedly earned by his cruelty;" we have shown that Jeffreys could not have acted otherwise than as he did, but any how, of his own acts *he* must bear the blame.

sentence to be executed, unless arrested by the hand of mercy upon an appeal to the royal clemency. And it must not be forgotten that this was not a case of constructive treason, but of actual leveying war against the sovereign, and of an insurrection with the declared purpose of dethroning the sovereign. We venture to say that no instance can be found, either in the reigns of James' predecessors or *successors*, of similar insurrections dealt with in any other way, as regards the judicial part of the transaction, nor so mercifully as regards the *royal* share in it. It is to be recollected that the habeas corpus act, passed in the reign of Charles, chiefly by the exertions of the infamous Shaftesbury, and with a view of bettering traitors like himself, so abridged the power of the crown to retain suspected persons in custody, as to render it the more difficult to show mercy to any who were taken in actual treason.

The only matter in which an accusation against James of attempting to interfere with legal rights can with any colour of pretence be relied upon, is that of Magdalen College. It is to be observed, however, as to that, that the Mastership was in the gift of the Crown, and that the king's first nominee was a Protestant. Next, let it be remarked, that the Fellows refusing him, wrote a letter to the king, requesting him to name another person, or allow another election, and this letter was intercepted treacherously by Sunderland, who after keeping it four days, returned for answer that the royal will must be obeyed, so that if the king was afterwards in the wrong, it was not his fault, but Sunderland's. But we doubt if the *College* were not in the wrong, in proceeding at once to a free election, and this was the opinion of the ecclesiastical commission. The Bishop of Winchester, however, admitted the Fellow chosen by the College, and the College afterwards refused the second nominee of the king, an unexceptional person, Dr. Parker. All that can be said is, that the proper authority in such matters, the ecclesiastical commission, decided in favour of the king. But now observe, the Bishop of Winchester was one of the five Protestant prelates who *published* their pretended "petition" to the king, on the subject of his declaration of indulgence to conscience. And as this is the great event relied upon by the admirers of the Revolution, let us look a little at it. The "petition" denounced the "declaration" as founded

on the dispensing power, which had been declared illegal by parliament. Now, in the first place, the declaration was similar to that issued by Charles. Next, it only declared the king's intention to suspend the execution of penal laws so as to relieve the subject from penalties for religion, and it only stated the king's *intention to secure* freedom of conscience, so that merit, and not oaths, should be the qualification for office. This might be by act of parliament, by which means Charles had in fact attempted to secure it. So that it is not true that the declaration was founded on the "dispensing power" in any other sense than as a temporary dispensation of penal laws and penalties for religion, contrary to Christianity and the common law, and pending the consideration of the subject by the legislature. A very different thing from a broad claim of right to dispense with all laws; with which even Dr. Lingard seems to have confounded it; for when he had stated that it was received with exultation by the Dissenters, he adds, that "they did not consider its legality, nor whether the prince, who thus suspended at his pleasure the execution of one description of laws, might not on subsequent occasions with equal right set aside the execution of others." It might be answered that there *would* be an "equal right" when there was *equal reason*, and that this could only be when the laws dispensed were contrary to the ancient constitution, the old religion, and the common law of the realm, contrary to Christianity, repugnant to natural justice, (which is prior to all law,) at variance with the conscience of the prince called upon to execute the law, and destructive of the rights and liberties of the free subjects of the realm. Nor was this all, for the law to be dispensed with was to be brought under the consideration of parliament, and had repeatedly been so, and the dispensation might fairly be considered temporary. Added to this, the judges had declared that the power existed, and it had undoubtedly been exercised by the king's predecessors. Even this is not all; for no lawyer ever pretended to doubt, not even (as we shall see) at or after the Revolution, that the power existed, and could be exercised in extraordinary cases, and for the safety and welfare of the realm. And who can really question that this case came within such a limitation? The laws in question had been only forced upon the nation by revolutions of the constitution, and partly as the result, and partly as the means of

Rebellion, and a profound constitutional lawyer might well dispute their having any legal force at all; but at all events, the judges having decided in favour of the king, it is monstrous to consider his conduct as unconstitutional.

But further, the petition of the bishops not only gratuitously meddled with this difficult question, but unconstitutionally represented it as determined against the crown, for they said that the "dispensing power had been declared illegal by parliament," which, if true, was immaterial, since it is not the province of the legislature to determine legal question, and the constitutional tribunal, the judges, had determined the question in favour of the *crown*.

The pretended "petition" was seditious and incendiary in its object, and this is proved by the fact that it was *printed and published* simultaneously with its presentation to the king. It was not a case of the exercise of the constitutional right of petition. It was an appeal to the passions of the people on a question of constitutional law, already determined by the constitutional tribunal. It was raising the no-popery cry against the crown, and the "petition" was only a pretence for sedition. The pretended "petition" was mischievous and insidious; its presentation was only for the purpose of *publication*, and practically the Protestant prelacy were seeking to take advantage of the occasion to arouse popular feeling against the sovereign, whom they had solemnly sworn to obey, and were secretly plotting to betray. The whole affair, on their parts, is one of the meanest incidents in history, an odious conspiracy of concealed traitors.

The *acquittal* of the Bishops only proves the lamentable extent to which the loyalty of the people had been corrupted, partly by bigotry, and partly by the base artifices of treason. For a quarter of a century the country had been subject to these sinister influences; how could it be otherwise than but that the national mind should be perverted by prejudice and debauched into disaffection? For years before the king had come to the throne there had been a conspiracy to dethrone him, and he was surrounded by traitors, of whom the prelates were the most detestable. When James asked the question whether the lords and bishops had invited William to come over, Halifax, Nottingham, Pembroke, Burlington, and others, declared, on *their honour*, that they were ignorant of any such invitation, although they had all corresponded with the prince,

and the two first were deeply engaged in his interests ; and the prelates made a similar demonstration, although the Bishop of London had subscribed a formal *written* invitation and all were conniving parties to it, so that they shrank from a written denial of it, and sought to evade it under wretched and shuffling pretences. Such were the men who, when William had landed, and the country was under terror of foreign military power, insulted their sovereign, by hypocritically demanding of him "a free Parliament." Well might James reply with emotion, "It is what I desire most passionately, but how can you have a free parliament now that a foreign prince, at the head of a foreign force, has it in his power to return one hundred members?" A "free parliament!" Miserable pretext of triumphant treason and successful treachery! These traitor lords and prelates no more desired a free parliament than did Simon de Montfort when he procured the retainers of the barons to be summoned to assist him under the disguise of "parliament" in overawing his sovereign, or when Pym, and Vane, and Marten made the Long Parliament the means of establishing their own tyranny upon the nation. No, what the English aristocracy had been long struggling for was, the means of governing England at *their will*, in the *name* of a sovereign, and under *pretence* of a parliament.

These were the men who framed the "Bill of Rights," which was the indictment against their betrayed and deposed sovereign, and their apology for their own treachery and treason. It is astonishing that any one should ever have deemed such a document of the least value in moral weight, or in historical credibility. It is literally the apology of traitors for their own treason.

Having by a foreign force treacherously invited over by themselves, driven him from the country, they proceed to draw up an elaborate vindication of their treachery. It is obvious that they had the strongest inducement to exaggerate if not to fabricate charges against their absent sovereign, and that it was their interest to paint him in the blackest colours. Every shade they added to the blackness of his character, was a shade taken from the dark hue of their own black treason. And never was a document drawn up under stronger temptations to calumny. It is in fact a specimen of the most dangerous and insidious species of calumny. It is an accumulation of charges

scattered over some years in space of time ; separately, either so trivial as to have escaped notice, or so general as to be difficult of refutation ; and even where there was any particle of foundation in literal fact, or semblance of law, the case being void of any substantial reality, and looking far more serious on paper than it had ever done in fact, the whole being grouped together with great art and solemnity of tone, so as to impose upon the people, who probably knew or understood very little about it, but naturally thought, seeing such a formal and formidable document put forward by parliament, that there must be *something* in it. But really when dissected, and dispassionately investigated, there is *nothing* in it. For the most part there is an array of charges really *ludicrously* trivial, when considered as excuses for deposing a sovereign, and as hypocritical as the pretence of his *abdication* ! an expulsion by a foreign force, which entered his capital, and seized his palace, and would have seized upon his person had he not provided for its safety in the only way in which a betrayed and deserted sovereign could secure it—by flight. This, so far from being an excuse for the treason, *was* the treason. To force a rightful sovereign, by terror of a foreign force, to fly from his capital to protect his person, *is* treason. And we repeat, the Bill of Rights was the apology for it, and should be regarded as such. Let us look at it clause by clause.

It recited that the king had assumed a power of dispensing with and suspending laws, without consent of parliament, as to which we have already said enough. It was not true that he had claimed this power save under exceptional circumstances, and the judges of the realm had affirmed it. Nay, more, the Bill of Rights did not disaffirm it. It only declared against the power, “as it had been assumed and exercised of late ;” a subterfuge, exactly resembling that by which the framers of the articles denounced “the *Romish* doctrine of indulgence,” &c., leaving it undetermined what such doctrine was.

Next, “it was alleged that the king had committed and prosecuted certain prelates because they had petitioned to be excused from concurring with the said assumed power,” which was false, because, as we have seen, they were prosecuted for the seditious *publication* of an insidious appeal to popular prejudice against the crown, and in contravention of judicial decision ; an attempt, in fact to raise the

fatal "no-popery" cry. Moreover, the bishops had been *legally* prosecuted and acquitted.

Thirdly, it was alleged that the king had "erected a court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes." This is a contemptible charge, for James had actually erected the commission to avoid the objections which might have existed to his exercising, being a Catholic, the power of head of the Protestant Church. And he had only imitated his brother, after all.

Fourth, it was alleged that he had raised money for other times and in other manner than had been granted by parliament; a miserable ripping up of a trifling question which had arisen on his accession, about some duties which had legally expired on the death of Charles, and which James had only continued to raise until the meeting of parliament. It may here be mentioned that the power of dispensing with laws on sudden emergencies, or of directing the disregard of laws for extraordinary or temporary reasons, is constantly exercised by the crown, and is always legalized, as a matter of course, by bills of indemnity.

Fifth, the charge was, that the king had kept up a standing army in time of peace without the consent of parliament. We have already alluded to this as rendered necessary by the Monmouth rebellion, the spirit of insubordination, and the restraint imposed on the crown by the Habeas Corpus Act. But the hypocrisy of this charge can be better appreciated when it is reflected, that the men who framed it became the Ministers of William, who, all through his reign, kept up a standing army composed chiefly of *foreign* forces, in defiance of the repeated remonstrances of parliament; and that, at the revolution, the standing army was made perpetual.

Sixth, the king was charged with violating the freedom of elections:—of which there is not any proof to be found in the history of the reign; and even if there were, what a wretched reason was this for deposing a sovereign; and considering the system of corruption which was established at the Revolution, what a nauseous hypocrisy there was in the charge!

The authors of the revolution were really men ready to aid and abet any tyranny which would suit their own purposes: and allow them pleasure and power: and cared nothing either for religion or liberty. That the real char-

acter of the revolution was the conspiracy of an oligarchy for the establishment of their own power through a change of government, to be carried by means of a no-popery cry, is proved by Mr. Fox, while doing his utmost to prove the reverse. He laboured to make out that the object of the king was *not* the establishment of popery, but of arbitrary power; and he says, "that this was his design, is evident from the zeal with which he was served in it by ministers who were never suspected of any leaning towards popery, and not one of whom (except the traitor Sunderland) could ever be brought to the measures that were afterwards taken in favour of that religion." That is to say, the very ministers of James who, if not actually implicated in, were afterwards concerned in the conspiracy to dethrone him under pretence of zeal for liberty—were ready to abet him in any extent of tyranny, so that they might persecute popery. "The only views in which the king's views (says Mr. Fox) were in any degree thwarted, was the reversal of Lord Stafford's attainder, which was lost in the commons:" "a strong proof," he adds, "that the popish plot was still the subject upon which the opposers of the court had most credit with the public." The only way of accounting for this, he goes on to say, is, "that the Church party had *such an antipathy to popery*, as indeed to every sect whose tenets differed from their own, that *they deemed everything lawful against its professors*." Mr. Fox further states, that in the bill imposing new penalties on such as should attempt to bring the king or his government into hatred or contempt, there was a special proviso in *favour of maintaining the Church of England against popery*: a most significant exception, under which it was to be lawful to bring the king and his government into contempt and hatred, for the purpose of maintaining the Church of England against popery. The bishops afterwards took advantage of this, and published a seditious libel tending to bring the king and his government into hatred and contempt under pretence of "maintaining the Church of England." The temper and spirit of the upper classes, and particularly of the legislature, is shown in many ways. Thus even in a bill for "tonnage and poundage,"—the commons introduced a complaint about "security for their religion," which meant leave to persecute the professors of *any other* religion; for no "security" was wanted for the free exercise of theirs.

By security for their religion, it is clear they meant its *domination*. In a word, by religious liberty, they meant religious tyranny. "Thus," says Mr. Fox, "as long as James contented himself with absolute power in civil matters, and did not make use of his authority against the Church, everything went smooth and easy." "The truth is, that the king, in asserting his unlimited powers, rather fell in with the humour of the prevailing party than offered any violence to it. Absolute power in civil matters, formed a most essential part of the Tory creed." We protest that James did *not* "make use of his authority against the Established Church" otherwise than by trying to cripple its power of persecution; and that he did not assert unlimited power, but only claimed prerogatives the law allowed.

But at all events, these extracts from Mr. Fox suffice to show, that dislike of arbitrary power was not the real cause of the persecution: but a dread of the spread of Catholicism. It was not zeal for religion, but lust of persecution; not love of liberty, but hatred of popery, which inspired the leaders in the revolution; what they called "arbitrary power" in the crown, was simply a resistance to *their* arbitrary power. Not any tyranny of his, but theirs, was the real ground of contention.

They found that under a Catholic sovereign the Catholic religion would have, in some degree, fair play; and they foresaw that the result would be the restoration of England to Catholic unity. To understand their deadly hatred to the Church, we must never forget their "grievous and sanguinary prosecution" of the horrible "plot:" nor ever fail to remember that the same men who forged that abominable plot, were concerned in the conspiracy of the revolution. The same men worked for the same end. They knew the Catholic church was a bulwark against their corrupting and enslaving influences; and that, under a Catholic king, the church would have so far fair play as to be able to dissipate the delusions of heresy; and hence, the same spirit which had prompted the long struggle for the exclusion of James, now led to the conspiracy for his deposition; and the same deadly enmity to the Catholic church which had projected the accursed plot, now dethroned and proscribed a Catholic king.

There is a clause in the Bill of Rights which declares

that the subjects are absolved from their allegiance, and that the crown shall pass to the next heir if the possessor of it shall *hold communion* with the Church of Rome, or marry a Papist. This marks the *animus* of the revolutionary leaders. It is, indeed, absurd and impracticable. It seem (says Mr. Ward) a distinct description; yet what is "communion with the Church of Rome? and who is the proper judge? and what is the jurisdiction that is to take cognizance of and decide when the case has happened? If this be not pointed out, the clause is nugatory: *though it may give rise to bitter commotions.*" "Suppose" (says Mr. Ward) "that the Sovereign does not disclose or confess his communion with the Church of Rome." And it may be recollected that, not long ago, a Mr. Perceval, son of the late minister of that name, publicly, in the papers, boasted, that if the sovereign should become papist, she would forfeit the throne. One hardly knows which most to appreciate in such an ebullition of bigotry; the decency, the loyalty, or the charity. But it is plain that the direct result of such a bigotted piece of proscription is great peril of hypocrisy, and a detestable tyranny upon conscience.

Again, as to marriage with a Roman Catholic, it is a curious circumstance that, as George IV. had undoubtedly married a Catholic, Mrs. Fitzherbert, he had, according to the bill of rights, *forfeited the throne*. And such a case may easily occur again. What disputes it might occasion as to the succession! Again, Mr. Ward says, "suppose the sovereign marry a concealed papist, whom he may have thought a Protestant when he married her, or who may have changed her religion after marriage? Would that forfeit the crown? Or if it would, can *any body that pleases* say the case has happened? and may every subject feel absolved from his allegiance and take a vow to enforce the bill of rights without a *solemn adjudication, somewhere, of the fact?*" Then he proceeds to press most troublesome practical questions as to the jurisdiction. If it is in parliament, must there not be a trial of the fact? "Must there not be two trials—one in the Lords and one in the Commons? And *may they not pronounce differently?* At any rate, must not the sovereign be allowed to defend himself? May he not be wrongfully accused? and thus the government is interrupted until the whole ends in *civil war.*" Such the absurdity of those boasted

securities which bigotry boasts it has provided for the Protestantism of the sovereign of these realms! Absurd however, and impracticable as they are, they show the real object of the revolution; which was the exclusion of all Catholic sovereigns from the throne of these realms; for no other reason than that a Catholic sovereign would not submit to the persecution and proscription of the Catholic church. This had been one of the earliest causes of quarrel even with the first Charles. It was the great subject of contention all through his son's long reign, which was one long struggle for the exclusion of a Catholic sovereign or his successor. The conspiracy for the purpose was concocted fourteen years before he ascended the throne. How idle it is to overlook these antecedents, and affect to find the causes for his deposition in the events of his own short reign. The treason was designed many years before his accession, and by the men who had for twenty years sought to exclude him from the throne because he was known to be a papist, and had conspired to dethrone his predecessor because he was *suspected* to be one. The real truth is, that James lost his throne because he was a Catholic, and hence, the clause in the bill of rights excluding any Catholic sovereign from the throne of England.

But then, the Bill of Rights went on thus, "that besides these, the personal acts of the late king," (and for which alone, we should think he could be responsible; so that these are all the reasons, wretched as they are, which his enemies could give for his deposition) "partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons had been of late years," (James had scarcely reigned *four*) "returned on juries," (as if any one could help the jurors being partial! and above all, as if the *King* could help it! and as to the unqualified persons, the next article explains it) "and jurors, not freeholders, had been admitted to serve on trials of persons for high treason," that is, for example, leaseholders or copyholders, perhaps more wealthy men; for the jurors need only have had freeholds of forty shilling a year! Was there ever such a puerile charge even against a *beadle*? How contemptible as a reason for deposing a king! "And excessive fines had been imposed." As to this, the chief instance that was alluded to, was, that of Hampden, a *country gentleman of property*, convicted clearly of treason; he had been concerned in the Rye-house Plot,

and had conspired against James, so that his life was twice forfeited, and his sentence was mercifully commuted to a fine of £30,000. Surely to a man of large landed estate no excessive unreasonable commutation for an ignominious execution! But what shall we say of the hypocrisy of those who framed this article against James, when we remind the reader that Danby, in the reign of Charles, when he fell under the ban of the very no-popery faction who were now triumphant, and who trumped up this charge against James of "excessive fines," had inflicted upon him a fine of £30,000, for no other offence than making a treaty they had not liked! And what shall we say of the ignorance or insincerity of those who repeat these ridiculous charges against James, in an age in which we have seen verdicts for £30,000 against noblemen or gentlemen, as compensation for a mere private injury?

Well, these were the charges against James, and these were all the excuses that could be urged for his deposition,—excuses more wretched surely never could have been invented; and it is impossible for any candid man to avoid feeling, that the real reason for his deposition was, that he was a *Catholic* king, and too honest for a corrupt and degraded aristocracy, who found that they could not have their own way with him, and desired and had resolved to supplant him and substitute a foreign prince, whom they hoped to make more servile and supple to their will. The real pith of "the bill of rights" is the resolution at the end; "that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England and Ireland." "Be and be declared;" a miserable sophistical form of expression designed to disguise that which was in substance an *election*. But the disguise is too shallow, and the Revolution was really, not merely the substitution of a dynasty, but the subversion of a constitution and the triumph of an oligarchy. The struggle was as it had been all along—under the Plantagenets or the Stuarts it was the same—whether the king should not merely reign but govern, or whether the aristocracy should govern in the name of the king:—he "reigning," but only ruling under the control of ministers responsible not to him, but to a parliament composed of the creatures of the aristocracy. This was the real question all along—it was now determined, and the result was the triumph of oligarchy.

Halifax and Danby, Nottingham and Shrewsbury, in
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fact the whole band of aristocratic conspirators, now grasped power, and their whole study was how to hold it and to wield it; Danby, now created Marquis of Carmarthen, realized the reward of all his foreseeing machinations, and his old enemy, Montague, now Earl of Halifax, reaped the fruit of his prudent reconciliation. Fourteen years ago Danby had provided for the present conjuncture by his traitorous correspondence with William; ten years ago Halifax had been reconciled with him in order to enter into the same conspiracy, and now they were both in office together. Ere long, Halifax was disposed of by a threat of impeachment. Next, Carmarthen was menaced by the same fatal weapon of the tyranny of an oligarchy. And thus one oligarchical faction after another usurped power; their sole aim was to supplant each other, and so disgusted was the new sovereign with their sordid intrigues and selfish machinations that he repeatedly threatened to resign his crown and to retire to Holland. Their sole concern was either the acquisition of power, or if they attended to anything else, it was only to revenge themselves, as far as they could for the legal penalties of treason suffered in the previous reigns, or to rescue their infamous accomplices from the just punishments to which they had been sentenced. Thus Titus Oates was released and pensioned. Thus also, the attainder of Sydney and Russell were on the most frivolous pretences, reversed: and the pretended sticklers for liberty and conscience, strove to wreak their rancour on Jeffreys, even in his grave, by seeking to confiscate his estates, in the hands of his peers! Wright, the other Chief Justice, was arraigned along with other judges, for having acted in due course of law: and thus the independence of the Bench was directly assailed, and the judges overawed. A more striking instance of this was the case of the Duke of Devonshire, who had been fined by the Court of Queen's Bench £30,000 for assaulting an officer in the king's Presence Chamber. The sentence was reversed, merely on the ground that the fine was excessive, and that the duke was a peer of parliament! As to the fine, the amount of a fine must of course depend upon the fortune of the offender, and the nature of the offence. There could not be a wealthier peer, and there could not be, short of treason or felony, a heavier offence, which, at common law, was punishable by striking off the hand. As to the pretence of privilege of parliament,

assuming it to have been valid, it was for parliament to have enforced it *at the time*, and it is more than questionable whether privilege of parliament extended to such an offence against the personal dignity of the sovereign; but, assuming that it did, and that the judgment of the court in overruling the plea was erroneous, it ought to have been *reversed in error*. Therefore, in all those cases in which the Whig oligarchy showed any concern as to the acts of the preceding reign, their interposition was in violation of those very legal or constitutional rights which they pretended to advocate. The reversals of these judgments were monstrous violations of law.

Meanwhile, contrast their sensitiveness as to anything that concerned themselves with their insensibility and indifference to all that concerned the people. In the very matter on which the Government of James had been most assailed, his successor was allowed to act as he pleased. For example, William not only refused (as long as it was convenient to his policy) to enforce the penal laws against the "papists," but when he passed his Toleration act,—although they were not included in it, they enjoyed the benefit of it. In other words, the Protestant king was permitted to begin his reign by dispensing as he pleased with penal laws, the dispensation with which had been the main article of accusation against his predecessor! In the next place William was allowed to erect an ecclesiastical commission, the creation of which had been another article of impeachment against James. In the third place he retained a standing army all through his reign, in a great degree composed of foreigners, in disregard of repeated remonstrances from parliament,—remonstrances made only for the sake of consistency, and not earnestly persisted in except as regards *foreign* troops, a mere concession to national prejudice. And we need hardly remind our readers of the vast increase of taxation, and the rise of a national debt, caused by William's Continental wars, and of that system of parliamentary corruption which began now to be organized.

But, to come to matters more serious: where, in the whole reign of James could anything be found to compare with that dreadful deed of horror, the Massacre of Glencoe? or the *torture* of prisoners in Scotland? or the numerous atrocious legal murders in England? Take the case of the sailors seized on board vessels bearing commissions

from Louis and James. Even the king's advocate declared that it was monstrous to call them either traitors or pirates. A more obsequious advocate was substituted, and the unfortunate men were convicted and executed! Take again the case of Ashton, who was found to have in his possession two letters *supposed* to be written to James II., under a fictitious name, and amounting only to an invitation to him to come over and recover his kingdom. The warrant for Ashton's seizure was issued by *Caermarthen*, that very minister who, when Earl of Danby, and the sworn servant of James's brother, had secretly corresponded with William, with a view to his seizure of the crown! The mere possession of the letters by Ashton was made the ground of an indictment for "compassing the death" of William! and the whole proof rested on the similitude of *hands*, which, until the late act was *not legal evidence* at all. The Whigs reversed Sydney's attainder on the ground that the whole proof was possession of letters, and yet Ashton, in defiance of the law of treason, (which required two witnesses to every fact,) was placed on his trial. Smollett says that "he was *brow-beaten by the judge*, and convicted by the jury, merely because he had the papers in his custody, and he suffered as a traitor." So, exactly half a century ago a priest, was convicted and executed at Maidstone as a traitor, merely for having a treasonable letter in the pocket of his coat, where it might have been, and probably was, placed by a government spy. Smollett states that the nonjurors openly affirmed that "Ashton's real offence was having among his baggage an amount of such evidence as would be convincing to all the world concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, who had been represented by James's enemies as suppositious."

But, says Smollett, "no circumstance reflected more disgrace on this reign than the fate of Anderton, the supposed printer of some tracts against the government. He was brought to trial for high treason, and made a vigorous defence, in spite of the insults and discouragements he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life, until they were reviled and reprimanded by Judge Treby, then they found him guilty. In vain recourse was had to the queen's mercy: he suffered death at Tyburn." This was under

the ministry of the men who had conspired to depose a Catholic king, under the pretence that he exercised arbitrary power, and had reversed judgments upon the pretext that the verdicts of juries had been obtained by menaces of the judges!

But these, so far from being the worst, were the least of the horrors and atrocities perpetrated under the Whig aristocracy. Look at the case of the Catholic Gentlemen of Lancashire, whom it was attempted to entrap by "the testimony" (says Smollett) "of infamous emissaries who received but too much countenance from the government. Blank warrants were issued and filled up occasionally with such names as the informers suggested." "These were delivered to Aaron Smith, solicitor to the treasury, who, with messengers accompanied by the informers, and a party of Dutch guards, broke open houses, seized papers, and apprehended persons at their pleasure, and committed many acts of violence and oppression. Some persons were taken and imprisoned; but as this prosecution seemed calculated (continues Smollett) "to revive the horrors of a state conspiracy, and the witnesses were persons of abandoned characters; the friends of those who were persecuted found no great difficulty in rendering the scheme odious to the nation." We defy the assailants of James to find, in his whole reign anything so atrocious as this! Surely it must, under the circumstances of William's accession to the throne, have been indecent and revolting to hang men for mere correspondence with their hereditary sovereign! Hence the ministers sought to procure witnesses to a plot for assassination; and not simply to sustain the legal charge of treason. And the complexion and character of the case on *that* view remarkably remind one of the Titus Oates Plot, and the Gunpowder Plot, and its pretended discovery by its real author, Cecil. On a certain day one Fisher informs the Earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. Soon after, however, (we quote the very words of Smollett—we prefer the version of a Protestant) he returned with a circumstantial detail of all the particulars. Could anything be more suspicious? If his testimony were *genuine*, as he at first affected to know the conspirators, he must have been in a position to disclose all, had he pleased; and the government had the power of detaining him if they had pleased. But he was released and sent away; was it

to resume the office of an informer or the work of a fabricator? In all probability he helped to construct the story of a conspiracy he affected to betray. And it is impossible to resist the suspicion of collusion between him and the government. Any how, it was on the testimony of such miscreants, so suspiciously obtained, that gentlemen of character were arrested and judicially assassinated. Again we say that we defy any admirer of the Revolution to find, in the whole history of James's reign, any instance of atrocity such as this; the only parallel to which is to be found in the Protestant Plot of Titus Oates. And it was only part of a system; for it appeared from a pamphlet published that there were a great number of flagrant instances in which the court had countenanced the vilest corruption, perfidy, and oppression. The historian adds, that when the prisoners were brought to trial the populace would have put the witnesses to death had they not been prevented by the friends of the accused. Now mark, the House of Commons under the influence of oligarchy, formally approved of this infamous plot, and passed resolutions of approbation. Yet when the accused prosecuted the witnesses for perjury, they were convicted. So that no reasonable man could have doubted that there had been a foul plot to take away innocent lives. There is much reason to suspect that the cases of Sir John Friend and Sir John Fenwick were instances of the same kind; because, though no doubt there had been correspondence with James about his restoration, there was no credible evidence of a conspiracy for William's assassination, which was made the gravamen of the charge against those unfortunate gentlemen and their associates, for the obvious reason that in the absence of such a conspiracy it would, as already observed, have been indecent to convict men of treason for corresponding with their rightful hereditary sovereign. Thus Fenwick and Friend were condemned and executed for a plot of assassination; in the absence of any credible evidence, and in the face of a vast amount of evidence in their defence. "Friend owned that he had been with some of the conspirators, (or the men who combined to restore James), but he heard nothing of raising men or any design against the government. He urged also that a consultation to levy war was not treason, and that if it was, his being at a treasonable consult could amount to no more than suspicion of treason." Chief Jus-

tice Holt, however ruled that if the conspiracy were to depose the king, the conspiracy was treason, although no war was actually levied." Here we quote Smollett again, who adds, with quiet sarcasm, "The same inference might have been drawn against the authors and instruments of the revolution." The judge's explanation, however, influenced the jury, who, after some deliberation, found the prisoner guilty." "Next day (continues Smollet) Sir W. Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the testimony of his own groom, (doubtlessly bribed to betray, or rather to murder his master), and of a notorious informer, was convicted, of having been concerned, not only in the invasion, but also in the design against the king's life." "The evidence," says the historian, "was scanty, but the judge acted as counsel for the crown, and the jury decided by the hints they received from the bench. He and Sir John Friend underwent the sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn, both of them declaring with their dying breath that they knew nothing of any plot of assassination of which there was no credible evidence, while the previous character of the unfortunate gentlemen was utterly against it. A host of inferior persons suffered the same fate; all of them protesting their innocence, and one of them leaving a paper which the Government durst not venture to permit to be published, and carefully suppressed. At the trial of one of the accused persons, a witness swore that the prisoner was present at a certain consultation at a tavern, of which the landlord and two waiters swore positively that he was *not* present. "And yet," we again cite Smollett, "the Solicitor General, Hawles, and the Chief Justice, Treby, treated him with great severity in the prosecution and charge to the jury, by whom he was capitally convicted." But so monstrous was the verdict, that the Government did not venture to execute the sentence. And Smollett says, "that in prosecuting the conspirators the court had encouraged informers, that the judges had strained the law, wrested circumstances, and even deviated from their functions, to convict the prisoners; in a word, that the administration had used the same arbitrary and unfair practices against these unhappy people, which they themselves had in the late reigns numbered among the grievances of the people."

The case of Sir John Fenwick was even worse. He

was one of the rare instances of loyalty and fidelity in that age of treachery, and had honourably refused to connive at the base conspiracy to betray his lawful sovereign. For this he was marked as a victim. His lady had induced one of the two witnesses required in cases of treason to abscond, and the House of Commons, rather than the oligarchy should be robbed of their prey, resorted to the usual refuge of aristocratical tyranny, a bill of attainder. Nor was this all, for even this they carried by a base trick; having suddenly entrapped the prisoner into making his defence at their bar at a moment when he was unprepared. They pursued him with a singular rancour, because he had it in his power to convict several of the leaders of the oligarchy, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and others, of having carried on a secret correspondence with James. They scrupled not in the pursuit of their object to violate the rules of law, not less than the dictates of dignity or decency. They convicted him in defiance of the plainest principles of evidence. They admitted as evidence against him, the deposition of an absent witness, the very one who in a former trial (already alluded to) had been clearly convicted of perjury on the testimony of three persons; and although the illustrious lawyers, Sir J. Power and Sir Bartholomew Shower, declared that a deposition taken when the party affected was not present could not be admitted in a case of five shillings value; and even such staunch adherents of the Revolution as Sir E. Seymour and Sir R. Temple protested against it. Nor was this all. The conviction of another party was given in evidence against the prisoner! an outrage upon the very idea of a trial and making it a mere mockery. In this way the bill of attainder was carried; the adherents of the Government declaring that the House could act both as judges and as jurors; and were bound by no rules of law at all. Most truly, though vainly, was it urged that this was clearly contrary to justice, and that it was a strange trial, in which the person accused had a chance to be hanged although none to be saved, (as the failure of the bill would have been no acquittal), and that no one ever heard of jurymen who were not upon oath, nor of judges who had no power to examine witnesses upon oath! To which it may be added, that the House of Commons actually received the *unsworn* evidence of a witness, whose *sworn* evidence in a former case had been proved to be false!

With such monstrous violations of all law, justice, and humanity, the oligarchy pursued their victim to the scaffold. Well might Smollett say that, "the Whigs glutted their vengeance with the sacrifice of Fenwick;" and who can be surprised that the Jacobites deemed William's death by a fall from a horse which had belonged to Sir John, a retribution of Divine Providence for his judicial murder; or that they should have long afterwards toasted at their festive parties as "the little gentleman in velvet," the mole who had raised the little hillock on which the horse stumbled.

Amidst all these atrocities the oligarchy had risen in rank, and thriven in wealth. Caernarthen was made Duke of Leeds; the house of Herbert gained a peerage, and many of the families now foremost in the aristocracy acquired their present titles. Thus it was, for example, with the Marquisate of Normanby and the Dukedoms of Bedford and of Devonshire. At the same time the aristocracy were so remarkable for corruption as to show that their ambition was of the most vulgar kind. Thus the Duke of Leeds, who, as Lord Danby was so sound a Protestant, and such a constant opponent of Popery, was convicted of the most disgraceful peculation, which however was so common, extending even to the speaker of the House of Commons, that the discovery does not seem to have destroyed his character, and he recovered his position before the end of the reign of William and retained it during the greater part of his successor's. At the close of William's reign, Smollett describes him as one of the most popular leaders of his party; and as going into opposition with others of the like faction because not attended to in the last ministerial arrangements. These arrangements were all that the oligarchy cared about.

Smollett thus truly sums up the character of William's reign—"He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army; which now seems to be interwoven with our constitution. He scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds, and entailed upon the nation a growing debt and a system of politics fraught with misery, despair, and destruction." How far this description is correct, we have given our readers some means of judging.

Under Anne we find the same oligarchical sway, the same spirit of selfish faction, and the same thirst for rank and wealth. More modern titles come into the peerage, such as Granville and Gower, the latter the ancestor of the House of Stafford, represented by the Duke of Sutherland. And more disclosures of official corruption occur. Thus, Danby's old enemy, Montague, earl of Halifax, is accused of breach of trust, as auditor of the exchequer. The names of Churchill, (Marlborough,) Nottingham, Godolphin, and others prominent in the reign of James are still as prominent in that of Anne. It is still the rule of the revolutionary oligarchy. But the Duke of Leeds seems to have outlived them all. We have drawn attention to the case of Danby partly because it embraces the whole history of the Revolution from its earliest machinations to its latest consummation. And certainly his was a most remarkable career, and is without parallel in political history. Born in the reign of Charles I. he lived almost to the reign of George I. He had lived under the Commonwealth and under five sovereigns. He could recollect the Rebellion, the Restoration, and the Revolution. His long life was a link between the age of Hampden and the age of Halifax. It embraced the ascendancy of Cromwell, and the rising influence of Walpole. He had been the earliest intriguer for the Revolution, which was the triumph of an oligarchy, and he died just as Walpole was prepared to consolidate it by nearly half a century of supremacy, and fix its system in the constitution. A system of chicanery, of corruption, and of tyranny, under which people and prince were alike enslaved to the will of the aristocracy. The career of Danby embraces the history of this conspiracy of an oligarchy, and his character illustrates its policy—crafty, unscrupulous and treacherous.

The hypocrisy and iniquity of the actors in the Revolution are so gross and glaring that it seems incredible how the rule could have been endured at all; and the mystery is only explained by the two great facts equally patent—the national immorality, and a standing army. The Bishop of Worcester, who had helped to frame the “Bill of Rights,” charging his sovereign with interference at elections, was himself convicted of the most flagrant interference in a county election. Compton, Bishop of London, who had signed the invitation to William, was wont to

declaim in the reign of Anne, when the Tories were getting the ascendant) against the doctrine of *resistance*. And all the great revolutionary leaders concurred in condemning Sacheverel for preaching that passive obedience had been violated at the Revolution. Halifax, not long after he was convicted of peculation in his office, and who had been one of those who brought over William to protect the Protestant Church, now declared that the Church of England had no more been in peril under James than under Charles. Above all, the Duke of Leeds, the man who had been convicted of the grossest corruption, was heard, 'at the close of his career, supporting a bill brought in by Bolingbroke to protect the Church of England, by preventing occasional conformity. Thus, the very men who brought about the revolution under pretence of liberty, were now eager to establish religious tyranny. Already, towards the end of the reign of William, they had passed severe penal laws against the Catholics: and now they desired to pass a law to strain the atrocious principle of the Test Act, to its strictest possible extent of proscription. Even Marlborough and Godolphin, supported the measure, which formed the main topic of party controversy, during the reign of Anne. Merely for party purposes, on either side, was the question mooted. Its effect would be to cripple the power of the Whigs, whose strength lay in the corporations where their chief supporters were dissenters. The effect of the bill it was hoped, would be to disfranchise the dissenters, and thus, for the sake of faction, fresh shackles were to be imposed on conscience; and new fetters forged in the name of religion, and all by the leaders of the revolution, and the pretended champions of freedom! Not much more did it add to the infamy of their hypocrisy, that it was coupled with barefaced practical apostasy, and Godolphin became a Tory, or Danby a Whig, just as it suited the party purposes of the day. So that truly, it is absurd to suppose that these men had any other motive, except personal ambition and political power. "The History of England," says Smollett, "was disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions which, in their turn, engrossed the administrative and legislative powers." He adds, that "one can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different, could be taken on the same subject with any shadow of reason and decorum." It was the old

struggle for power; the struggle of an aristocracy to substitute their tyranny for that of the crown. The contentions of their factions for office, more than once almost drove William in disgust from the throne; and nearly drove Anne to distraction. In fact, there can be no doubt they shortened her life. And with her life, and the lives of the leading actors in the revolution, few of whom survived her, may be said to close the history of what we maintain was "the conspiracy of an oligarchy." A conspiracy, carried out, by practising on popular bigotry;—to dethrone a Catholic dynasty, because it was found impossible to subject it to the sway of a corrupt and unscrupulous oligarchy who had destroyed the Church, and now sought to shackle the crown and enslave the people.

ART. III.—*Census of Ireland for the year 1851.* Part V. Tables of Deaths, 2 vols. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Dublin: Alexander Thom and Sons, 1856.

WE have rarely found a book of so uninviting a title to offer such an amount of attractive matter to the general reader, as is contained in the two volumes of the last Census Report, embodying the statistics of Epidemic Disease in Ireland from the earliest period. The name of Dr. Wilde, attached to the Report, is undoubtedly a guarantee for laborious research, as well as for the conscientious and skilful application of professional learning; but we confess to some surprise at the interest with which he has been enabled to clothe an accumulation of facts and figures, not in themselves very much more interesting than a table of logarithms or tides. It is true, indeed, that where a subject admits of the graces of style, few men have them more entirely at command than Dr. Wilde, as all who have read "the Boyne and the Blackwater," are ready to testify: yet we did open this book with some degree of repulsion for the expected dryness of the matter, not at all calculating upon the possibility of its being presented in a readable form. It is not, however, to be supposed

that the Report is anywhere deficient in businesslike precision, or that the statistics of the last ten years, about which it is more immediately conversant, have not been properly compiled and tabulated. On the contrary, the returns are as full and as accurate as can be desired; but it is needless to say that our remarks are not intended to apply to the tables, however great may be the importance of these last in a social and economical point of view. What appeared to us most striking and most interesting in Dr. Wilde's valuable labours, is the light they borrow from and reflect upon the ancient history of Ireland. To us, there has always been something repelling in Bardic annals, Runic rhymes, and the pre-authentic periods of tradition generally, when sought to be imposed upon us for more than they are worth, in one word, for positive history. It is not to say with faint interest, but with positive distaste, that we have in our day been obliged to decompose the legendary or heroic age of Greece into pretended history, to fix the period of Jupiter's accession to the throne of Crete, or to find the prototypes of Lethe and Cocytus in existing rivers. On the other hand, we found it infinitely fatiguing to be taught by Niebhur, that Livy's decades were a species of allegory almost throughout, and that his facts were as little genuine as his speeches. We do not, of course, presume to say that speculations of this kind are all unprofitable, or that those who indulge in them do not deserve well of letters. They may occasionally bring out a truth, could we only know it to be such, but on the whole we cannot help regarding their theories as little better than an exercise of ingenuity, not suited to every constitution of mind. This, however, is a matter of taste merely, and although our own might lead us to discountenance the change of fable into history, or of history into fable according to a pre-arranged system, we are not sorry to find obscure passages even of legendary narrative illustrated by light drawn from themselves, and the truth of occurrences previously doubtful rendered tolerably certain, or at least highly probable.

Such, we believe, has been to some extent, the result of Dr. Wilde's investigations. He has looked, it would seem, into every accessible Irish MS. for the slightest mention of disease. He has registered in the volumes before us, each discovery whatever be its worth, and has carried his researches onward from the loose and indistinct notices of

disease in remote antiquity, to the accurate and voluminous learning of the present day. There is, of course, considerable difficulty at the outset, in referring isolated cases of disease not minutely described by the early annalist to known and existing types; but by carefully noticing the accompanying circumstances, such as atmospheric changes, "cosmical phenomena," and anything resembling a cause or a consequence of disease recorded in these old writings; and also by observing the recurrence of those appearances as well as that of the attendant diseases in cycles of more or less regularity; and further, by comparing the periods at which new diseases are first mentioned by Irish writers, with the period when they first appeared elsewhere; Dr. Wilde has been able to stamp with very considerable authenticity, the statements of the earliest and least accurate writers, when they have reference to the subject of disease. In this way it would appear to us, that those who read with suspicion, most of the facts recorded of the pre-Christian, and many of those in the pre-English period of our history, may find reason after a perusal of Dr. Wilde's book, to attach some probability to the statements of the primitive annalists upon whom that gentleman has drawn, even when connected with other subjects than that of his inquiry. People may feel inclined to be sceptical about Con of the hundred fights, or Niall of the nine hostages. They may not have, or care to have, very distinct ideas about the Fírbolgs or Tuatha De Danaans, but when they find an accurate description of small-pox, or typhus, or murrain, accompanied by a weather table of the year 400, there is reason to believe that the chronicler who stated these particulars with so much precision is to a certain extent faithful when he writes nothing very incredible about kings or Tanists; and there can be no question at all that his general description of the social and political state of the country is quite as correct as his notice of the diseases prevalent in his day.

The first volume of the Report is divided into eight sections, and of these sections the first extends over some three hundred and thirty-four pages. In the early pages, Dr. Wilde opens the very comprehensive plan of his history of Epidemic Disease in Ireland, which begins with the earliest period noticed by tradition. He distributes the history into three periods, and nothing certainly can be more simple or convenient than the arrangement. The first is the

pre-Christian or legendary period beginning at the year of the world 2820 according to the chronology of the Septuagint, and extending to the second or historic period, which stretches from the coming of St. Patrick to the year 1650, at which date the last or scientific period begins and is of course brought down to our own time. The chronology of the first period is not given by Dr. Wilde as anything very reliable. The annalists by whom it was settled were quite familiar with existing systems of chronology and probably had some means of framing a chronology from the tradition which had preserved the succession of families and kings ; but this must have been approximative at best, and unless it happens to be fixed by some natural phenomenon apparent to the rest of Europe, cannot be looked upon as very certain. The compilers, as we have said, were themselves Christians, and it does not appear that they made their compilation from other than oral tradition. But let the question of dates stand as it may, and whatever we may think of the efforts of the annalists to make events in the pre-Christian history of Ireland synchronize with events elsewhere, there can be no doubt that many genuine facts are recorded by them, as well those bearing on the subject-matter of the inquiry, as those which bear upon matters of general interest. In the historic period the chronology is of course more satisfactory, and the details are more minute. And in the last period, it is needless to say, that every light derivable from human skill, ingenuity and zeal, has been thrown upon the subject and continues to be poured upon it daily. Dr. Wilde, not content with giving a catalogue of the MSS. and other sources of information to which he resorted in the prosecution of his task, has given a short but well digested history of each manuscript or other authority. Thus we have a compendious, and yet full and interesting account of the annals of Tigernach, Clonmacnoise, Innisfallen, the Four Masters, and others, interspersed with quotations which give character to the work described, and set it fairly before us. Of these, Dr. Wilde enumerates and describes as many as thirty-two, all, or nearly all, of which he has laid heavily under contribution, as appears in the tables which form the greater part of the section. These first explanatory pages comprise also what may be called an actual history of medical science in Ireland from the heroic age to our own, and it certainly is matter of pride for those who are happy enough to have

some knowledge of Irish literature, that there should have been translations into Irish of Galen and Hippocrates at a time when the other European languages had reached a very imperfect development.

The following extract will give an idea of the riches transferred to Irish literature by the physicians of early times, accomplished scholars assuredly, even if not more profound in their proper science than their brethren of the same age.

“The oldest medical MS. which we know of in Ireland is that in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, No. 14-5, which was written in the middle of the fourteenth century. The following extract proves the date, and also shows generally the style and materials of these works. This manuscript is on vellum; the writing on the outer front page is now quite illegible; but at folio 24 b. we read:—

“‘And it is in accordance with these degrees [of heat cold, aridity], humidity, that every herb, and tree, and germ, and seed, and stone is, as we say, in the *Antidar*, which has been drawn from the authority of Avicenna, which was written in the University of Physic [*Fisigeekta*], in *Mount Pisalan*, [Montpelier], and which has been arranged in alphabetical order from beginning to end. And the age of the Lord when this book was made was one thousand years, and three hundred years, and twice twenty years, and twelve years more [1352]. This book was finished in the year in which Shane Oge, son of Cu-Aithne, was killed; and it was in the house of Dermot O’Meagher’s son it was written. May the merciful God have mercy upon us all.

“‘I have collected here practical rules from works, for the honour of God, in mercy to the Irish people, and for the instruction of my pupils, and for love of my friends and of my race [or name], out of Latin books into Gaedelig [Irish]; that is, from the authority of Galen, in the last book of his Practical Pantheon, and from Hippocrates, from the Book of his Prognostics. These are things, gentle, sweet, profitable, of little evil, which have been often tested by us and by our instructors. And I pray God for those [the doctors] to whom this will come, and I lay it as a load, and as an injunction upon their souls, that they extract not poorly, and that they fail not for want of the practical rules; and particularly if they gain nothing, by doing it regularly [or devoutly]. I implore every Doctor at the beginning of the work [of curing] that he remember the Father of Health [God], that the work might be finished prosperously; and let him not be in mortal sin; and let him beseech the patient not be so either. And let him implore the Heavenly Father, who is the physician and the balsam giver [*slaniciadh*] above all for the diseased; to end his work prosperously,

and to save him from shame and discredit at that time.'—*Literal translation, supplied by Mr. Curry.*

"In the same collection are other medical manuscripts varying in date, either of compilation or transcription, from the end of the fourteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century, and of which a detailed account was given in the Report upon the Tables of Deaths in the Census of 1841. Since then that body have added to their library the Betham Collection, which likewise contains some Irish medical manuscripts.*

"* The Irish medical MSS. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, not previously specified, are—

No. 6—4, vellum, of 40 pages;—A translation or compilation from the works of ancient or foreign medical writers, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Arnaldus, and the 'Doctors of the city of St. Denis,' &c. This MS. was transcribed in the early part of the fifteenth century. Author unknown.

"No. 111—14, of 56 pages, is of the same character as the foregoing, and appears to have been transcribed about the same period, but when, or by whom, it is not now possible to say.

"No. 28, 4. This book is enumerated in O'Reilly's MS. Catalogue, No. 15. *See page 29.*

"No. 209, folio, vellum, of 46 pages, is 'a series of tracts forming compilations from, and dissertations upon the ancient medical writers of Europe and the east, probably at the time when the continental medical societies collected, translated, and published the original works, in the Gynæciorum edition of 1564. Some of these are likewise original essays upon medicine; and in all these tracts, as well as in most other Irish writers in the mother tongue which have been examined, the works of Hippocrates are referred to. The compiler of these tracts (the labour of which was probably performed in the early part of the fifteenth century) manifests an intimate acquaintance with Galen, Avicenna, Giraldus de Bey, Isaac, Orbasisius, and Aristotle, who in this, as in other Irish MSS., is denominated 'The Philosopher.' It is one of the most remarkable collections of symptomatology of its age, in any language, and its observations are particularly copious on *Short Fevers*, which there can be little doubt existed in this country from a very early date. It likewise treats of pregnancy, its signs, &c., &c., and concludes with several valuable and original medical aphorisms.'—*Census Report for 1841.*

"No. 211, fol., vellum, 70 pp. According to Mr. Curry, the compiler of the catalogue of these works, the style and penmanship of this MS. refer it to a period between that of the date of the Books of Ballymote and Lecan (*i.e.*, between A.D. 1391 and 1416). Its concluding parts treat of *Short Fevers* and *Intermittents*.

"No. 213, 8vo, vellum, of 42 pages, in which the works of Pliny, VOL. XLII.—No. LXXXIII.

"In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, there are ten medical manuscripts, a few of which we have already referred to as the pandects of some of the hereditary physicians.*

Razes, Platorius, and Isaac are referred to, treats of herbs and their medicinal qualities, with the manner of preparing and applying them. The plants are alphabetically arranged in Latin and Irish; and we are induced to believe that the Rev. Mr. Heaton, who wrote before the commencement of the civil wars in 1641, and who is styled by Dr. Merret, *Theologus Hibernicus*, either arranged from, or largely drew upon this MS.

"No. 215, of 177 pages, 'is an Irish tract upon medicine, compiled and transcribed in 1658; the first part by Hugh O'Canavan, and the latter by Boetius O'Fergus; it treats of life, health, labour, diseases of the cerebral organs, and of the urine; and gives the list of a *Materia Medica*, comprising eighty-three officinal and medicinal substances then in use in this kingdom.'—See *Report on Tables of Deaths in the Census Commissioners' Report for 1841*, pp. iv. and v. See also Mr. Curry's *Manuscript Catalogue in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy*.

"In the collection of Irish MSS. purchased by the Academy from the late Sir William Betham, are the two following, upon medicine:—

"No. 33, quarto, a vellum volume of 130 written pages, imperfect at the beginning and end as well as in several other places. 'Neither the transcriber's name nor the date when written can now be discovered, but the characters and style of writing refer it to about the middle of the fifteenth century. Part of it is in Latin, and appears to be a translation of some of the writings of Hippocrates and other ancient physicians; it is divided into chapters and sections, and gives systematically the name and description of each disease, as well as the cause, signs, prognostication, cure, and exposition, &c.'

"No. 27, small 4to, paper, 'consisting of 276 pages, written between the years 1596 and 1601, but the transcriber's name does not appear. The book contained originally, translations of the aphorisms of Hippocrates and Girardus, together with a commentary upon the opinions and glosses upon the writings of various ancient physicians, chiefly Galen. The following authorities are quoted in this volume:—Hippocrates, Galen, Ægidius, Giraldus, Philotheus, Magistur, Debononia, Isaac, Avicenna, Gilbert, Razes, Halli, Dioscorides, Abumesue, Arnaldus, Gentilis, Alexander, Theophilus, Platerarius, Farrarius, Joannes de Paulo, Petrus Musaudinus, Bertrutius, Bononiensis, Serapion, and Magninus, &c., which show an extensive acquaintance with the medical writings both of antiquity and of the middle ages.'—*MS. Catalogue supplied by Mr. Curry*.

"* In addition to those Irish medical manuscripts in the Library

The tabulated history of Epidemic Disease (annals indeed might be the more accurate designation) is distributed into four columns. One of these is assigned to the date, another to the events and circumstances, another to the authority for the statements in the preceding columns, and the fourth to a statement of coincident phenomena, to which are appended, though not in a separate column, the authorities on which their insertion

of the Dublin University, already enumerated in the foregoing notes, Dr. O'Donovan's MS. Catalogue specifies the following :—

"H 1, 9.—A fragment on vellum, of 36 leaves, entitled, *Guido de Cauliac*. 'This manuscript is certainly a fragment of a large medical book, the author of which seems to have followed Avicenna in its classification and arrangement of disease, giving at the same time the opinions of other physicians. It is valuable as evidence of the kind of acquaintance the hereditary Irish physicians had with medicine.' There is no date attached ; but de Cauliac wrote his great work on surgery in 1363.

"H 2, 12.—A small folio MS. on parchment of 7 leaves, written in the sixteenth century, and containing a dissertation on fevers.

"H 2, 15.—A folio vellum MS. containing the fragment of a medical tract on medicine, of 10 pages. This tract is bound up with a Brehon Law Book, in which Hugh Mac Eagan records the plague of the Black Death in 1350.—*See the Table of Pestilence given at the conclusion of this introductory chapter under that date.*

"H 2, 8, small folio, vellum, of 32 pages, a fragment in different hands, endorsed 'Philosophie;' the contractions in this manuscript, says the compiler of the catalogue, 'are exceedingly difficult, and intelligible only to those who have made them their particular study :' but contractions are no proof of the antiquity of an Irish manuscript, but rather the contrary. In this work Aristotle and Galen are quoted and commented on ; and, adds the same authority, 'these translations and commentaries are very useful to the Irish scholar, as preserving the purest and best words and forms of expression in the language.' This manuscript is believed to have been one of the Hereditary Medical Books ; but at present it does not contain either name or date.

"H 2, 12, is a parchment folio fragment of a treatise on fevers, in which Johannes Damascenus is frequently quoted.

"H 2, 13, a vellum medical MS. of 112 leaves, without date or name.

"H 3, 14, a 4to. fragment ;—a commentary on the aphorisms of Hippocrates ; no name or date.

"H 3, 15, a quarto in vellum, of 28 leaves ; the history of this medical tract is also unknown."—Pp. 31-2.

is founded. The events and circumstances include not only entries of diseases, atmospheric changes, famine, or occurrences having an immediate relation to the subject, but also an epitome of events of general interest, so full as to give a fair idea of the social and industrial history of the country. The authorities upon matters of Irish history merely, are such as we have stated, and it is difficult to over estimate the amount of well-applied learning they disclose. According as the tables approach the scientific period, and from that period forward to the present time, although the materials for labour become multiplied and accessible, the labour so far from being diminished is proportionately increased. In the earlier portion of the work, when materials were scanty, and phenomena of the greatest magnitude, and most startling effect alone were chronicled, there was great play of course for meditation and ingenuity; for the construction of theories, the discovery of analogies and the reconciliation of dates. The phenomena registered were limited to comets, meteors, red snow, hurricanes, severe or mild seasons, abundance or scarcity. The reasoner under those circumstances had only to make the most of his materials and state an opinion according to the best of his judgment. But as soon as the abundance of illustrative and experimental matter grew to be oppressive, when all the symptoms and all the features of diseases, as well as every variation of the weather-glass had come to be recorded; the labour of selection and rejection, involving a thorough knowledge of what was to be admitted as well as what should be refused, must have been extremely great, and the exercise of skill and judgment very constant.

The volume of Coincident Phenomena is of course exceedingly valuable on account of the relation they bear to what was taking place in Ireland. Many of the diseases, whether of men or cattle, and not a few of the seasons of plenty or dearth, experienced in Ireland prevailed in Europe at the same time, and even where diseases or phenomena elsewhere were not immediately contemporaneous with those occurring in Ireland, yet as they constantly shewed the same sequence of events on the Continent as in Ireland, and as many of them reached the island in due course after having visited the rest of Europe, their relation to the precise matter in hand is perfectly apparent. The same,

or perhaps a greater amount of learning and research has been applied in the preparation of the last column. The number of voluminous authors, ancient and modern, who have been consulted, is perfectly surprising. The Anglo Saxon Chronicle, for instance, the Venerable Bede, Bascome, the *Annales Cambriæ*, Baronius, Gibbon, St. Gregory of Tours, Calmet, Short, Herker, Stow's Chronicle, Bateman's *Diseases of London*, Maitland, and numerous others are cited from page to page. Then come the medical journals, home and foreign, hospital reports, newspapers and official gazettes of every country, inquiries of Boards of Health, parliamentary returns, and the results of individual experience from all quarters, in choice and orderly abundance. Nothing seems to have been left unexamined or undone.

Amongst the authorities quoted in the historic period it will not fail to be observed that they are to a man, monks, friars, or canons. The writers of medical treatises, or translations, are of course excepted, though not even those universally, but of the annalists every man was at all events an ecclesiastic. The four masters, Tigernach, the authors of the *Ulster Annals*, of the *Connaught Annals*, of the *Book of Leinster*, of the *Annals of Lough Kee*, of the *Annals of Boyle*, of the *Annals of Multifernan*, and of many others extant or lost, though still known to have existed, were all members of monastic orders, or at least canons living according to monastic rule. Were it not for them we should be at this day without a scrap of genuine history. Even Giraldus Cambrensis did little more than pervert the text of the old annalists, and were it not for the writings of these monks, including the comparatively modern labours of the four masters, our only materials for Irish history subsequent to the invasion, would be the state papers in the record tower in Dublin, or similar papers in London. In addition to the fact that such documents, although invaluable assistants, cannot, unsupported, be taken to speak the truth, we should bear in mind that for several hundred years the English territory did not extend beyond the Pale, and a few towns upon the Munster and Connaught sea-board. It is evident, therefore, that had we been trusting to English authority for the history of these years, we should have had simply none, while the uninterrupted warfare of those unhappy times, a warfare peculiarly destructive on account of its irregular

and predatory character, was an effectual hindrance to the cultivation of letters by any class of the people, English or Irish, outside the convents. It certainly is not easy to overestimate the gratitude we owe to our venerable historians, as neither is it easy to keep our feelings under proper restraint when we look upon the crumbling walls that once sheltered their labours and their prayers. Exasperation is increased by the reflection, that the dismantlement and solitude of these walls, is not the work of an erring or of an altered people; that it is not the result of a revolutionary storm, overblown in a year, though leaving ruins which centuries cannot restore; but that it was the work of another nation, that it still exists by outward force, and that if the country whose face is deformed by these ruins were allowed its will, it would rebuild and retenant them with its old zeal, and with the old results. Dr. Wilde's labours are an evidence of learning most honourable to him, and certainly honourable above measure to those who are the sources of that learning.

The memorable period between 1845 and the date of the Report is, however, that to which the historian of epidemic disease will turn with most interest, and to which, as Dr. Wilde acknowledges, all the preceding investigations are primarily referable. During these years Ireland was visited by almost every calamity that can befall a nation. The record of what she underwent is full and minute so far as it reaches, but "neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive," what the mind of God alone could realize, the entire extent, and depth, and bitterness of that intolerable sea through which she has passed. We are tempted to transcribe a passage which struck us in a late number of a contemporary, the "*Irish Quarterly*," referring to this period, and which is not over-charged simply because all description, all imagination, all fancy, are at fault before the horrors attempted to be described.

"But who can describe the picture presented by Ireland during that terrible period, or who will charge upon any government of civilized men all the misery and all the errors of a time when the dead putrified in the haunts of life, and the living in their ghastliness were more spectral than the dead; when the brawn of the strong man and the bosom of the maiden collapsed in a week, and hung loose and shrivelled on their bones; when shapes having the stature of infancy, freaks of famine, follies of disease, reeled along

the road as bloated as Silenus, not indeed with the fumes of the grape, but with the gases of decomposition ; when auxiliary work-houses rose like exhalations from the rotting fields, and the fever hospitals daily discharged their wards into the common pits, daily to renew them as the now empty churches had been used to renew their congregations for successive masses.

“If anything could have moved wild laughter in the throat of death, Ireland would have laughed to see her own appearance after the extraordinary presentment sessions had done their work. Here there were new roads half finished and there old roads more than half destroyed—here an artificial defile or costly precipice and there a highway stopping short at the perpendicular section of a hill—designs so strangely adopted and so suddenly abandoned, that John Mitchell claimed them, with some share of reason, as a providential arrangement for his intended guerilla. Scenes such as these haunt the dreams of the defaulting contractor, when even in sleep he finds himself amid half pierced tunnels, abortive cuttings, crumbling embankments and creditors, as was actually the case in the Government works, pouncing on the wheel-barrows and picks. Was it then to be expected that amid the din and whirl of rival theories, of chemical nostrums for the cure of the root, of culinary efforts to provide a substitute, of economical quackery for the entire crisis, of mills for the preparation of starch out of the potato, and receipts for the manufacture of soup out of nothing, in the confusion and vexation of a hundred experiments and a hundred failures, with millions agape for food, ravenous as young wolves, and helpless as unfledged linnets, was it to be expected that ministers should find time for political and social legislation ?”

This description, as we have observed, is not exaggerated for the one reason that exaggeration is impossible. The diseases in some sort indigenous to Ireland, are diseases acclimated by the misery and habits of the people. These diseases engendered by ordinary poverty and destitution, together with new and monstrous forms of disease, the growth of the actual famine poured down upon the crowded population and wrought such havoc as the world had never seen. Then, as if to belie the savage aphorism of Attila, who replied, when asked to engage the Romans outside the city walls, that thick grass is easier mown than thin ; the noble, and the reputed rich were sent penniless and adrift upon the world, while their mansions were converted into auxiliary workhouses, where the work of death was the only work in progress. All that was diseased lay dying ; all that was sound made haste to fly ; and swarm after swarm crowded the unsheltered deck and

filthy hold of the emigrant ship, emptying the land of men and money, and giving birth to the new form of disease called ship fever, which thinned their numbers to an incredible extent before they reached their destination. And when they did reach it, their arrival and prosperity in America were a source of renewed depletion in Ireland—for with characteristic pity they remitted from their savings wherewithal to transport from the land of famine and disease not only their hale and vigorous kinsmen who might be a source of riches to them, but their aged and infirm parents whom it never entered into their hearts to treat as an incumbrance, but whom they knew they could not support before they had prepared a resting place. And thus did Ireland pass through those years of famine and pestilence, to the medical statistics of which all the previous matter of the Report may be considered introductory. Nothing can be more sober of ornament than Dr. Wilde's detail of the circumstances attending the potato failure, but it is full of interest and we need hardly say of instruction. We can only afford ourselves one extract, in which though there are many conclusions of the author in which we entirely concur, there are some from which we feel compelled to dissent.

“In the times of previous calamity, the Government endeavoured to ‘take stock’ of the food of the country, as may be seen by reference to the foregoing table; but from the want of proper machinery for collecting such statistical returns, they were manifestly defective. (See especially under A.D. 1740-41 and 1822.) Moreover, the inquiry was, in 1740, made at a late period of the year, and confined to the amount of grain on hands either stored in granaries or in haggards. In the year subsequent to the complete destruction of the potato crop of 1846, a survey was made by order of Government of the extent of land under crops, and the quantity of produce, as well as of the amount of live stock in the country. The direction of that most important inquiry was entrusted by the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Lieut.-Colonel Larcom, R.E., at that time one of the Commissioners of the Board of Public Works in Ireland; and the Constabulary, from their excellent organization and thorough knowledge of the country, were selected to collect the necessary information. Similar returns of agricultural produce have since been presented annually to Parliament.* The great

* “The returns for the years 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850, were compiled under the direction of Colonel Larcom; those for 1851 and 1852, were taken under the authority of the present Census

value of these reports, in a political as well as an agricultural and commercial point of view, is acknowledged ; and it is sufficient for us here to state, that they were the first returns of the kind made in any part of the United Kingdom ; and that within the last few years similar inquiries have been made in Scotland, and are now under consideration as a national undertaking in England.

“ We have dwelt at greater length upon the recent famine, and perhaps with deeper sympathy, from having been eyewitnesses of many of its horrors, yet, unhappily for our country, such national catastrophes have been neither unfrequent nor unusual ; on the contrary, we find that century after century, in almost periodic succession, Ireland suffered from famine, consequent either upon the ravages of war, the unfruitfulness of crops, caused by abnormal atmospheric vicissitudes ; or mortality of cattle, from the prevalence of certain epidemic constitutions, fatal alike to vegetable and animal life, and the existing cause of plague in man.*

“ From a review of the foregoing Table of Pestilences, one cannot fail to be struck with the similarity in the order of events which marks the history of famines in Ireland, especially as we approach modern times. Even the tendency to emigration, as a result forced on the people by destitution and pestilence, dates from an early period. So early as within two centuries after the Christian era, emigration is recorded as the necessary consequence of famine, when ‘ lands, houses, territories, and tribes, were emptied ’ of the destitute and starving. And again, in the seventh century we read that the followers of St. Colman, flying from the great yellow plague that devastated Ireland, peopled the neighbouring islands of the sea ; while the Welsh fled to Ireland to escape the famine and pestilence that had invaded them at home. Four famines, within a period of thirty years, wasted Ireland during the seventh century. In the eighth century, eight famines are recorded within twenty

Commissioners ; and form two volumes of the Census Report for 1851 ; and the returns for 1853, 1854, and 1855, were compiled under the direction of William Donnelly, Esq., LL.D., Registrar-General.

* “ So also did England suffer from famines when her population were semi-barbarous, and her agriculture was in as low a condition as we still find it in many parts of Ireland ; and from pestilence when its marshes were undrained, large portions of its forest land lay neglected and untilled, and when its towns were uncleansed, unventilated and over-populated. See upon this subject the admirable work of Dr. Short, to which frequent reference has been made in the foregoing table ; and also Dr. Southwood Smith’s ‘ *Lectures on Epidemics, considered with relation to Climate and Civilization.* ’ ”

years ; and the thirteenth century, which opened with a 'cold, foodless year,' saw twelve famines before its close, as may be learned from the long list of years of scarcity and famines (consisting of as many as one hundred and fifty-five entries, to be found in the Analyses, at page 360 ; and the details of which are spread over the foregoing table). But periods of distress and famine became still more frequent after the potato had been generally adopted as the food of the people, and during the eighteenth century, twenty-five out of the hundred were years of absolute want. The late calamity also was the centenary anniversary of one as great in effect, when the same scenes were enacted, the same tragedies were witnessed, and proceeding from similar causes to those which so recently startled us into horror during the famine of 1846. As already described under the years 1739, '40, '41, and '42, the potato failed, and disease followed quickly on the track of want. The people of that day became a mass of paupers ; and when public aid failed, even the means of the wealthy and benevolent could not alleviate the immense amount of distress. Then, as in our own day, 'the roads were spread with dead and dying—men became the colour of the weeds and nettles on which they fed ;' and as they perished in the fields and ditches, so they lay ; 'and the dead were eaten by dogs for want of people to bury them.'

"The phenomena attending such calamities are indeed identical throughout all ages of the world, and all countries. Elemental disturbance, destruction of crops, and epidemics fatal to all life, follow each other, and recur at stated times with a constancy that prove them not to be fortuitous or casual interruptions of the normal conditions of our globe, but laws of Providence, instituted for some wise purpose ; the investigation of which, however, belongs more to the philosopher than the statist. We have only to deduce from the recorded facts some means of obviating as far as practicable, the immediate and sudden amount of misery produced by their occurrence, and the simplest measure that presents itself to the mind, as calculated to remedy, in Ireland at least, the terrible amount of suffering caused by periodic famine, would be the general cultivation throughout the country of other sorts of food in addition to the potato, so that the whole dependence of the people for subsistence should not rest on that most uncertain and precarious crop.

"The blight which recently fell upon the potato produced a deadly famine, because the people had cultivated it so extensively, and were accustomed to use it almost exclusively ; and when it failed, millions became as utterly destitute as if the island were incapable of producing any other species of sustenance.

"Improvement in the habits of the lower orders, and a higher education amongst the agricultural classes, are chiefly requisite to effect a change in the condition of the people ; by this they would ultimately be raised in the scale of civilization ; and by learning

to utilize all the sources of subsistence which nature has so lavishly placed within their reach, the fatal consequences would be averted which must ensue to a people who trust for life only to one species of food, and when that fails are liable to perish from famine. But to effect any sudden alteration in the dietary of a people is a matter of greater difficulty than a change in either their religion or political institutions,—the former under excitement may become as contagious as an epidemic, and the latter be enforced by the strong arm of power, while a revolution in diet, especially in Ireland, where the accustomed food had been easily raised and was comparatively palatable, and, moreover, had become the basis of habits so firmly fixed as to influence the entire social condition of a people, required even more than the stern necessity of want, before it could be accomplished, or the inhabitants brought to relish any other description of food. We have, however, reason to believe that a taste for the substitutes offered has been gradually generated; upon this subject the Commissioners of Health published the following remarks in their report upon the year 1851:—‘It has often been desired that the people of Ireland could be induced to turn from the potato to grain as their food, as tending to produce improvement in their habits, and as rendering them less liable to suffer from periodic famines. All attempts to effect this have hitherto failed; however, the knowledge that they have now acquired of the very superior nutritious qualities of oatmeal, and its price continuing to bear such a relation to the cost of potatoes as to render its consumption often more economical than that of the potato, will, it would seem to us, eventually and certainly lead to the desired end.’ This is confirmed by the more general use amongst the people of Indian meal, and their improved knowledge of its mode of preparation, together with the fact of the greater consumption of bread stuffs in Ireland within the last few years, compared with those before the famine.

“Not the least peculiar among the coincident circumstances of the great period of blight in both hemispheres was the discovery of the two greatest gold fields now known in the world—both in localities towards which the tide of emigration had already set. The immediate effects of this was, on the one hand, to occupy an immense number of people;—and, on the other, suddenly to increase the circulating medium, and thus help to cheapen food. In connexion with the great loss of food in this portion of the United Kingdom, we may also mention that in June, 1846, the Act repealing the Corn Laws received the royal assent, and the ports were opened for the introduction of foreign grain.

“Notwithstanding the fearful ordeal through which Ireland has passed, thus briefly and imperfectly sketched—an ordeal to which modern history can produce no parallel—we have good reason to believe that the country has improved in health, increased in wealth, and progressed in energy, since the recent calamity that

seemed to threaten its very existence ; the various social changes forced into action at that period being the means most fitted ultimately to ameliorate the social condition of its inhabitants. The great surplus mass of the population, surplus not in proportion to the superficies of the country, but from its unequal distribution, has been reduced. The system of minute subdivision of land, the acknowledged source of perennial distress and periodic famine, has been happily got rid of ; for, though it extended cultivation in some degree, yet it increased at the same time the class of pauper holdings, now rapidly giving place to the large-sized grazing farms, which from time immemorial have produced the cattle exports, the great source of wealth to this country ; and finally, the facilities afforded by the operation of the Act for the Sale of Incumbered Estates in Ireland, have relieved the country from expensive and almost endless litigation, and placed land within the power of a comparatively solvent proprietary, though in some cases it may have produced temporary and individual hardship. In conclusion we may say, in the language of Sir Charles Trevelyan, that—
‘ unless we are much deceived, posterity will trace up to that famine the commencement of a salutary revolution in the habits of a nation long singularly unfortunate ; and will acknowledge that in this, as in many other occasions, Supreme Wisdom has educed permanent good out of transient evil.’—*The Irish Crisis*.”—Pp. 254-6.

One of the most striking features brought out in this report is the recurrence of famine and disease at intervals that might almost be called regular from the earliest period of Irish history. The predisposing circumstances or the effective causes have not always been the same, nor indeed always discoverable, but the fact at least is fairly on record. And yet the island is admittedly productive, and not naturally more unhealthy than most other countries. That the climate of Ireland at no remote period should have been more favourable to the spread of epidemic disease than that of many other countries, was only to be expected from the imperfect system of agriculture, and insufficient drainage prevalent in the rural districts, as well as from the total neglect of cleanliness and sanitary precautions in the towns. But these things alone it would seem, although they sheltered and propagated disease, could be said in comparatively few instances to have originated it. They did, of course, and do engender diseases of their own, but the principal mischief is that they take other diseases to nurse, and never lose a nursling. War, famine, or unaccountable phenomena, in an atmosphere usually friendly to life, produce disease, and the

character of the disease receives activity and violence from the circumstances we have mentioned. Ireland, until within a comparatively recent period, had more of war than most countries, and although corn, the first great agent in civilization, seems, as far as history or anything like it reaches, to have been always known to the Irish, yet they would seem to have been always dependant on their own supplies. Now it is well known that ancient Rome must have been famished more than once, had she depended on her own agriculture; and within the last year France would have suffered almost equally with Ireland, had she been thrown on her own resources. She was however supplied to her utmost requirement from America, and she had moreover inexhaustible granaries in Spain. These two circumstances therefore of war and isolation, not to speak of imperfect agriculture, might account to some extent for the early frequency of famine in a country of such well known fertility as Ireland. Although circumstances were no longer the same as at the time of the introduction of the potato, yet these periods of scarcity, owing to the constitutional delicacy of the root, and without any extraordinary cause, became much more frequent. Numerous partial failures of the potato are in the recollection of every one, and are all registered in the volumes on our table—but in the years 1739, 40, 41, 42, there was a failure exactly similar in character, extent, and result, to the visitation of 1845, save only that it fell upon a population not half so numerous as that which was overtaken by the famine in the fatal seasons from 1845 to 1851. The lessons to be drawn from our experience would seem to be very obvious. It should be the study of every one whose means of communication with the people, and whose influence over them may be sufficient, to wean them from the exclusive reliance upon the potato, into which notwithstanding Dr. Wilde's impression, they appear to be relapsing. In the second place, the opportunities afforded by the legislature to the inhabitants of civic districts, for the lighting, cleansing, and repair of their towns should be resorted to wherever practicable. The less opulent but industrious ratepayers are always most anxious to effect these improvements, and strange to say the opposition commonly proceeds from large and influential proprietors. The improvement of agriculture and the reclamation of waste lands have been already the subject of inquiry in this

principle. But as far as one of its aspects is concerned, what we have just said of its eminently "Popish" character contains not a syllable of exaggeration. It is simply and unequivocally, and even emphatically, *Roman Catholic*. Barring the use of this last phrase which saves its own assumed religious position, but which of course involves no protest whatever against us, it writes altogether in a Catholic sense and a Catholic spirit. It manifests absolutely (as far as we can see) no difference with us in matters of doctrine. It professes the warmest and most unqualified admiration of all our religious institutions, and makes no scruple of contrasting their efficiency and pliability, as well as the zeal of our ecclesiastical functionaries, with the intractable materials and the stereotyped forms, of the established system.* It assigns to our bishops and dignitaries their proper ecclesiastical titles with an almost ostentatious punctiliousness. It chronicles our ceremonies, and other events of our religion, in the civillest terms and most unimpeachable phraseology. Its Roman correspondence is all that can be desired. It sympathizes even with the more advanced developments of the Roman spirit in England,† and is remarkably free from that merely artistic and technical view of Catholicity which hitherto has been almost the only shape in which such leanings have displayed themselves in the party which, on the whole, this periodical represents.

Now let the reader, if of competent age, and he need be no veteran either, carry back his thoughts some fifteen years, and say whether such a note of progress in opinion as this be not something marvellous, almost to the extent of miracle. The period upon which he would light in this retrospective survey, would be somewhere about the eventful epoch of "Tract Ninety." When the writer of that celebrated Essay proposed an interpretation of the thirty-nine articles which would have brought them into harmony on all but one or two great points, with the letter of the Tridentine Decrees, (as distinguished from the actual temper and spirit of the present Church) the whole country

* See especially in one of its earliest impressions, a remarkable testimony of this kind in connexion with the Sacrament of Confirmation.

† In a Letter signed "Clericus," in No. 8.

was up in arms at the attempt, and no words could be found of sufficient strength to characterize its temerity. In Oxford itself the present Bishop of London headed a tutorial crusade against it; and the note of controversy was speedily echoed throughout the length and breadth of the Establishment, till even prelates so orthodox as those of Exeter and Oxford, took up their parable against the obnoxious tract. A little later, Mr. Ward was stripped of his M.A. gown, and his book publicly censured by the Academical convocation, though he claimed but the liberty of subscribing the Articles in a fully Catholic sense. Later still, the same position was condemned in the Arches' Court as a disqualification from the ministry of the Established Church. Now we ask, whether the conversion of all England to the Catholic faith before the close of the present century would be a much greater advance upon the phenomena of '57, than are those of '57 upon the facts of '45?

In one material point, indeed, in which the *Union* is favourably distinguished from its contemporaries, that periodical presents a phase of Anglicanism, not so unprecedented as many persons may be inclined to think. A series of able papers have appeared in its columns on the "Tractarian movement," which point out with great force some of the principal defects of that remarkable effort to instil vigour into the establishment; especially its doctrine of Reserve, its depreciation of preaching, and other characteristics of its earlier stage. These objections were however felt and expressed twelve or fourteen years ago, with all the deference to the estimable men whose names were identified with them, which their undoubted sincerity and great learning obviously commanded. Tokens of a dissent from Tractarianism in such-like particulars, might, we think, be traced in Mr. Ward's "Ideal of a Christian Church," and in the later numbers of the *British Critic*. Indeed we think that in the papers on Tractarianism which have lately appeared in the *Union*, justice has not been done to that remarkable Quarterly, which certainly formed a link between the cautious teaching of the Tracts, and those more distinctively Roman principles, which the *Union* is now reviving with such extraordinary boldness.

For no one can take up even a chance number of the *Union* and doubt, that there are at the present moment not tens, but hundreds, of Protestant ministers who not

journal, as a social, rather than as a sanitary question, but they are quite as important in the latter point of view. We even ventured to propose a compulsory appropriation of waste lands, properly valued, in analogy to similar laws upon a different subject-matter in England, but we must express a little regret, or perhaps we ought to say, *not* a little, that Dr. Wyld seems to look with complacency upon the substitution of large grazing fields, for cottage farms large or small. We are not the persons to join in an outcry against political economy within its own province, that is to say when it deals with the production and diffusion of wealth, but we do complain when any economist assumes that wealth, whatever that be, according to his definition, should be the chief study of the statesman and the patriot. No man not understanding political economy can pretend to be a statesman, but there is no statesman more unsafe than he who acts as if man were made for the economist, and not the economist for man. Let the English economist say, that cattle are better representatives of wealth, than corn; the Kentucky economist may say that slaves are a greater source of wealth than cattle; we say, as economists, you are both right, and we as economists acknowledge it, but as Christians, the moment you step outside the circle of your economy, and endeavour to make your ideas of wealth the rule of government, we say you are wrong, and we prefer an abundance of free-men in a free land, to a flush of cattle or a flush of slaves in any land. Who would not prefer an Ireland like Belgium to an Ireland like Australia? Nor are we driven to choose between a multitude of men living upon dock or cresses, and a scarcity of men feeding sumptuously every day. With the other sources of wealth at our disposal, we have room for men and cattle both; and what is more important, great proprietors who once thought differently, are now beginning to think with us, and men have replaced stock upon more estates than one, where the shepherd, or the cowherd, the domestic servants, and perhaps domestic fowl, were the only bipeds not *feræ naturæ*, tolerated a few years ago. It is well known by any who have experience in those matters, that reclaimed bog, laid down in pasture, rapidly falls back. As to the waste lands we have our choice between snipe and men, and we believe that in an economic view even men are preferable to snipe. But however that be, we never can be taught, and we believe it

is not the opinion of Dr. Wilde, although his report might bear that interpretation, that we are to contend with cattle for the possession of the land. Were this so, though the alternatives of beef and mutton be grateful, and necessary as the change of the seasons; though they embellish the landscape as they adorn the table, though they lend an equal charm to the canvass of Landseer or Cuypt, and to the verses of Virgil or Guarini, if, we say, it were a casting throw between man and beast, we should at once, without respect to the pleasures of the palate or to the rights of conscience, proscribe the use of beef and mutton, under the most Draconian penalties, and take measures for the speedy extermination of the entire ruminating race, or at all events declare the calling of the grazier infamous, and provide him with a land of Goshen at the far off side the Antipodes, if that Irish figure be allowed us.

ART. IV.—*The Union.* No. 1—8.

THE latest phenomenon of Anglicanism is also the strangest of all the strange manifestations of that eccentric body. Will it be believed by those not aware of the fact, that, while Archdeacon Denison is trembling on the verge of deprivation for doctrinal statements hardly, if at all, above the level of the Andrewes or Thorndike school, and while the ritualists of Knightsbridge are disbursing their thousands to vindicate a bare cross, a marble slab, a pair of candlesticks, an ornamental altar cloth, and a set of parti-coloured antependia from the grasp of the implacable Westerton, clergymen in another direction are inflicting, week after week, upon the astonished Protestant mind, Popery of a calibre to which previous exhibitions of the same quality in quarters external to the Catholic Church present no parallel?

The *Union*, the phenomenon referred to, is a weekly newspaper, presenting two very different, and, as we shall be prepared to show, not very consistent, phases of religious

principle. But as far as one of its aspects is concerned, what we have just said of its eminently "Popish" character contains not a syllable of exaggeration. It is simply and unequivocally, and even emphatically, *Roman Catholic*. Barring the use of this last phrase which saves its own assumed religious position, but which of course involves no protest whatever against us, it writes altogether in a Catholic sense and a Catholic spirit. It manifests absolutely (as far as we can see) no difference with us in matters of doctrine. It professes the warmest and most unqualified admiration of all our religious institutions, and makes no scruple of contrasting their efficiency and pliability, as well as the zeal of our ecclesiastical functionaries, with the intractable materials and the stereotyped forms, of the established system.* It assigns to our bishops and dignitaries their proper ecclesiastical titles with an almost ostentatious punctiliousness. It chronicles our ceremonies, and other events of our religion, in the civillest terms and most unimpeachable phraseology. Its Roman correspondence is all that can be desired. It sympathizes even with the more advanced developments of the Roman spirit in England,† and is remarkably free from that merely artistic and technical view of Catholicity which hitherto has been almost the only shape in which such leanings have displayed themselves in the party which, on the whole, this periodical represents.

Now let the reader, if of competent age, and he need be no veteran either, carry back his thoughts some fifteen years, and say whether such a note of progress in opinion as this be not something marvellous, almost to the extent of miracle. The period upon which he would light in this retrospective survey, would be somewhere about the eventful epoch of "Tract Ninety." When the writer of that celebrated Essay proposed an interpretation of the thirty-nine articles which would have brought them into harmony on all but one or two great points, with the letter of the Tridentine Decrees, (as distinguished from the actual temper and spirit of the present Church) the whole country

* See especially in one of its earliest impressions, a remarkable testimony of this kind in connexion with the Sacrament of Confirmation.

† In a Letter signed "Clericus," in No. 8.

was up in arms at the attempt, and no words could be found of sufficient strength to characterize its temerity. In Oxford itself the present Bishop of London ~~braved~~ a tutorial crusade against it; and the note of ~~controversy~~ was speedily echoed throughout the length and breadth of the Establishment, till even prelates so orthodox as those of Exeter and Oxford, took up their parable against the obnoxious tract. A little later, Mr. Ward was ~~stripped~~ of his M.A. gown, and his book publicly censured by the Academical convocation, though he claimed but the liberty of subscribing the Articles in a fully Catholic sense. Later still, the same position was condemned in the Arches' Court as a disqualification from the ministry of the Established Church. Now we ask, whether the conversion of all England to the Catholic faith before the close of the present century would be a much greater advance upon the phenomena of '57, than are those of '57 upon the facts of '45?

In one material point, indeed, in which the *Union* is favourably distinguished from its contemporaries, that periodical presents a phase of Anglicanism, not so unprecedented as many persons may be inclined to think. A series of able papers have appeared in its columns on the "Tractarian movement," which point out with great force some of the principal defects of that remarkable effort to instil vigour into the establishment; especially its doctrine of Reserve, its depreciation of preaching, and other characteristics of its earlier stage. These objections were however felt and expressed twelve or fourteen years ago, with all the deference to the estimable men whose names were identified with them, which their undoubted sincerity and great learning obviously commanded. Tokens of a dissent from Tractarianism in such-like particulars, might, we think, be traced in Mr. Ward's "Ideal of a Christian Church," and in the later numbers of the *British Critic*. Indeed we think that in the papers on Tractarianism which have lately appeared in the *Union*, justice has not been done to that remarkable Quarterly, which certainly formed a link between the cautious teaching of the Tracts, and those more distinctively Roman principles, which the *Union* is now reviving with such extraordinary boldness.

For no one can take up even a chance number of the *Union* and doubt, that there are at the present moment not tens, but hundreds, of Protestant ministers who not

only *hold*, but *teach*, "all Roman doctrine;" (not perhaps publicly in the pulpit, yet still to all intents and purposes); and who, moreover, openly introduce into the celebration of their worship practices of our own, which the most advanced of those who failed, twelve years ago, in the attempt to enlarge the liberty of the Anglican Church in "a Catholic" direction, would have regarded it as a plain breach of duty to their own religious communion, to adopt or any wise encourage. A further conclusion which the *Union* indubitably warrants is, that ministers of the Church of England are now in the habit of frequenting Catholic Churches in this country, not merely out of curiosity but in entire sympathy with all that goes on within them.* This, again, is a thing which even some of the more extreme Romanizers of but twelve years back regarded as against conscience. Why, it is but the other day, that Archdeacon Thorp was pilloried in the *Record* for the alleged misdemeanour of hearing mass in a foreign cathedral; and what is more still, that he, a gentleman whose name has long been connected with the higher department of Anglican churchmanship, felt it his duty to threaten the *Record* with a prosecution for a libel, on the ground of this most mild, though, as it turned out, unfounded imputation. Yet at this very moment, it would appear that the present amiable and popular Bishop of London, the very champion of the Anti-Tractarian movement, has clergymen in different parts of his diocese who regularly communicate *in sacris* with the Catholics of Brompton, or Berkeley Square. What a wreck of theories, what a demolition of strongholds, what a breaking up of parties, do not these facts betoken, and yet how noiselessly has the spoiler effected his devastations! Where is the "Ultramarine" theory, which made the English Channel the line of demarcation between Unity and Schism? What has become of the various projects of union;—union with the Greeks against the Latins, or with the Fathers against the Schoolmen, or with Scotland and America against the tyranny of the State? Where is the Rev. William Palmer, of Worcester College? Where are the successive organs of religious opinion which from time to time

* See a letter signed "Clericus" in the *Union* of Saturday, February 21st.

have given expression to English churchmanship in its various stages of development, or rather its various forms of eccentricity? We ask impatiently, and "Echo answers 'Where?'" As to "*John Bull*" and the "*English Churchman*," we must conclude that they still find readers, or they could not exist; but it is plain that such organs minister to the consolation of the disappointed, and do not any longer supply material for the energy of any active section of Anglican churchmen. And as to the "*Church and State Gazette*," once the champion of English Protestantism, it has melted into this very *Union*. Indeed it is plain that the age of shams is rapidly passing away, and the world is learning for itself, and therefore in the most effectual way, what for years we have sought in vain to impress upon it, that mists will melt and discover two, and two only, great antagonist powers contending for the mastery of the world—Catholicity and Infidelity.

But it is time that we should speak of the light which the newest phenomenon of Anglicanism casts upon the internal workings of the body it represents. We have said before, that to our eye the *Union* exhibits a double face, not consciously perhaps to itself, yet not the less perceptibly to us. It has what we may call a personal, as well as a public aspect. Now, as it represents the feeling of individuals, we simply admire it; but as it claims a definite religious position, we must as unequivocally condemn it.

To begin with the pleasanter side. What we like about this paper is that it is founded on a principle of generosity. It has been brought into existence, as far as we are able to judge, mainly by the great Denison controversy. We are not among those who would give Archdeacon Denison the honours of a martyr, but we really think he has about him not a few of the attributes of a hero. It is no derogation from this praise to say, that his public manifestations are not quite according to our own taste. But what we like about him is, that he is unquestionably in earnest; and real earnestness is a quality now become so rare in the party to which he belongs, that we are not much disposed to criticize too severely the specimens which actually come before us. Archdeacon Denison appears to be essentially an unworldly man; and the very treatment he has received is no small evidence of it. Here is a clergyman of aristocratic birth and high connexions;

a most distinguished and popular man at Oxford, with everything both in personal characteristics and historical antecedents to make him fall in with the compromising tone around him, yet coming out in lines of duty, and forms of enthusiasm naturally unattractive to a man like himself, of elegant manners, refined tastes, and fashionable associations. The subject which above all others he had chosen for the exercise of his peculiar talents is the education of the humbler classes; and in this most useful department of study and exertion he has constantly ranged himself on the side of the Church against the civil power. Nor, if we are correctly informed, have his zeal and charity in this great cause been confined to the press, the platform, or the council-board. We are told that he, a country parson with all that can attach him to domestic life, and with enough of public excitement to throw him back with more than common inducements upon the tranquil associations of home, has actually converted the principal rooms of his parsonage into a Training-School, into which he receives the sons of the middle classes, whose education he either conducts in part himself, or at any rate superintends with the most unflagging interest. Catholics can well appreciate the merit of such a sacrifice as far as regards the duties undertaken; but not many of them can estimate its peculiar difficulty in the case of a person with the antecedents and characteristics of Archdeacon Denison. Now we do think that the most ordinary generosity, not to say, humanity, should have rallied around such a man the whole available sympathies of his party. If, instead of vindicating their religion for them, he had fallen into some crime or misdemeanour, his previous services to the Establishment should have come in arrest of cutting words and a harsh demeanour. But what is the fact? Archdeacon Denison follows up these almost heroic acts of spiritual charity, in its most important yet least romantic form, by a zealous advocacy of what he, and what his partizans *believed* to be Catholic doctrine, and what was at all events an advance in the movement to which they are all professedly committed. What is their course? They hold their peace about these opinions, *till* the doctrine of the Archdeacon is attacked; they restrain their loud complaints, till it is actually condemned. But an adverse sentence, and a threatened deprivation, form the signal for querulous

objections and a base and cowardly desertion of their own champion. If this account of the matter seem almost incredible in the case of persons who, where party considerations do not intervene, are men of honourable feeling, apt to insist to an excess upon what may be called the ethics of gentlemanliness, let the correspondence columns of the *Guardian* be examined with an especial eye to the letter of the Rev. William Gresley, one of the last persons from whom we should have expected such a demonstration, did we not know from sad experience how party bias can dry up the natural goodness of a kind and generous heart. Indeed it has ever been one of the most unsatisfactory properties of the "Anglo-Catholic" party, as a party, that it has little or no sympathy with the spirit of self-sacrifice. It was the same thing twelve years ago. As long as a man keeps on the safe side it will go all lengths with him; but the moment he goes a step beyond the boundary line of his party instructions, and so gets himself into trouble, and is threatened with penalties, he becomes "rash," "injudicious," "impetuous," "crotchety," a "traitor to the cause," etc., etc. And then, good-bye to all further support and sympathy. Should he find himself in the Court of Arches, or other such cauldron of hot water, where he is sure to have the worst of the matter, and plenty of abuse for his pains, straightway the tables are quite turned against him; and a most ingenious process of argumentation is adopted in his regard, which at once saves the cause and throws him overboard. The tribunal which, had it decided in his favour, would have earned for itself immortal praise, is condemned for having decided against him; but the odd thing is, that he is condemned too. He is wrong, and his judges are wrong; and all that is quite certain is that the judgment is worth nothing at all; *only*, that it would be worth anything to get it reversed. Should the Arches' Court, for instance, condemn Archdeacon Denison and the Privy Council reinstate him, we should not be surprised were he once more to be regarded as a champion of the orthodox truth, who has won a great battle for the Church of England, and elicited from it a new "sign of life." But, should his failure be complete, and all the judgments go against him, then he will be no better than a wrong-headed fanatic,

who has betrayed his party by statements of doctrine extravagant and unnecessary, if not positively erroneous.

In the meantime, the doughty Archdeacon has taken the prudent course of disengaging himself from "such a set," and adopting another class of friends into his counsels and confidence. We gather from what has fallen from the *Union*, that he is thoroughly disgusted, as well he may be, with the treatment he has received from those in whose cause he has risked the loss of all his preferment, and ruined, whatever may be the issue of his case, all his professional prospects. Now, be his errors what they may, whether in doctrine or in judgment, those errors cannot possibly be such as would disentitle him to the praise he deserves for such an unequivocal exhibition of sincerity; and the *Union* comes recommended to us on the very surface of the undertaking, by the fact of its espousing heartily a dropped and unpopular cause, to its own hindrance, upon the mere ground of sympathy with an honest and most ill-used man.

In its treatment of ourselves and our religion, we recognize in the new Anglican periodical a still and far more striking evidence of the same generous and self-sacrificing spirit. Fair and candid, even though vigorous and energetic, opposition to our claims, we have a right to expect, and shall never as we trust be found to deprecate it. But what we have good reason to complain of is, that cowardly and desultory mode of sharp-shooting warfare, which implies no steady counter-position, and meets us everywhere, and assails us anyhow, but by manifestly confronting us. These form the characteristic tactics of a certain set of Anglican writers, who appear to be in no great favour either with Archdeacon Denison or with the promoters of the *Union*. The two specimens we shall particularly select of the mode of controversy to which we object, are to be found in two periodicals of undoubted ability,—the *Guardian* and *Christian Remembrancer*, but especially the former. For the life of us, we can never make out in what point of view English Catholics are regarded in these and similar vehicles of Anglican opinion. Do they look upon us as schismatics, or as composing the English manifestation of that great communion, which in France or Italy they appear to recognize as Christ's representative on earth? If the former let them boldly say it, and we shall have no quarrel with them. If the latter, upon what

conceivable view of propriety, upon what principle, except that of simply playing up to, and no wise forming, or guiding, the public opinion of the majority of their readers, can they justify their practice of habitually ignoring us, appropriating without comment, still less protest, the language or phraseology of the Protestant and infidel press in our regard; trying to pick holes wherever they think themselves to find occasion in the administration of our system, or echoing the cry of every malcontent with only just so much of apparent candour as to barb the arrows of their satire; reporting, as if for the purpose of disparaging conversions to the Catholic faith, some stray instance of a miserable apostacy from it, generally the result of a rebellion against authority, or a reaction from needful discipline; dealing side-thrusts at us in the Letters of Correspondents, "for which the editor is not held responsible," though he might of course exclude them if he so pleased, or in "reviews" which are "uncontroversial" matter, or in "miscellaneous intelligence" which is pure "information;" and not least of all, absolutely refusing advertisements of our books,* while any kind of heresy, and semi-infidelity, can command the advantage of such publicity as the organs in question can give them. And while the columns in which all this unprincipled dealing is matter of weekly occurrence, are never opened to replies from the only quarter cognizant of the facts misrepresented or exaggerated, they are readily made the vehicles of reports or conjectures, the one often conspicuously untrue, and the other founded in an ignorance of our real condition, which would be simply ludicrous, if mere ridicule were its appropriate treatment. Thus we have lately been favoured with the singular revelation that a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church is likely to further the cause of Gallicanism in France; and again, that Cardinal Wiseman and Dr. Newinan have been measuring swords on the plains of the early Church, in *Fabiola* and *Callista*, and venting their respective oldstanding grudges against converts and born Catholics in the persons of the characters they describe. If these worthy gentlemen

* Several cases of this kind are within our certain knowledge. Thus the *Guardian* refused to advertise a Drama founded on events of early church history, because written by a Catholic.

really knew how supremely absurd such imaginations appear to those who know anything of the facts, they would, for their own credit, abstain from indulging in them. "Ultramontanism," indeed, forms a perfect cluster of mare's-nests to these inquirers. Persons should be aware that this is a word scarcely ever used by Catholics in this country, where "Gallicanism," like Jansenism, expresses a form of almost obsolete opinion. We are again delighted to observe that the *Union* has no sympathy with a series of papers which has appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer*, on the subject of Moral Theology.* If there be any matter connected with our religion upon which Protestants of whatever ability and learning are wholly disqualified from speaking, it is this; they invariably fall into the *πρωτον ψευδος* of supposing that the theology of the Confessional is referred to the same standard with that of the Pulpit; that where, for instance, it is taught how much a person can do without sinning, or without sinning grievously, our books are speaking of the lessons to be inculcated to our people, in preaching or spiritual direction, not of the securities with which the Confessor is to be provided against the danger of an over-severe judgment on the condition of a penitent. But if the *Christian Remembrancer* desire to know of a case for which the most lenient of Catholic theologians has failed to devise an apologetic construction, or to remove it from the category of undoubted grievous sins of injustice, we will supply him with such an one. To charge a theologian, much more one of the very highest reputation, with propounding a theory identically the same with that of a rationalist of the most extreme school; of a man who goes the length of calling our Blessed Lord "a mere teacher of natural religion, averse to dogma of all kinds," would be, in the judgment of every Catholic authority, a calumny of the highest order; far more serious, if we will but consider for a moment, than imputing to the same person any error, of whatever magnitude, in detail, because it is to attribute to him a general view subversive of the

* We cannot quote the actual words; but the writer of the notice expressed satisfaction that the *Christian Remembrancer* had stopped short of the *Ninth* (i. e. our *Eighth*) Commandment of the Decalogue, "*Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.*"

Faith altogether. It is a sin of that kind which, in the judgment of our moral theologians, and we should have thought of any honourable person, not only demands a contrite acknowledgment, but an act of restitution in the form of an apology as public as the false imputation itself. On a certain occasion,* the particulars of which are authen-

* "I will take this opportunity, of putting on record the existing state of a significant controversy between the *Christian Remembrancer* and myself; if controversy that can be called, on which one side maintains a persevering silence.

"Let me here cite a passage from the Preface to the Final Letter :

"I must take advantage of this opportunity, for want of a better, to comment on another matter connected with my former Letter ; and to express my great surprise at the silence of the *Christian Remembrancer* on certain matters contained in it. I am not alluding, of course, to my various allegations of theological and argumentative inaccuracy against that Review ; every periodical has the full right to determine for itself on the time of noticing an antagonist, or whether it shall notice him at all. But all honest men will agree with me, that where a question of misrepresentation is concerned, however unintentional such misrepresentation may have in the first instance been, the case is widely different.

"Now, in my former Letter (p. 47, note,) I drew attention to a statement in the *Christian Remembrancer* that Father Newman's account "of the origin of the existing dogmatic Christianity" is "substantially identical" with that of a Mr. Ierson ; who considers our Lord to have been "a mere preacher of natural religion," averse to dogmas of all sorts. This imputation was grounded on a single passage in Father Newman's recent Lectures. Altogether denying that his words could fairly bear such an interpretation, I drew attention however to another passage in the same Lectures ; on which I observed, that "if Father Newman had been aware of Mr. Ierson's statement, and wished to express distinctly the precise contradictory to it, I see not how he could have used more explicit language." I then proceeded to say : "As several readers of the *Christian Remembrancer* may not have looked through Father Newman's Lectures, I cannot doubt that the Editor's sense of justice will lead him to insert this passage, when his attention is drawn to it ; in order that his readers may judge for themselves how far he has truly represented Father Newman's doctrine." As soon as my pamphlet was published, I forwarded it to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer* ; and I added a private note, expressly drawing his attention to this comment of mine, and to no other part of the whole pamphlet. Two numbers of his

ticated below, strong and sufficient reasons were afforded to the editor of the publication which has lately taken up the subject of Moral Theology in general, for considering that a statement made in that quarterly against Dr. Newman, was not only not the expression of the truth, but its direct contradictory. What was his course of procedure? These reasons were brought twice in succession before the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*; yet will it be believed that from that day to this (and the fact occurred nearly five years ago) he has neither attempted to justify his assertion, nor on the other hand, has he gone a single step towards withdrawing it. Now if the *Christian Remembrancer* can produce a word from St. Alphon-

periodical have since appeared, and not the slightest notice has been taken of my communication.

"Now, here is an imputation brought against no ordinary person, of as "unspeakably disparaging" a nature (to use my former phrase,) as can well be conceived; it would be more true to say, of as "grossly calumnious;" though I was unwilling to use the word "*calumny*," in the then position of circumstances. The Editor, on being expressly applied to, will not so much as allow his readers (if he can help it) to see a passage of the same writer's, which has been alleged as in itself a sufficient refutation of such calumny. If such controversial tactics are to exist, may they ever continue in the undisputed possession of our opponents!

"As soon as the present pamphlet is out, I shall forward a copy of it to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*; and shall again add a private note, drawing his attention to this Preface."

"I fulfilled the intention here expressed, and two more numbers of the *Christian Remembrancer* have since appeared; but no notice whatever has been taken of my appeal to the Editor's common fairness and controversial honesty.

"A charge has been brought forward by this worthy Editor, the most destructive one can well imagine of an opponent's reputation. If he still believe the charge true, where can be the common manliness and courage of a man that hangs back from vindicating it? If (as I suppose one may fairly presume from his silence,) he now knows it to be false, what terms can we find suitable to designate the conduct of one, who will wilfully, deliberately, and continuously, cling to the grossest false-witness, rather than give an opponent his fair controversial advantage?

"I shall forward this Preface also to the Editor, and add a third private letter, drawing his special attention to the present position of the case."—*Ward's (W. G.) Letters on the Anglican Establishment*, pp. xlvii, xlviii.

sus, or any other Catholic casuist, in defence of such morality as this, we will readily admit that he has fully made out his case of "laxity" against the teaching of the Catholic Church on the subject of sin.

Wearied of the faltering tone of controversy of which the organs of Anglicanism have given us for years such an abundant supply; pained and disgusted with their exhibitions of unfairness to a degree which has often obliged us to put them from our sight as positive occasions of grievous annoyance, it is, indeed, a great relief to us to find that our dissatisfaction has not been without sympathy even among Anglicans themselves, and that this feeling has now mounted to such a height as to demand for itself a distinct vehicle of expression conducted in every way on principles the very opposite to those which have formed the rule of its predecessors. We recognize in this fact an amount of fairness and generosity towards ourselves which demands our gratitude, and here receives the expression of it. Nay, far more than this, we regard it as proof of a disposition upon which all our belief and experience would lead us to anticipate that a divine blessing must follow. Indeed, that courteous, respectful, and sympathising demeanour which the *Union* adopts in our regard, is the plain dictate of common sense upon any hypothesis concerning us which escapes the manifold absurdity of treating us as no better than a set of schismatical intruders. If we be part and parcel of the great Catholic Church throughout the world (and where is the high Anglican who now ventures to deny, in plain terms, that we are so?) our adversaries cannot, in any way, more conspicuously write up their own condemnation, than by regarding the signs of our progress as matters of indifference in a Christian point of view. If disunited from us, let them prove their own independent basis of authority; but if one with us, certainly their method of establishing their claim of unity is the most extraordinary that ever entered into the mind of man. Again, can anything be plainer, than that, if they are to combat the growing infidelity to which they cannot shut their eyes, they adopt a most ruinous and suicidal policy in affecting to depreciate *us*? And further, setting controversy wholly aside, is our actual position in this country, at the present moment, one, which the organs of a religious party, even on merely literary grounds, can afford to ignore? The *u*

has gone by, and for ever, when there is even a pretence for treating us as an obscure sect. The numbers of eminent men who have enrolled themselves under our banner, and are now occupying the very foremost place in our ranks; the churches annually, and almost monthly, arising in all parts of England, which without decreasing the congregations of their neighbours, never fail to secure an ample flock of their own; the ancient and time-honoured Liturgy which has won the reverence, and been illustrated by the learning, of some of their own body, represented in many places with becoming if not adequate accompaniment of solemnity; numerous frequented missions and confessionals; communions by hundreds, nay, thousands; a normal church-government, an united and most irreproachable hierarchy, and a state of the most friendly intercourse, and active intercommunion, with the Church throughout the world; if these be tokens of a religious *status* which can reasonably be despised, then we must ask for some definition of one which shall deserve to command attention.

But now comes the difficulty which, to our minds the *Union*, far from solving it, has but brought out in a more conspicuous light. How is so much as this to be admitted without proceeding further? If the Catholic Church be what she is, and what the *Union* confesses, or rather glories, that she is, even in England, what place is left for any rival body, especially for one which is only respectable as long as it keeps in its own place, and that a most subordinate one, which never can be made one with the Catholic Church for the wishing it, and which, besides being insignificant in the eyes of Catholic Christendom, becomes perfectly absurd the moment it uses big words about itself, or dresses itself up in plumes borrowed from its royal neighbour?

The *Union*, we think, has made it clear that the Anglicans must choose one of two positions. In their case the maxim which connects honesty with policy must be reversed. Either they must be politic without being honest, or honest without being politic. The *Union*, much to its credit, has embraced the latter alternative; and we suspect will soon learn that it has made a sacrifice of interest to principle. Dr. Newman has observed, again and again, that the Anglican claim can never be maintained at all except under a strong and constant protest against Catho-

licity. The Reformation was based upon the declaration of the Pope's being Antichrist. It was a most convenient phrase, which superseded whole shiploads of argument, and had the further advantage of being most impressive to the imagination. What the English divines of the Elizabethan age, and their successor down to the time of the Tractarian movement in 1828 (with a few honourable exceptions) successively held and taught about Rome, was based upon a most politic view, or rather flowed from a most sagacious instinct which events have fully justified. The *Union* may depend upon it that the position it has taken up is essentially a false position. There has been many a divine of the Anglican Establishment who has had no natural antipathy to the Catholic Church, but who has been forced by the necessities of his position to prophecy against her; or when he has started on another basis he has been obliged, sooner or later, either to retrace his steps, or to leave his communion. Look at Dr. Pusey for instance. No one can question that he was far more "Roman" twelve years ago than he is at present. Would he now speak as he then did of Dr. Newman's conversion as a thing scarcely to be deprecated, inasmuch as he had merely gone over to do his Lord's work "in another part of the vineyard?" Again, what does all experience teach us about the probable effects of attempts after Catholic Unity? When these attempts (like Archbishop Wake's) have taken the form of proposed *negotiations*, they have always ended in disappointment: when, like those of later years, they have been actuated by a loyal and hearty love of the Catholic Church as she is, their issue has been in the individual conversion of a few, and the retrograde movement of the rest. The projectors of the *Union* may rely that, unless matters are wholly altered, and an extensive spirit have arisen in high quarters of the Church Establishment, perfectly alien to those by which it has always hitherto been moved, this new advance towards Catholic Unity will follow all its predecessors, and find its long home in the tomb of the Capulets.

There is, indeed, one case only in which the *Union* can reasonably expect to have anything like a settled or permanent standing in the Established Church, and that is one which we almost dread to contemplate. There are not wanting signs of a compromise between different

religious schools in the Establishment which would indicate a dereliction of principle happily as yet without formal precedent, though not without ominous presage among the various shifts and expedients by which it has been attempted to unite the dissimilar elements of that body. The compromise to which we refer, is one by which all specially Christian doctrine, would be sacrificed to mere practical *earnestness*. We fully admit that a coalition upon this basis, among high, low, and broad churchmen, would present a most serious (temporary) obstacle to the progress of Catholic Truth, and by consequence the best prospect of a renewed life to Anglicanism. But what is far worse in our eyes than the first of these results, and what ought to be regarded by Anglicans themselves as a dear price for the second, is, that such a compromise must inevitably be the immediate forerunner of a state of infidelity, compared with which even English Protestantism, as long as it preserves its original characteristics, would itself be a decided gain. Now of such a coalition, we confess that even the *Union* has given some, though as yet not very unequivocal symptoms. It has published, and apparently with approval, a list of preachers who are to fill the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, during the present season of Lent, which contains names so utterly discordant, that unless there be an intention of making that pulpit an arena of fierce controversy, there must plainly have been some expressed or implied understanding that doctrinal differences are to be dropped. Again, we gather from the tone in which the *Union* speaks of the "Evangelical" clergy that it recognises some available common ground upon which they and even Romanizers might meet with advantage to the common cause of Christianity. Moreover, the very principle upon which the *Union* is established, gives some encouragement to the same sad suspicion. Now, even if these fears be well founded, the *Union* deserves no other censure than such as is due to it for exhibiting a principle hitherto acknowledged in its party in a more extravagant and therefore less dangerous form. A coalition between Evangelicals and Romanizers is more preposterous indeed, but it is not more unprincipled, than one between Evangelicals and Tractarians. It is not much more for an Evangelical to admit Transubstantiation as an open question, than for a Tractarian to regard Baptis-

mal Regeneration in the same light. For the Tractarian and Evangelical respectively represent, not indeed (on both sides) the full formal, still less authoritative, teaching, but the main characteristics, of the Catholic Faith and the Lutheran heresy. The Tractarians do or did teach, not indeed upon authority, but as the result of a correct exercise of private judgment upon Scripture and Antiquity, a doctrine identically the same with our own on the subject of Baptism. Their error was, or is, not in what they admit, but in what they disclaim or ignore in the way of complement, or counterpoise, to their doctrine. They recognize the Sacramental theory of religion, which is *toto cælo* opposed to the merely Personal one, maintained and acted upon by their controversial opponents. Yet more important, because it strikes more directly at the root of all morality, is the difference between the same parties on the subject of Justification; for no amount of *practical* contradiction (in their own personal lives) of their teaching, on that point, - can exempt the Evangelicals from the charge of being the propagators of one of the most immoral heresies that ever was broached against the Church.

Now we think too well of the promoters of the *Union* to suppose that they are formally conscious of the view which they thus appear to countenance. But we are not the less anxious, as far as our own humble protest may avail, to deprive them of the plea of invincible ignorance on such a subject.

If there were any characteristic of the original Tractarian movement, more prominent than another, it was the zealous maintenance of the principle of orthodoxy. Let any one who was acquainted with Mr. Froude, for instance, (who may be considered the *joint* founder of the School) imagine for a moment, the horror with which he would have regarded such combinations as those of which we hear at present! Let the tone of the *Christian Year* be called to mind, or of some of the Tracts, especially those attributed to Dr. Newman, and let this tone be made the standard for measuring a project of union between Tractarians and Evangelical with Rationalism for an *amalgam*. Can there be a more signal proof of the miserable degeneracy into which a once eminent and most conscientious party has fallen, than that such men as Mr. Keble or Dr. Pusey, should contemplate a project of this kind without public remonstrance, if not even

assist it by their active cooperation? How many of the dogmatic statements of the Athanasian Creed, or of the Four First Councils, do they suppose would find acceptance in the quarters with which they manifest a desire to fraternize? It was but a short time ago, that words were quoted in the *Union* as having fallen from the lips of a leading "Evangelical" dignitary of the Church of England of which no better account could be given than that they symbolized the rankest and most blasphemous Nestorianism. Now let it be fairly considered whether, with the great body of the Tractarians, the principle of dogmatic orthodoxy must not have given way to another totally subversive of it, and according to which the maintenance of Catholic Truth is subordinated to the object of discountenancing conversions to the Roman Church?

We need scarcely say that we have no thought of charging the *Union* with any such perversion of principle as this. We trace in its pages such unequivocal proofs of sympathy with converts to the Catholic faith, *qua* converts, such a total absence of the disposition manifested elsewhere to ignore their very existence, except when some opportunity presents itself of saying an ill-natured thing about them, that we cannot for a moment doubt that it would regard conversion to the Catholic faith not merely as an alternative preferable to the sacrifice of Christian doctrine, but as an immense gain in all cases where conscience permitted it. But we must not the less plainly request of the *Union* to review its own position, and fairly consider whether it be not, with whatever excellent intentions, lending a help to a movement so ruinous to all religion and all morality as that we have just described: Better any thing; better far the pugnacious Anglicanism of Dr. Hook; better even the consistent anti-Popery of the *Sentinel*, or the sanctimonious twaddle of the *Record*, (falsehoods excepted); nay, better any kind of heresy in its naked deformity, than this *omnium gatherum* of opinions, overspreading that vast arena of the excursions of Private Judgment which separates the Faith of Peter from the very verge of the abyss of German scepticism, and in which every form of heretical conjecture, while it loses nothing of its own perverseness, takes up into itself this enormous evil in addition, that it practically renounces even the pretension to truth, and admits the fatal principle

that a foundation can be raised for erecting a Gospel superstructure upon the *debris* of all dogmatic teaching.

It will be gathered, therefore, that our feeling about this new organ of Anglicanism is of a most mixed character. With the utmost respect for the persons who have set it up, with the highest approbation of the motives which have evidently dictated it, and with a very real gratitude for all its generous dealing in our own regard, we neither augur for it, nor even wish for it, a long term of existence, unless indeed (which we suspect would give it its *coup de grace*.) it formally repudiate all sympathy with this most detestable "earnestness" theory. We feel about it what we have so often felt about the preservation of what are called "Romanizing" churches. So far as we look *merely* at the external credit and public prosperity of the Catholic Church, at the effect of the testimony to its claims implied in such facts, at the number and brilliancy of the conversions likely to follow upon them, we must needs wish God speed to St. Paul's and St. Barnabas's, and All Saints, Margaret Street, and St. Andrew's, Wells Street, and St. Mary Magdalene's, and all similar establishments, in which our doctrines are insinuated, our ritual copied, and a perfect harvest of converts gradually prepared for us, ready for the sickle of the Church whenever the good angel shall see fit to put in his hand among the golden crop. These are the cheap Training-Schools of the English Catholic Church, and when the disciples from time to time come over to us, we find that their effect has been to lighten, and almost supersede, the labour of our catechists. And if these schools, like others, must have their chronicle, to stimulate their efforts, by publishing their proceedings and keeping up a constant understanding with friends out of doors, by all means let the *Union* go on and flourish, and buy off the opposition of powerful adversaries by throwing no stones from so vulnerable an edifice as its own.

But how can we wish that good should come to us out of a system *materially* wrong, and only *formally* excusable, so long as it can be supposed to be based in unquestionable good faith? How can we wish any man to make shipwreck of his own soul, or help him to do so, even though the result were to be a perfect argosy of spiritual treasure to ourselves? Now our conviction is, that any of these persons who will seriously allow himself to review

his position, (and we extend the remark far beyond the mere "Romanizers,") must see, if he will but open his heart before God, and decide as God sees him and will judge him at the Last Day, that he is making a compromise of every thing which can be called *faith* in favour of something which, disguised though it may be under a plausible exterior, is a matter of this present world. Let him but reflect upon the various standing points to which he has clung, as the only conditions of religious security, which have been cut away from beneath him as time has gone on. Thus many a man, whom ten years ago we should have thought it calumny to charge with insincerity, staked the catholicity of the Anglican Establishment upon its adherence to the doctrine of the Two Sacraments received by it. It was nothing, they said, that an Ecclesiastical Court should decide against Stone Altars, (though it did so on the direct ground that they favoured the exploded idea of a sacrifice), for, they added, they must divest the Judgment of its reasons, which they declared to be merely the *obiter dicta* of the Judge. Later, when the same court condemned the plea of "holding, as distinct from teaching, all Roman doctrine," they disposed of this judgment also, by drawing a distinction between Catholic and Roman Doctrine, though the Judge specified among the articles of belief forbidden, doctrines which upon no conceivable view could be excluded from their catalogue of credenda. Their cry always was, "We have the Sacraments, and will cleave to them. What Ecclesiastical Court will venture to proscribe or tamper with them?" Perilous confidence! No long time afterwards, Baptismal Regeneration, the very keystone of their system, (as they had always alleged) was declared, on appeal to the highest tribunal, to be an "open question." Well, they stormed and protested for awhile, and based all their hopes upon an indignant rejection of the judgment by bishops, clergy, and people. But bishops acquiesced, clergy were divided, and people indifferent. Then they said, "But what a providence that it is only a secular Tribunal which has pronounced; what Churchman cares for the Queen in Council?" Then they said, "What a mercy the doctrine was not *condemned* instead of being simply *opened*;" not seeing that these two latter arguments came to the fate of the Kilkenny cats. For if the Tribunal were insignificant, its judgment did not matter; on the

other hand, if the judgment might have been worse, this showed that it was bad ; and if bad at all, it was certainly bad enough to ruin their cause. They might choose either alternative, but could not embrace both, for they were contradictory. But so anxiously did they catch at straws, that they could not quite decide whether to throw the Tribunal overboard, or to derive comfort from the Judgment, and accordingly they did both by turns, which was absurd. As time proceeded, they began not merely to find that the Judgment was not after all as bad as it might have been, but that it was even a point gained. For when the other Sacrament was threatened with attack they defended themselves, not on the ground of its dogmatic certainty, but of their own liberty, in common with its opponents, and this argument was favoured by using the judgment of the Privy Council on Baptism as a precedent. Thus is it that the griefs of an earlier stage of adversity are even the consolations of a later ; and we are inclined to think that the Anglicans of the present time would willingly compound for the same Judgment on their Second Sacrament as they had on their First ; nay, that so thankful are they for "sma' mercies," as even to account it a blessing should the doctrine of the Archdeacon come out of the Committee of Privy Council endorsed with a merely permissive sanction. But does any one imagine that should every Court in this kingdom condemn that doctrine, (which *certainly* involves the Real Presence, according to any reasonable construction of those words,) this party would not find a "lower even than the lowest" depth on which to take their stand ? The fact is, that like *Acres* in the play, after shifting their ground without success, they have at length found it an error to stake the hypothetical display of their courage upon definite contingencies, and fix their *ultimatum* in some position too intangible for the attack even of their pugnacious masters, such as the judgment of a possible "Council of the Universal Church," (i.e. including the Anglican).* The inimitable dramatist has just anticipated their case :—

"*Sir Lucius.* Pho, pho! you are little better than a coward.

* See a Declaration on the Denison Case, published in the *Guardian* of the time.

"Ares. Mind, gentlemen, he calls me a coward; coward was the word by my valour.

"Sir Lucius. Well, Sir?

"Ares. Look ye, Sir Lucius, 't isn't that I mind the word coward—coward may be said in a joke.—But if you had call'd me a poltroon, odds daggers and balls—

"Sir Lucius. Well, Sir?

"Ares. Why then—I should have thought you a very ill-bred gentleman."

The following anecdote to the same point is true in its essentials. A gentleman of the Tractarian party who happened to be not quite *au courant* of the rapid succession of stunning events in the "*annus mirabilis*" (1845) was urged by a Catholic convert, better informed than himself on the news of the day, with the inconsistency of his position. "I pin my faith," was the reply, "upon Mr. A. What satisfies him, may satisfy me. While he stays, I stay." "Then," rejoined the convert, "you have put a strong argument in my hands; for probably you don't know that Mr. A. has been received." "Impossible," rejoined his friend. "Well, but at any rate Dr. B. is firm, and I fall back upon him." "I have just heard," said the convert, "that Dr. B. also has become a Catholic." "You don't say so," was the reply; "there is no faith to be placed in man. I take my standing, after all, upon the Fathers and the old Anglican divines." There was no answering this.

Now, there are no Anglicans, of the school of Dr. Pusey, who are not involved in these tremendous inconsistencies. Hence we can view with no real satisfaction, or unqualified approval, *any* formal act, be it the opening of a new church, or setting up of a new periodical, which commits a body of clergymen and laymen to the expressed or implied defence of a position which if conscious is dishonest, and ridiculous, whether conscious or not. We cannot quite bring ourselves to treat as a mere event in providence what we cannot but think involves more or less of fatal self-deception in some at least of those who are concerned in it; and if the editor of the *Union* or any of his coadjutors were to come to us for advice, we think no sensible man could complain were we to address him in some such terms as the following: "If the Catholic Church be in your opinion all that you publicly maintain her to be, pure in doctrine, indisputable in authority,

effective in action; whereas your own communion, upon your own showing, is totally deficient in every note of the true Spouse of Christ; in the name of common sense why do you not become a Catholic; why do you not 'leave the dead to bury their dead,' and open your ears without distraction to the voice of God so plainly pleading with you?" But as these gentlemen are not likely to give us the opportunity of addressing to them this or any other counsel in person, we must fall back upon our ground as reviewers, and treat their publication as a mere literary fact.

There is yet, however, a view of their ulterior object in starting this paper, which we are bound in justice to them to notice, because although, as we shall try to show, fallacious, it is infinitely more creditable than would be any attempt to effect union among themselves on a basis of doctrinal compromise. We think it then highly probable that this paper differs from its compeers, as in generosity and fairness, so likewise in having a deliberate view towards union with the Catholic Church. Upon no other supposition can we explain its tone of simple loyalty towards ourselves. The talent and earnestness with which it is often written forbid the supposition that it is merely started as a kind of ecclesiastical "lark," with no better object in view than to keep the *Record* in a perpetual fidget, or throw honest Mr. Spooner into hysterics. We confess to having passed through a stage of such misgiving, but it has yielded to the evidence a serious intention which the progress of the *Union* has disclosed.* Let us assume, then, that the *Union* implies a really honest attempt to work up towards "Catholic Unity." It is not the first time in our recollection that such an attempt has been made, though, as we said at the outset, it is a wonderful proof of the railway pace at which right opinions have advanced, that such a design, or at any rate, what looks like it, can proceed so smoothly, and that it should have such a number of considerable persons to back it up, as the mere establishment (quite apart from the success) of a new paper unquestionably indicates.

What, then, is meant by Catholic union? Does it mean

* Since the above was written this assumption has been fully justified. See the *Union*, No. 9.

a union of bodies, or an extensive "coming over" of individuals to the Catholic Church? We will say a few words on each hypothesis.

The union which, fifteen years ago, certain Anglicans contemplated, was what they called a union of churches, in which certain members of the Anglican body were poetically supposed to go cap in hand to the feet of the Pope as delegates from their society, and tender him, in the name and on the behalf of their communion, her humble submission, on the condition of his yielding in their favour certain open, or supposed open, points of discipline, or other dispensable matters. Now in case the Established Church (when a more compact whole than it now is) had tendered its allegiance to the Holy See upon condition of certain practicable relaxations nowise affecting the faith, or essential characteristics, of the Roman Church, we doubt not that the Holy Father would have received such a proposition with the respect to which it would be entitled, and have addressed himself to the consideration of it with that regard to the spiritual interests of a great people which has never failed to characterize the ecclesiastical diplomacy of the Holy See. What answer he would give, is another question.

If, indeed, this project of a corporate Union as it now stands, were clear of all religious objection in itself, we can assure the favourers of it that we would never say a word in discouragement of it on the ground of any apparent *practical* difficulties standing in the way of it. Neither indeed should we, as mere reviewers, have any right to express our judgment upon a matter which the instant it is removed from the department of theory, would fall naturally within the strict province of ecclesiastical authority. But while it may properly be regarded as a mere subject of public discussion, we would, with the utmost respect for the truly excellent persons who, on whichever side have expressed sympathy with it, presume, as unofficial critics like themselves, to throw out the following considerations bearing on the question. An union of bodies implies that there are bodies to unite. Now that this requirement is amply satisfied on our side, no one can doubt. But what, we would ask, is the actual organization on the other with which, upon this hypothesis, the Catholic Church is to be brought into relations? If it be a body in any sense, it is an heretical body, which has no claim to go to the Church with any proposal but that

of unqualified submission. But what is the "Church of England" as it is now represented? What tokens of an organic body of any kind does it exhibit? Even its distinctive character as a State Establishment is becoming daily more and more evanescent, and when church-rates go, and tithes follow, and the bishops are excluded from the House of Lords, (none of them very improbable contingencies if sufficient time be allowed,) what more will this Church of England be than a collection of independent circles without any cementing bond or substantive footing? But, looking at the same institution as the representation of a certain form of belief, (and it is of course in this character that it would have any right to come to the Holy See with propositions of union,) can anything be conceived more utterly heterogeneous than the appearance it presents? The old description "*Quot homines tot sententiæ*" expresses its doctrinal phase almost without exaggeration. Every conceivable variety of Protestant opinion finds shelter under its wing; its Formularies can be twisted any way; its Prayer-book construed to favour any kind of external worship, from mimic Romanism to that degree of ceremonial simplicity which touches close upon Quakerism or Presbyterianism itself; its pulpits resound with every kind of teaching short of the positive immoralities of Mormonism.* Again, therefore, we ask, what is this "body" which is to throw itself, in the person of any representatives which the imagination of man can picture, at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, and pray him to give it a *quid pro quo*? Truly the "*quid*" is manifest enough; but what is to be the "*quo*?" What right has a body which has no distinctive doctrine of its own, three-fourths of whose members do not care a straw even for Apostolical Succession in any sense, or the prerogatives of the priesthood—what claim has such a collection of discordant elements, miscalled a Church, to stipulate for what it shall receive on condition of what it has to give?

* We are amused with the corroboration of our conjectures as to the "Lent Sermons at Oxford," supplied in the *Union* of March 14. Speaking of the Bishop of London's Sermon on Temptation, the *Union* says, "We know not whether to be more struck by the preacher's ignorance of theology, or the utter absence of any depth of devotion or originality of thought to compensate for this want." Pretty well, this, for a lay commentary upon a "Successor of the Apostles." Dr. Hook does not fare much better at the hands of this too truthful organ.

What has it to give, unless indeed it be its unconditional homage to a Truth which shall dissipate all its doctrinal inventions; its uncompromising allegiance to a Church where sovereign authority will poise its swaying movements and overrule its never-ending doubts and vacillations? As things are, such an "union" would, as far as we can see, present nothing but the result of the attempt expressed in the words of the poet,

"Mortua quinetiam jungebant corpora vivis."

Forasmuch then as the very contemplation of the possibility of such a union, appears to us to imply an estimate of the actual Anglican establishment, which can scarcely be entertained without a compromise of Catholic principle, we must decline (subject of course to authoritative correction,) even to recognize as an admissible hypothesis, what if it were a mere difficult problem, would fall within the range of a providential solution, and melt under the omnipotence of our Blessed Lady's prayer.*

But in truth it can scarcely be an union of this kind which our worthy friends themselves contemplate. What "concessions" can they want who are so satisfied with everything in the Church as it is? In our experience we have never met externs to Catholic communion so meritoriously free from "crotchets." They will make, one and all, as satisfactory converts as have ever come to us. Seriously, they appear to be the very stuff of which good and loyal Catholics are made. Then, what can they want with the delays of negotiation and the involutions of diplomacy?

We must accordingly suppose that they intend to labour for an extensive accession of individuals to the communion of the Catholic Church. They wish, perhaps, to become Catholics in a large and honourable company. Now this, if it be fact, is a view of the case which must be met in the strongest terms of reprobation, consistent with great personal respect. We cannot as Catholics zealous for souls, recognize a periodical apart from the individuals conducting it. Either it is a duty to become a Catholic, or it is not. But if a duty, it is a matter of life and death which a man must perform at once, and at

* *Vide* note at the end of the article, p. 122.

whatever cost, not seek to do in the manner least unpleasant and most respectable. If our Blessed Lord would not permit a convert to bury his father, or take leave of his family, can it be thought that He would have allowed him to wait till he had collected a body of companions, or vanquished the prejudices of the rulers and Pharisees? This is precisely that method of dangerous delay, of "waiting for a more convenient season," which will swell the unhappy throng on the wrong side of the Judgment Seat, where, Heaven forefend these amiable and truth-seeking separatists should be found at the great Day of reckoning. Let us hope that the good prayers which they have won from Catholics *in viâ*, and the far more powerful suffrages which their reverential love of holiness will have secured them at the hands of the saints *in patria*, will obtain for them grace to conquer every obstacle which stands in their way to the blessedness of Catholic unity.

But whatever may be the object with which the *Union* is set up, whatever its prospects of success, its interest and importance as a "phenomenon" are quite independent of all conjectures and all contingencies. Its intentions will not affect its providential destiny, neither will the significancy of its appearance be increased by the length of its duration. Should it not survive the quarter which intervenes between our last and forthcoming publication, and should we thus be found to have been inditing its epitaph while we supposed ourselves engaged on its panegyric, or its commentary, the fact of its birth would not be the less interesting, nor the fruit of its labour less considerable than if it were to enjoy a much longer period of literary existence.

For the mere fact of such a newspaper being set up at all, cannot possibly upon the lowest supposition indicate less than that there is a certain body of influential persons in the Anglican Establishment penetrated by a simple and most loyal love of the Catholic Church; and so deeply penetrated too, as to desire, at whatever cost, an outlet for their sentiments. Every one knows that a new newspaper must represent a certain and considerable amount of strong, decided, and impatient feeling. It is essentially an adventure, and at best a hazardous one, which cannot be entered upon without a sacrifice of money, or fail without a disagreeable consciousness of defeat. And it is

the more remarkable that such an attempt should be made in the midst of actual and most ably conducted organs of Anglican opinion. For this gives to the undertaking the character of a *protest* as well as enhances its value as a symptom of determined zeal and uncontrollable sentiment.

Nor again does it make much difference in a Catholic's estimate of this phenomenon, whether it be transient or enduring. If, as we have said, we look to the spiritual good of the parties concerned in the undertaking, we should even desire that the *Union* may speedily break up. For the conversion of its promoters and supporters would, in that case, be a matter of certainty—as far, that is, as certainty can be predicated in such a case. The feeling in which it has originated, obstructed in the quarter which it has chosen for an efflux, must surely deviate into some less artificial channel. If, on the other hand, the *Union* should go on, its effect can scarcely be other than to remove prejudices which operate to the Church's hindrance, and to leaven the public mind over the area of its influence, with an amount of Catholic sympathy which must pave the way for a complete triumph of converting grace. All we hope and pray is, that, should such be its destiny, the end may be accomplished without injury to the great cause of doctrinal orthodoxy, and that the blessing of which the *Union* will thus be productive, may not miss the workmen while it crowns the work. And to say the truth, our hopes are here less sanguine than our wishes are sincere.

Note.—The few remarks towards the close of the foregoing article, on the subject of propositions towards Catholic Unity were written in entire ignorance of a discussion upon that matter which has since taken place in the pages of the *Union*. Any opinions therefore which those remarks may express, are utterly free from a controversial intention, though, but for such disclaimer, they might wear a controversial aspect; and their writer feels peculiarly anxious to disavow such a meaning, since he finds that the much-respected name of Ambrose Lisle Phillipps is still associated with those hopes of a corporate union, which he is personally unable to share. The matter, it will be seen, has been discussed in the body of the article, mainly upon what may be called common-sense grounds, and without reference to certain controverted questions which would be inappropriate in this place. But as the writer of the article has found, since it was in type, that the names of certain

Oxford converts favourable to the idea of an union of religious bodies upon a Catholic basis, fifteen years ago, have been introduced into this discussion, he may suggest that no charge of inconsistency can fairly be brought against any one, who in the later history of the Established Church has seen reason to alter an opinion of its attributes and capacities, founded upon its condition at a time when none of those startling "phenomena" had presented themselves which have succeeded one another in such portentously rapid succession, since the year when the idea of an "Union of Churches" was first mooted—1841. It may be added that Dr. Newman, the real head of the Oxford movement, never encouraged the idea in question.

ART. V.—1. *Communion of Labour*—A Second Lecture on the Social Employments of Women. By MRS. JAMESON. London: Longman, 1856.

2. *Hospitals and Sisterhoods*. London: Murray. 1855.

AMONG the many feelings roused by the stirring events of the present day, none are so deep or so diffused as those which have made men sensible that a reform of our public charitable institutions is imperative, and that the machinery hitherto brought to bear on the amelioration of our poor population, is insufficient for its purpose. Such an opinion is no new one to Catholics whose vivid remembrance of English history in bygone days, and whose acquaintance with the habits and customs of Catholic countries; in a word, whose knowledge of the *remedy* has made them fully aware of the enormity of the *evil* which even a casual visit to public institutions will present; but far beyond the Catholic Church has the feeling extended; among every body of professing Christians its expression has been heard, and it swells each day with a louder tone. The barrier of insular pride is broken down at last; the boast of Great Britain's perfection is fast dying away, and men are fain to confess that France and Belgium, and even Spain and Italy, have something to teach, have accomplished something she has left undone. It is not the Catholic only who, returning from his summer wandering on some foreign shore, and treading again the streets of busy England, misses the high white cap that shades

the placid brow of the daughters of St. Vincent. It is not the Catholic only who, entering our Hospitals, painfully contrasts the rough nurses with those gentle Sœurs ;—and then the Englishman turning a longing remembrance to the many holy institutes he has seen in foreign lands, clustering close as flowers on one shrub, and bringing forth their fruit in rich abundance, true to his national instinct of imitation, immediately plans or resolves how, in Protestant soil too, the fair plant shall take root and flourish ; and the Catholic looking on is rejoiced, but not surprised to find that effort and plan alike tell but one tale, and witness to the truth of his holy faith. A more remarkable evidence of this could scarcely be found than in the pages of the two works before us, which, while they have the same object in view, yet differ materially in their mode of treatment. In Hospitals and Sisterhoods, we find a bare record of facts noted with a rigid impartiality rarely found in these carping days of ours ;—the opinions of the writer do not even appear ; the account of the different institutions is taken word for word from their own reports and documents ; and facts and figures, dates and statistics, are left bare with no glowing colours to shade off the rough edges. The writer's sole purpose has evidently been to lay matters simply as they are before the world, and let each reader draw his own conclusion.

Communion of Labour pursues another track ; for while the facts mentioned are similar to those recorded in Hospitals and Sisterhoods, we are never suffered to forget that Mrs. Jameson *saw* them. Mrs. Jameson has passed judgment upon them, and has drawn conclusive evidence which *must* be true. Not that there is a word of unfairness in Mrs. Jameson's book. It is but the working of a vigorous mind with strong confidence in the truth of her own deductions, and with an entire misconception of the grounds upon which those deductions rest. However, Mrs. Jameson's strongly expressed opinions, and the unvarnished statements of "Hospitals and Sisterhoods" meet so closely, that the two voices sound in perfect harmony.

Both bear witness to the universal success of Catholic religious communities, and the equally universal failure of Protestant ones ;—both proclaim the evils to be met, and the necessity of a remedy ; and both declare their ignorance where that remedy in Protestant countries is to be found. In Hospitals and Sisterhoods, it is painful to

peruse the repeated demands for the services of Christian women, working, from love of God, in our Hospitals and other public charities;—the tale of souls perishing because there are none beside them in their hour of affliction or punishment, to whom they can turn for succour. We find countless plans and suggestions from chaplains, physicians, and benevolent men; proposals for the commencement of the good work have been repeatedly drawn up and signed by numbers of respectable and influential names; and to all the same result, the same reply is sent. “We did not get *one* offer to do this service for the love of Christ, and of the souls whom He died to redeem, though hundreds of my papers were circulated far and near.”

Although in all these suggestions for the formation of Protestant Sisterhoods, a scanty measure of approval of the Catholic ones is of necessity forced out from its promoters, *they* are careful to inform us that a life of charity and self-denial, is no stranger to the Protestant religion; and they triumphantly point to the deaconesses in Paris and Germany, as proof of their assertion. Accordingly, a brief account of their labours also, is found in Hospitals and Sisterhoods. Begun twenty years ago, backed by every assistance royal and noble benefactors could give, the deaconesses number considerably below 500; they are (with the exception of about twenty, from Kaiserworth) confined to their own provinces, where they first sprung, and where they are well fostered. Out of fifteen foundations, noticed in the pages before us, eight have been founded by rich patrons, and the scarcity of the number of deaconesses at once appears from the enormous disproportion between their numbers and their incomes.

We wonder what our communities of poor nuns, (too often obliged to refuse admission to others from want of funds) would say to a convent of six Sisters with £954 per annum; or another of eight, with £1700 per annum. All has not gone smoothly however, with Protestant Sisters; there have been dissensions in the camp. Among the Protestants in France, the flame broke out and the horrible accusation of Popery was levelled by Pasteur Coquerel at Pasteur Vermeil. Indignantly did Pasteur Vermiel repel the assault. He hastened to relieve the minds of the alarmed Protestants of France, by assuring them Rome herself owed her Sisters of Charity to the evangelical spirit of the Reformation, and that *they* exist-

ed only in France. The Sœurs de Charité, whom Mrs. Jameson once called ubiquitous, and the long array of the Dames Hospitalières, founded at the time of the crusades, and the ancient order of Beguines, are all myths in Pasteur Vermeil's imagination. Besides this, the rules and constitutions of his order, are so firmly set, that no Romish leaven can possibly creep in : *he* has no cloister, "the life of a Sister of Charity is passed out of doors."

We wonder where all the Catholic Sœurs pass their life; perhaps the "wards of the Hospitals, or the sick-rooms," or the tents near battle fields, are too much shelter for Pasteur Vermeil to countenance. In fact the whole of his rules for the conduct of the deaconesses border so nearly on the absurd, that we only wonder how the establishment holds together at all ; that it will not do so long, save perhaps in name, it needs hardly a prophet to tell us. *If* the Gospel be true, said a French Protestant clergyman, not long since, Protestantism in France cannot flourish, for "a house divided against itself cannot stand." The thorough exposé in forcible words by Mrs. Jameson, of the disgraceful moral state of our public charities, will, we trust, do some good. It is the state of our workhouses which has elicited from her the strongest remonstrance. She says, "Never did I visit any dungeon, any abode of crime or misery in any country which left the same crushing sense of sorrow, indignation, and compassion, almost despair, as some of our English workhouses." There is certainly a peculiar disgrace attached to us as a nation for the government of these "abodes of wretchedness and mass of human agonies." In penitentiaries and prisons there is at least the sense that by their own act in the majority of cases the suffering has been incurred ; but how widely different as regards a workhouse. No doubt the very worst of the poor are congregated there ; no doubt it is chiefly the vicious and idle who fill its walls, because it has so become the property of the vicious and idle, that the deserving poor for whose relief it was intended, abandon it to them and endure the keenest misery, often death from slow starvation, rather than be exposed to such pollution, and be subjected to a horrible slavery in their old age. For what purpose a workhouse was originally intended, Mrs. Jameson shall tell us. "They were intended to be religious and charitable institutions, to supply the place of those conventual hospitals and charities which, with their

revenues, were suppressed by Henry the Eighth." "The purpose of a workhouse is to be a refuge to the homeless, helpless poor, to night wanderers, to orphan children, to the lame and blind, to the aged who will lie down on their last bed to die." These purposes then were the intention of the charity of those bygone ages, of those useless monasteries, of those idle dissolute monks, of those miserable imbecile "cloistered" nuns, whom the glorious Reformation swept away from the face of England. In their stead, for those who would have craved a night's lodging at the abbey gate, we prepare the "casualty ward" of the workhouse, described by those who* know it as an earthly hell,—the halt, the maimed, the blind, who would *then* have been tended by the Sœurs Hospitalières, we *now* commit to the tender mercies of some drunken virago; the orphan children and the young girls, once safely guarded within convent walls, in purity and peace, we train in the polluting atmosphere of the "union," for a life of sin; and when they have accomplished the end for which they were prepared, the virtuous men and women of England shrink from the contemplation of their own handy work as a subject too dreadful to be dwelt on, and for which there is no remedy. "Send a girl to us, Ma'am," said the relieving officer of St. ——— Workhouse, to a lady who was seeking a refuge for one, "and if you want to find a sure way to ruin her that will do it."

But is there not a chaplain, demands some one, shocked at these revelations? There is, but Mrs. Jameson assures us that he is but "a religious accident;" often from the lowness of their stipends, and the rough treatment they have to encounter from the Board, the chaplains are the most inferior of their profession, who do not attempt to do more than "hurry over a few prayers;" but even when the office is filled by earnest and active men, they are forced to confess that their influence is nought, their labours almost useless; "in his presence," says Mrs. Jameson, "the oaths, the curses, the vile language, cease to recommence the moment his back is turned." Thus does Christian England, who is for ever shuddering at some awful immorality she has heard of in foreign countries, teach virtue and faith to *her* poor.

* See the recent exposure elicited by an unexpected night visit of the Lord Mayor and Recorder of the City of London.

On Penitentiaries also Mrs. Jameson dwells at length; the ill success of their system is again her theme, caused in her opinion by the "incredible rashness and incredible mistakes" of those who conduct them. Can anything be conceived more likely to disgust the poor outcasts with a return to the path of virtue, than the prison-like buildings, the hard repulsive labour to which they are condemned? or anything surer to crush the faint aspirations for good which quivers in their hearts, than the government of the rough harsh matrons who perform their distasteful task for hire? Who has more need of sympathy and help in the bitter conflict with the powers of darkness than these poor wanderers, so dear to Him who "goeth after that which is lost?" For a contrast to London penitentiaries let us turn to an institution visited by Mrs. Jameson at Turin, and which justly elicited her warm commendation.

"This institution (called at Turin *il Refugio*, the Refuge,) was founded nearly thirty years ago by a good Christian, whose name was not given to me, but who still lives, a very old man. When his means were exhausted, he had recourse to the Marquese de Barol, who has from that time devoted her life, and the greater part of her possessions, to the objects of this institution. Madame de Barol told me candidly in 1855, that in the commencement she had made mistakes; she had been too severe. It had required twenty years of reflection, experience, and the most able assistance to work out her purposes. The institution began on a small scale, with few inmates; it now covers a large space of ground, and several ranges of buildings for various departments, all connected, and yet most carefully separated. There are several distinct gardens, enclosed by these buildings, and the green trees and flowers give an appearance of cheerfulness to the whole. There is first a refuge for casual and extreme wretchedness; a certificate from a priest or a physician is required, but often dispensed with. I saw a child brought into this place by its weeping and despairing mother—a child about ten years old, and in a fearful state. There was no certificate in this case, but the wretched little creature was taken in at once. There is an infirmary, admirably managed by a good physician, and two medical sisters of a religious order. There are also convalescent wards. These parts of the building are kept separate, and the inmates carefully classed, all the younger patients

being in a separate ward. In the penitentiary and schools, forming the second department, the young girls and children are kept distinct from the elder ones, and those who have lately entered from the others. I saw about twenty girls under the age of fifteen, but only a few together in one room. Only a few were tolerably handsome, many looked intelligent and kindly. In one of these rooms I found a tame thrush hopping about, and I remember a girl with a soft face crumbling some bread for it, saved from her dinner. Reading, writing, and plain work and embroidery are taught, also cooking and other domestic work. A certain number assisted by rotation in the large, lightsome kitchens, and the general service of the house, but not till they had been there some months, and had received badges for good conduct. There are three gradations of these badges of merit, earned by various terms of probation. It was quite clear to me that these badges were worn with pleasure; whenever I fixed my eyes upon the little bits of red or blue ribbon attached to the dress, and smiled approbation, I was met by a responsive smile, sometimes by a deep modest blush. The third and highest order of merit, which was a certificate of good conduct and steady industry during three years at least, conferred the privilege of entering an order destined to nurse the sick in the infirmary, or entrusted to keep order in the small classes; they had also a still higher privilege. And now I come to a part of the institution which excited my strongest sympathy and admiration. Appended to it is an infant Hospital for the children of the very lowest orders, children born diseased, or deformed, or maimed by accident—epileptic or crippled. In this Hospital were thirty-two poor suffering infants, carefully tended by such of the penitents as had earned this privilege. On a rainy day I found these poor little things taking their daily exercise in a long airy corridor. Over the clear shining floor was spread temporarily a piece of coarse grey drugget, that their feet might not slip, and so they were led along creeping, crawling, or trying to walk or run, with bandaged heads and limbs, carefully and tenderly helped and watched by the nurses, who were themselves under the supervision of one of the religious sisters already mentioned. There is a good dispensary, well supplied with common medicines, and served by a well-instructed Sister of Charity, with the help of one of the inmates whom she had trained. Any

inmate is free to leave the Refuge whenever she pleases, and may be received a second time, but not a third time. I was told that when these girls leave the institution, after a probation of three or four years, there is no difficulty in finding them good places, as servants, cooks, washerwomen, and even nurses; but all do not leave it. Those who after a residence of six years preferred to remain, might do so; they were devoted to a religious and laborious life, and lived in a part of the building which had a sort of conventual sanctity and seclusion. They are styled 'les Madeleines' (Magdalens.) I saw sixteen of such; and I had the opportunity of observing them. They were all superior in countenance and organization, and belonged apparently to a better class. They were averse to re-entering the world, had been disgusted and humiliated by their bitter experience of vice, and disliked or were unfitted for servile occupations. They had a manufactory of artificial flowers, were skilful embroiderers and needlewomen, and supported themselves by the produce of their work. They were no longer objects of pity or dependent on charity; they had become objects of respect—and more than respect, of reverence.

"One of them who had a talent for music, Madame de Barol had caused to be properly instructed; she was the organist of the chapel and the music mistress; she had taught several of her companions to sing. A piano stood in the centre of the room, and they executed a little concert for us; everything was done easily and quietly, without effort or display. When I looked in the faces of these young women—the eldest was not more than thirty—so serene, so healthful, and in some instances so dignified, I found it difficult to recall the depth of misery, degradation, and disease, out of which they had risen. The whole number of inmates was about 140, without reckoning the thirty-two sick children. Madame de Barol said that this infant Hospital was a most efficient means of thorough reform; it called out what was best in the disposition of the penitents, and was indeed a test of the character and temper. If this institution had been more in the country, and if some of the penitents (or patients) whose robust *physique* seemed to require it, could have been provided with plenty of work in the open air, such as gardening, keeping cows or poultry, &c., I should have considered the arrangements for a Catholic country perfect. They

are calculated to fulfil all the conditions of moral and physical convalescence. Early rising, regular active *useful* employment, thorough cleanliness, the strictest order, an even rather cool temperature, abundance of light and fresh air; and more than these, religious hope, wisely and kindly cultivated companionship, cheerfulness, and the opportunity of exercising the sympathetic and benevolent affections." Madame de Barol is assisted considerably by funds from the government, in addition to her own large private means. She is therefore enabled to carry out her efforts on a scale and with an organization to which we in England can bring no parallel; but she would be the first gratefully to acknowledge that the life-blood of her community, which enable each sinew and muscle to have full play, are the Sisters of Charity; and these we also can show Mrs. Jameson. She need not go so far as Turin to see how the holy influence of persons devoted to a life of self-sacrifice can soften and elevate the most abandoned of human creatures. She has but to visit the Convent of the Good Shepherd at Hammersmith, to witness the quiet, orderly appearance of the hundred poor girls who have there found an asylum, to hear the joyous shouts at recreation, or the sweet singing in their chapel, to be assured that the hopelessness of success which prevails in Protestant communities extends not here; that though there are many disappointments, many failures, the work nevertheless is achieved, and many are won by the sight of the love and tenderness of the *servants* to cling to the infinitely greater of the *Master*. The point of Mrs. Jameson's work, and from which it derives its title, is the necessity of a thorough co-operation of men and women in charitable works, both of whom, she argues, have hitherto pursued the path alone, studiously avoiding contact with each other. From this she conceives many evils have arisen; and here she is undoubtedly right. Women with the best intentions and the most self-denying motives, require the calm judgment and sound sense of men to guide them; while on the other hand, it would be simply impossible for men to carry on works of mercy to any extent without the aiding hand of woman. How this communion of labour is accomplished among Protestants Mrs. Jameson does not inform us. Among Catholics the need is at once met by due submission to the priestly office; but without finding any fault with what she has witnessed of its working, Mrs. Jameson

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strongly hints that any such submission is quite inadmissible in a Protestant scheme; yet she confesses herself at a loss to suggest a remedy either for this or any of the other evils she has laid before the world. Her great aim is to call the minds of others to consider what she has so deeply weighed, and to assure them that the case is not hopeless; that though it might seem at the first glance success lay exclusively in the hands of the Catholic Church, it is not so in reality, the proof being her own strong faith that it is not. This strong opinion arises from that utter misconception of the real mainspring of the religious life which, with all her admiration, Mrs. Jameson has brought away with her from an inspection of Catholic works; and it is remarkable how her powerful intellect, which can so clearly discern every vein and artery in the material working, should yet fail in tracing them to their fountain. "Really," she exclaims, "I do not see that feminine energy and efficiency belong to any one section of the Christian community." Certainly not; and very little have these to do with the formation of religious orders. Individual efforts may be found scattered far and wide; but the spirit of charity—of that which grows and multiplies from generation to generation, is found only within the pale of the true Church. Let us turn to familiar instances to prove the truth of this. We have little doubt that were Mrs. Jameson to organize a refuge or an hospital, and devote to its furtherance her life and energies, she would succeed; it is probable she would see fruit to her labours; that others animated by her spirit would gather round her, and she might be led to believe that in time to come the work she had commenced would be continued. But are there no examples to show the fallacy of such a hope? There was one some thirty years ago, who although her creed was the coldest and most barren of the many sects of this land, yet rose up with the love of God burning so strongly in her heart, that it soon won back to Him the most abandoned of her sex; that it feared not to enter the "den of wild beasts," as Newgate was then called. Who ever read the history of her deeds and was not moved to admiration? But Elizabeth Fry went the way of all living. Not twenty years have rolled by; and who amidst her countrywomen of the Protestant faith emulate her actions? What body of women follow her footsteps and reverence her memory? In one house

in London a few respectable hired nurses bear the name of "Mrs. Fry's Sisters;" but what she wonderfully achieved is almost forgotten. While Mrs. Fry was in the midst of her glorious work; while her Sovereign spoke words of approval; while her name was honoured in Parliament, and noble ladies and noted statesmen acknowledged her friendship as a privilege—there lived in Dublin Katherine Macaulay; divine love dwelt in her heart, and the bloom of her youth and strength of her talents were offered on the Altar of her God. No earthly sovereigns bade *her* to their courts; no Acts of Parliament were passed by *her* influence. She died and the world missed her not. Some twelve years have passed since her burial day; and in Ireland, England, and many of our colonies, the works of Katherine Macaulay live and flourish. In crowded schools, in refuges for young innocent girls, in orphanages, in the wretched abodes of the sick and afflicted poor, and (whenever permitted) in hospitals, prisons, and workhouses, her daughters bear witness that "she being dead yet liveth." When the cry of anguish from the battle-field and the hospitals of the East, rang through the land awaking an echo in every heart and calling with thrilling accents, where are *your* Sisters of Charity, a band was hastily organized to meet the emergency. Application was made to the women called Mrs. Fry's Sisters, to give their help; not one responded to the call. Foremost in that band were the Sisters of Mercy founded by Katherine Macaulay; no less than twenty-eight laboured in those scenes of horror, and two sealed with their deaths the devotion of their lives. Who has not heard of, who does not honour the *Sœurs de Charité* of France, an order which in two hundred years, numbers more than twelve thousand members, and yet what was its origin? a touching sermon in an obscure French town. Where was its first foundation? in a small house in Paris by four young girls and their superior, Madame le Gras, who afterwards averred that so repeated were her failures in infusing into their hearts the true spirit, that she was tempted to give it up in despair. Yet she lived to see the Hotel Dieu reformed by their means; the *Enfans Trouvés* founded; to send them into military hospitals and wherever any pestilence raged, and into many foreign countries. This order, one of the most fruitful the Church ever saw, was begun by its founders

with not an idea of what they were about to undertake ; for they were but tools in His hand, " Who giveth the increase." We need not, however, look so far back ; let us turn only to the record of our own day ; in Hospitals and Sisterhoods we find an account of Anglican sisterhoods, and their history is a striking development of that wonderful movement of the present age on which Catholics have ever gazed with a strong interest, and in which so many now numbered within the one fold have borne their part. It will be well remembered how some twelve years ago a foundation of communities on the model of monastic orders within the borders of the Established Church was determined upon by some of the leaders of the Tractarian party ; their object in this undertaking was twofold ; they already knew that the " parochial system was inadequate to grapple with the fearful wants of our neglected town population ;" * and while they determined that works of mercy to meet this vast want should form part of the new institutes, they should also satisfy that longing for a holier and stricter life which the stirring of hearts, the new views of life and its duties, and above all the perusal of the lives of " Romish Saints" had created. A Sisterhood of Mercy was decided upon as the most feasible means of carrying out the scheme ; and in 1845 the work was commenced in London, and the Sisterhood of Holy Cross founded by Dr. Pusey ; apparently the undertaking would seem to have prospered ; for after some years spent in a hired house, a conventual looking establishment rose up, and was taken possession of by the Sisters. Previously to this event another Sisterhood of Mercy was begun at Plymouth with a more imposing aspect than the first ; for this was under the sanction and authority of the Bishop of Exeter, while episcopal blessings and supervision were resolutely denied the institution in London. A vulgar attack from the ultra Protestant party at Plymouth, brought Miss Sellon and her band into notice ; and as it was followed by frequent public appeals for pecuniary aid in their works of mercy, couched in touching and graceful language by their superioress, all were soon familiar with the intentions of the Plymouth Sisterhood. Indeed, the works of charity undertaken by these ladies were so numerous and so

* Guardian.

spirited that many prejudices were dispelled and persons of different shades of opinion gave sympathy and help which they would otherwise have denied. A flourishing account of these works taken from their reports appears in Hospitals and Sisterhoods; funds were abundant and Miss Sellon bade fair to possess a strong influence over a large portion of the Anglican party. A more hopeful prospect could hardly have been desired; and now we may ask, how have these hopes been fulfilled? are these Sisterhoods still giving proof of life and vitality? and have they numbered on their rolls the names of those many gifted women with their warm aspirations after better things than the joys of earth, for whom they were intended?

How many hundreds have passed in, how many foundations have been sent forth from their central institutions? We find that both Dr. Pusey's and Miss Sellon's institutions together have numbered but thirty professed Sisters, and many of these have gone away, some to become Catholics, others to return to social life.

The Sisterhood of Holy Cross has literally dissolved into fragments, its members scattered, its convent and property made over to Miss Sellon; a few of the Sisters also entered her Sisterhood. And the Plymouth Sisterhood with its Bishop's sanction and its fruitful deeds of love? The Bishop has vanished from the scene, withdrawn his sanction, and gone so far as to deny all knowledge for years past of its proceedings; and Miss Sellon, poor lady, left without a Bishop, saw no other resource than becoming one in her own person, and has actually assumed the title of Lady Abbess, and her ascent to such a pedestal has fairly turned her head. Every kind of wild eccentricity is rife among the community, such as our readers would hardly credit. The whole system has become a travesty of the holy orders of the Catholic Church which would be ludicrous if it were not so melancholy. Holy obedience, the crowning grace of the religious life, with its due gradations from nun to superior, from superior to bishop, from bishop to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, becomes, in the Sellon "Abbey," a system of abject slavery to one unauthorized woman, who exacts from her deluded subjects a submission of thought and judgment, as well as of outward action, which those who rule with authority of Christ cannot comprehend. Almost all the works of charity recorded in Hospitals and Sisterhoods, as performed by

the Plymouth Sisters, have fallen to the ground; the formation of a contemplative order is the last theory; and without that especial call from God and those heavenly aids which the Church affords to those who tread that difficult and most solemn path, it is very certain that its only practical results will be a sad if not a terrible failure. Are such attempts as these, what Mrs. Jameson desires to see? She would hasten to tell us that all such absurdities as we have described, are as abhorrent to her as to us; but why then, may we ask, does she so strongly condemn an extract from a late work of Mr. Paget's upon this subject, calling it the verdict of a person who is "accustomed to see things only on one side, and from one side"? Mr. Paget's remarks appear to us extremely just. "Look out," he says, "a clever enthusiastic woman, with a strong will of her own, and no stronger will to control it; make her the Lady Superior of a Sisterhood without any man to come with a weight of years, authority and holiness, to say to her, *this* must not be, *that* would be very silly or unreasonable, or improper, and I positively forbid it; do this, and you will do the devil's work in frustrating a means of good as effectually as himself could do. You will get Sisterhoods in all the slavish misery of nuns, and with none of the protection of convents, a pack of unhappy women, forbidden to exercise common sense, and rendered morbid, sensitive, and undevout, by the system which the uncontrolled power of the Lady Superior exercises over them; and not rarely you will have the Lady Superior go crazy, because of the unlimited indulgence of her talent for governing." Mr. Paget, in the retirement of his country village, has doubtless no acquaintance with Catholic nuns, else he would not have imagined either slavery or misery to be their lot; with this exception, his comments are forcible, and we rejoice to see a clergyman of the Church of England raising his voice against such an abuse as we have described. For the sake of common sense and humanity, we cannot credit that the clergy or members of the Anglican party continue to lend their sanction to Miss Sellon's proceedings; but so long as they remain silent, so long as the warm approval, once publicly given by them, is not withdrawn, so long will they share in the responsibility; so surely will they be rendering vain the wish they have at heart—the gathering of Christian women to supply the needs of our perishing poor.

Earnestly do we implore Mrs. Jameson not to lend her powerful advocacy to evil as well as good. She had pondered on well, and searched deeply, before she praised and defended Catholic orders. Let her equally weigh Protestant institutes in the balance ; and, in urging her countrywomen on in the path of charity and benevolence, let her warn them against the pitfalls into which so many who set out on that road with good intentions have fallen. We are not ignorant that the spirit of charity among the Tractarian body has been by no means confined to the Sisterhoods upon which we have commented, although they were undoubtedly the principal. Many are the excellent and self-denying women in different parts of our land who are bravely doing their part to stem the torrent of vice and misery which rushes so rapidly upon us, and are emulating the deeds of those in the Catholic Church whom they have lately learnt to love and honour. Far it is from Catholics to refrain from taking a deep interest, from feeling a warm sympathy in every good work outside the Church's pale ; but while we honour and respect these efforts, we cannot acknowledge that they bring any argument against our assertion that the *spirit* of the religious life dwells only in the One Fold of Christ.

We can honour those who have, within the last few years, endeavoured to imitate the labours which for near two centuries, have been practised by the nuns of the Good Shepherd, and devote themselves to the task of reclaiming fallen women ; or those again, whom the history of Louise le Gras, or Jeanne Jugan, have stirred up to take home destitute orphans, to tend the aged with a daughter's care, to smooth the sick pillow of the forsaken, and for the performance of these tasks to bid farewell to the things the world holds dear. We doubt not those efforts are very acceptable in God's sight, and these noble individual acts will have reward from Him ; but individual acts they are and will remain. They will not cast their seed and multiply, they are sown in stony ground where they have not much earth.

One feature in their constitution, strikes a Catholic forcibly ; they are all separate foundations, they have not sprung one from another. Their Superiors go through no training, but commence the work of guiding others with all their own prejudices unsoftened, their own defects unsubdued. How can they rule wisely who have never

learned to obey? Striking, also, is the gloom which invariably hangs over them, and which contrasts strangely with their oft repeated assertion of happiness in their work. Visit them, and you will meet with a singular constraint of manners cold and uncourteous, and an anxious sorrowful look, very unlike the bright faces and the graceful courtesy, and the warm sympathy universal in Catholic Convents; and no wonder; for they possess not the inestimable treasure which brings to every convent the joys of Bethlehem, the dwelling of our Lord in the Tabernacle. He sheds around Him a sunshine before which the light of earth grows dim; and they who are so blessed as to dwell in His house, cannot do aught but praise Him with a glad and thankful heart; and beside, this gloom and constraint must always be found where freedom of thought and speech are forbidden; and this is most prevalent in Anglican Sisterhoods. On the subject of the Catholic Church, silence is strictly enjoined. We have heard that the very mention of the name of an eminent convert, once cherished in the Church of England, has been proscribed; a rupture with close and dear friends, who have entered the true Church, is an invariable rule; the visits and letters of such are avoided as if they brought infection; and the free perusal of Catholic books is disapproved of; and this practice is pursued with those whose very study of Catholic works, whose very admiration of Catholic saints has led to their adopting their present mode of life; whose very rules and observances are imitations of Catholic orders.

No wonder, then, that this fear of friendly intercourse with Catholics, so plain a proof of the weakness of their cause, paralyses the mental powers, and casts a gloomy aspect over their life. In what Catholic convent are the presence or works of a Protestant feared? Rather it is to the convent the Protestant goes for instruction and encouragement. Freedom of thought is the atmosphere in which they whose faith is built upon a rock, live and move. The total misconception which exists among Protestants of the real source of the religious life, in which Mrs. Jameson so fully shares, is, that they constantly mistake the effects for the cause. It is common to hear among Protestants a qualifying admission that, under certain circumstances with certain regulations, conventual establishments might be useful; they must not interfere with social

ties; that for those who have no homes, the solitary, melancholy, and crotchety ladies who are not likely to settle in life, and who "really want an object,"—for these such asylums would indeed be excellent; and yet it is precisely this class who are totally unfitted for the cloister life, and who will scarcely ever be found there. By far the greater number of nuns have entered in the freshness of their youth, while the world lay before them with its bright illusions undisputed; and those to whom the vocation has come in maturer years, are certainly the very women fitted to adorn society, and shed sunshine around their homes; and this because celibacy has ever been held by the Church as the highest and most perfect state. She who has raised Holy Matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament, pouring thereby riches of grace on those whom God wills to serve Him thus, has yet in the harmony of her wise counsels taught her children to esteem it a gift when called to relinquish its joys. Therefore they seek not the cloister because they are tired of an idle life, or sick of the world and its cares, or afraid of becoming solitary and useless members of society, or because they want a comfortable home, or to gain a respectable livelihood; none of these motives could sustain a soul through the rigours of a religious life. But a divine whisper is heard within their hearts. The charities of home, of parents, and brethren, the bliss of wife and mother, are less dear to them than to sit at the feet of their Lord; therefore, talented, accomplished, and refined, if they move in higher rank, or gentle, industrious and intelligent, if from a lower grade, all they possess is joyfully offered to their God. Nor the farewell spoken, the convent entered, is the work completed. Patiently they try their hearts to be certain it is neither enthusiasm, nor excitement, nor any lower motive that has impelled them to the step. Humbly do they submit to the decision of others, and carefully prepare themselves for the life they trust is before them; and the novitiate of Catholic convents consists comparatively little in the training for works of mercy in which their future years are to be spent; it is more passed in acquiring the spirit of detachment from the world, in a vivid realization of the nearness of eternity, in contempt of earthly praise and honour, in subduing the proud will to the childlike meekness of Christ, in the forgetfulness of self, in the crucifying of the flesh till austerities and hardships become sweet to them. These are

the lessons those long years of preparation are spent in ; and long do they seem to those who pant for the moment of their heavenly espousals, for the embrace of Him whose love can wither not, nor change, and from Whom death has no power to part them ; and the time arrived, and the vows spoken and accepted, the sacrifice is complete ; but now ended, day by day do they offer themselves afresh, body and soul ; each day's toil, each new call upon their strength and energy is hailed by them as a new gem to be won and worn for all eternity. Ask a professed nun whether she would change with the queen on her throne, or the bride in the quiet fulness of her joy, and she will tell you that she esteems her lot far happier, far more glorious. Now it is easy to imagine that deeds of love to their fellow creatures would be rife amongst those whom God has so richly endowed with His peace, and whose hearts are burning with such pure emotion. Therefore, the religious life does not spring from the desire of doing good works, as Mrs. Jameson imagines, but from that very life arise the desire and the ability to do them. "What," exclaims Mrs. Jameson, "cannot we have sisters of charity without accepting also an infallible pope, transubstantiation, the immaculate conception, and heaven knows what, the terror and abomination of our evangelicals?" Assuredly you cannot, because in union there is strength ; and where is the union to support the Protestant sister ? She may be an Evangelical, her next sister a Tractarian, her superior a Broad churchwoman, and half-a-dozen other shades might be found in the community. Would such teaching or ministrations be very beneficial, or would peace dwell in such homes ? If, on the other hand, to avoid this, each party should form a community for itself, and agreement of religious views should exist at least within their walls, then their efforts would be small and isolated, having no centre and no power of extension. We repeat then, that out of the Catholic Church religious orders will never flourish ; here and there you may have a hot-house plant, but it will last for a little while, and then fade away. Catholic orders grow luxuriantly in the open air, flowers of every hue the heart of man can desire, no frost can blight, no storm overthrow them ; crush them for awhile, they will spring up again the sweeter,—let human sin and laxity creep in for a time, and some fervent spirit shall be raised up among them,

and the reformed order surpass even the foundation ; their root is deep, their soil fruitful,—that root is unity, that soil is faith.

The knowledge that the want of active works of charity is beginning to be felt deeply by Protestants, should urge on English Catholics in the good path. The crushing effect of the penal laws, the pressure of our poverty, unable to meet, as we would, the innumerable claims upon our sympathy, have sorely pressed down our spirit ; but the necessity of the time calls on us to lay aside fear, and do the little we can with good courage. Since England in her blindness shuts the door of our public charities against our religious, let not our seculars neglect the additional labour that for this cause falls to them ; let them still break up the ground that it may be ready for the good seed in future days. Paris, fruitful as she is in religious orders, yet abounds also in deeds of mercy done by seculars. In the society of S. Vincent de Paul the ladies alone number seven hundred. We do not overlook the difficulties of working in a Protestant country, but they are not insurmountable ; here and there, and but little known, men and women inspired with the love of Christ, pursue their arduous and anxious task, yet one which brings with it a reward even on earth, in enlarging the power of sympathy, in warming the heart, in giving consolation to their own griefs while affording it to others.

Many of the apparent difficulties in our way have been proved to be visionary ; it has been proved that by working in a spirit of love and forbearance, prejudices have been dispelled, and a cordial spirit between ourselves and Protestants awakened. Great care must be taken to guard our steps that we give not up one iota of principle for the sake of peace ; but with the class of intelligent Protestants, of whom Mrs. Jameson forms a specimen, we could work with good will and comfort. We must not forget that patience is peculiarly our lot in these evil times ; but let us not be discouraged.

The cry that souls are perishing rings in our ears ; our little children fill the streets, growing up in ignorance, which will become infidelity if we do not succour them ; our poor lie unconsolated in our hospitals and workhouses. In their hour of suffering and distress the soul can easily be reached ; how many are there who have been strangers to God, being without the sacraments, having their faith

indeed, but having it only to condemn them, who, by the encouraging words of those who sought them out have been brought back to the Good Shepherd, and their souls saved, and the dishonour they had done to God wiped away? Can we, upon whose souls the tide of holy sacraments is ever flowing in their gracious fulness, refrain from extending to others the wondrous gift? Only contemplate for one moment with the Catholic eye the work-houses which Mrs. Jameson so truly pictures. We think not of the bodily suffering, or even of the contact with evil. That is not ours to remedy; but we think of that spiritual desert in which they are, where the Holy Sacrifice is never offered, where (except on rare occasions,) the priest of God is proscribed, and then has to enter, as if it were some great favour; and surely every heart will burn to do its little towards strengthening the faith that is in those poor exiles, and to comfort them as well as we are able. A field of work indeed lies before us in regaining only our bad Catholics. Let us show our Protestant brethren who are now bestirring themselves, that we will be foremost in the work for God's glory; for communion of labour is no new thing to us, who live in the blessed atmosphere of the Communion of Saints.

ART. VI.—1. *England and Wales.* Tables showing the Number of Criminal Offenders in the Year 1854.

2. *Ireland.* Tables showing the Number of Criminal Offenders in the year 1854. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

THERE are some people who live and die in the belief that everything Catholic is inferior to anything Protestant. They have always been told so, everybody says so, and of course it *must be so*. The good, easy, large-eared, glib-tongued matter-of-course people who talk in this sort of way, are usually beyond the reach of fact or argument, because they have never been accustomed to trouble themselves with either the one or the other, and they can-

not be *fashed* to give their attention to either. They go through the ordinary duties of life in a respectable manner, but of any mental exertion in order to search into and arrive at the truth of anything, they are utterly incapable. Their habit, and the habit indeed of people in general, is to glance at and pass easily over matters, picking up as to each some convenient popular phrase, specious in sound and sentiment, and capable of being used as ready change in current conversation. On the particular subject of crime the phrase commonly adopted and circulated will be flavoured with Protestantism and love of country, two very acceptable ingredients, and thus of course become the reigning belief of general society. In such a facile and superficial manner is public opinion too often adopted. Sidney Smith, as we well know, when he wished to ascertain the popular opinion on any topic, consulted a Foolometer, or, as he described it, an average English fool, who formed no opinion of his own, but who passively reverberated the opinions of the majority of those with whom he fell into conversation; and doubtless every English foolometer will repeat that the people in Catholic countries are far more criminal than in Protestant countries, and especially that Ireland is very black indeed when compared with England.

We cannot expect to disabuse *these people* of their prevailing impressions, because they read little and think less; just catch the passing rumour as it flies, and pass it on with voluble perpetuity. It follows from the very state of things to which we have alluded, that when once an error becomes current in the popular mouth, truth may be talked at it and written at it, but in vain; for this truth seldom reaches the popular ear, and the popular mind will not be troubled with it; the prevailing impression is comfortable and satisfactory; people do not wish to have their present ideas disturbed and unsettled; and it is only with the most persevering efforts, after a long time, and very gradually drop, drop, drop, as water wears its way through stone, that truth can displace any well recognized popular tradition. Still however unwelcome its approach or limited its reception, Truth has to be investigated, if possible ascertained, and as far as possible announced, in the hope that some few minds may take the trouble of enquiring what really is true and what erroneous.

It would be easy to quote from Protestant sources

statistical accounts of the state of crime in Protestant and in Catholic countries, proving the larger proportion of crime to population in the Protestant countries; but we candidly acknowledge that we do not think that any general inferences can safely be drawn from such comparisons, because, unless both the criminal law and the mode of carrying it into execution be in each country the same, the results compared will not in each instance represent the same thing. We think there is much force in the following remarks of Mr. Maculloch in his statistical account of the British empire.

"We may further observe, that many false inferences have been drawn from comparing together returns as to the state of crime in different countries, and in the same country at different periods. Such returns are obviously good for nothing, except to deceive and mislead, unless the classification of offences in the countries and periods compared together were the same, and unless the police and the laws were similar, the former possessing nearly the same vigilance, and the latter being enforced with about the same precision; but it is needless to say that the greatest discrepancy obtains in all these particulars. The classification of offences is not the same in any two countries, and it is perpetually varying even in the same country. The greatest differences are, however, to be found in the state of the police, and the administration of criminal justice in different countries and periods. Were one to compare the returns of committals in a place without a police, with the returns from the same place after a police had been established, or the returns under an inefficient with those under an efficient police, there would, we doubt not, appear to be an extraordinary increase of crime; whereas the fair presumption is, that, instead of being increased, it is not a little diminished. The cause of the excess is obvious, it results entirely from the circumstance that many offences that formerly escaped all public notice, have latterly been brought under the cognizance of the tribunals; though it is, at the same time abundantly certain that this greater vigilance must have materially diminished the real number of offences. Unless, therefore, we are well assured the classification of crimes, the activity of the police, and the spirit of the tribunals are nearly the same in the countries and areas for which we have returns, little or nothing that is to be depended on can be learned from comparing them together."

In one particular which does admit of exact comparison, and which is a tolerable gauge of general morality, we do know from the Protestant Laing, that the Protestant kingdom of Sweden is remarkable beyond any

country in Europe for the number of its illegitimate births; and we know also from the Protestant and prejudiced Head, that the women of Catholic Ireland are distinguished for their peculiar morality. Omitting, however, those foreign comparisons, the results of which cannot for the reasons we have stated be depended upon, and which serve rather to fortify prejudice than to elicit truth, let us proceed to a domestic comparison between two parts of this kingdom where the laws are nearly, if not entirely the same. Let us compare England and Wales on the one hand, with Ireland on the other. With regard to police, Ireland has the reputation of possessing the best constabulary force in Her Majesty's dominions, which has produced that best test of its efficiency, the possibility of its safe reduction; and at this moment many of its officials are being imported on account of their recognized qualifications into English counties. If, then, there be any unfairness in the comparison, it is in favour of England, the more wealthy, and against Ireland, the poorer portion of the kingdom.

As far back as January 1839, the present writer, in a short Article which appeared in the Number of this Review for that month, made at that time a comparison between the criminal returns of England and Wales, and of Ireland, which we would ask our readers to turn to again.

We repeat now as we wrote then, that "prepared as we ever are, to defend the Irish from unjust attack, we would not, if we could, screen them from merited rebuke; it were not the part of a friend to do so. We will state the facts plainly, and as clearly as we can; and let that statement serve to vindicate the character of the Irish people, by a proof of their comparative innocence if they be unjustly maligned, or to make them blush for their greater national guilt, if it be really established against them."

We then quoted and stated the purport of the Criminal returns for England and Wales, and for Ireland in 1837, (the latest then published,) and it may be useful to compare the state of crime *then*, with the state of crime *now*, in both countries, as well as its state in each country as compared with the other.

Then we stated that the returns established the fact that, if Ireland exceeded England in the *number* of crimes, England fully made up for it in *greater enormity*. *Now*, as will shortly be apparent, the convictions in Eng-

land and Wales exceed those of Ireland, both in number (in proportion to population,) and in enormity.

For the year 1837 the total number of convictions in England and Wales, and in Ireland respectively, was divided or classified as to punishment, and of consequences as to guilt, in the following manner.

Sentences in 1837.		England and Wales.	Ireland.
Death,		438	154
Transportation for life,		636	266
“ for 14 years,		545	17
“ for 7 years,		2,592	818
“ for other periods,		12	7
Imprisonment above 3 years,		0	0
“ for 3 years and above 2 years,		14	0
“ for 2 years and above 1 year,		394	82
“ for 1 year and above 6 months,		1,628	1,035
“ for 6 months and under,		10,258	6,186
Whipping,			6
Fine,		562	378
Discharge or sureties,			592
Respite and pardon,		11	15
		17,090	9,556

And the proportion of population in Ireland to that of England being *then* as 8 to 14, or 4 to 7, as near as it could be stated in round numbers, the total convictions in England and Ireland respectively were in 1837 in a proportion with each other so marvellously corresponding with that of their respective populations, that the proportions might be termed identical, there being then in England one conviction to 813 inhabitants, and in Ireland one conviction to 812 inhabitants. But when we proceeded for the year 1837 to deduct on each side the convictions for petty offences, then England and Wales stood out in the bold relief of deeper and darker criminality.

Deduct from Convictions in England in 1837, viz.		17,090
Six months' imprisonment and under,	10,258	
Whipping, Fine, Discharge on Sureties, Respite and pardon,	573	10,831
Leaving of more heinous crimes in England & Wales,		6,259
Deduct from Convictions in Ireland in 1837, viz.		9,536
Six months' imprisonment and under,	6,168	
Whipping, Fine, Discharge on Sureties, Respite and pardon	991	7,159
Leaving of more heinous crimes in Ireland,		2,377

* And comparing as before the proportion of crime to population, the result for 1837 was,

In England and Wales one heinous criminal in 2,220 inhabitants.

In Ireland one heinous criminal in 3,267 inhabitants.

This was the state of things in 1837—how little known and appreciated by our fellow-subjects on the English side of the channel!

Let us now see how the fact stands at present. In the latest year for which we can obtain the returns, which is 1854, after an interval of fourteen years, involving political and social changes of no slight moment, including a great increase of population in England and Wales, and, fearful and anomalous fact, a serious diminution in the number of human beings existing in Ireland. Here is a corresponding tabulated statement of the sentences in 1854.

	England and Wales.	Ireland.
Death,	49 .	6
Transportation for life,	29 .	8
Above 15 years,	35 .	0
15 years and above 14 years,	0 .	31
15 years and above 10 years	246 .	0
10 years and above 7 years,	0 .	0
7 years,	0 .	0
Penal Servitude for life,	2 .	1
“ 10 years and above 6 years,	100 .	22
“ 6 years and above 4 years,	408 .	96
“ 4 years,	1,598 .	550
Imprisonment above 3 years,	1 .	0
“ 3 years and above 2 years,	6 .	2
“ 2 years and above 1 year,	664 .	173
“ 1 year and above 6 months,	3,208 .	859
“ 6 months and under,	16,509 .	4,481
Whipped, fined, and discharged,	192 .	730
Sentence respited,	0 .	92
	<hr/> 23,047	<hr/> 7,051

The population of England and Wales being, according to the census of 1851, 17,922,768, and that of Ireland 6,515,794, (less, alas! than it was twenty years before,) and the proportion of population in Ireland to that of England being therefore now as 13 to 36, as nearly as it can be conveniently expressed, it follows that in England and Wales in 1854 one person in 782 was convicted of crime, in Ireland one in 928.

Compare these with the corresponding numbers in 1837, and it will appear that in respect of the total number of convictions for all kinds of crimes, England and Wales are now a little worse, and Ireland much better than in 1837.

But let us, as in 1837, consider the character of the crimes for which convictions occurred in each country, some being slight, and punished only with slight punishment.

Deduct from the total convictions in England and

Wales in 1854,	23,047
Six months imprisonment and under,	16,509
Whipped, fined, and discharged	192
	<hr/>

Leaving of heinous criminals in England & Wales, 6,346

Deduct from the total convictions in Ireland

in 1854,	7,051
Six months imprisonment and under,	4,481
Whipped, fined, and discharged,	730
Respited,	92
	<hr/>

Leaving of more heinous criminals in Ireland, 1,748

The due proportion for Ireland being 2263 in order to be equal to the heinous criminality of England; or otherwise expressed there was,

In England and Wales one heinous criminal in 2855 inhabitants.

In Ireland one heinous criminal in 3724 inhabitants.

It thus appears, comparing 1837 with 1854, that both England and Wales, and Ireland, have now fewer crimes in proportion to population than in 1837, but that Ireland still continues to be more free from guilt than England.

Of the convictions in England and Wales there were capital

sentences	in 1852,	60
Do.	do. in 1853,	55
Do.	do. in 1854,	49
		<hr/>

164

Of the convictions in Ireland there were capital

sentences		in 1852,	22
Do.	do.	in 1853,	15
Do.	do.	in 1854,	6
<hr/>			

44

Out of the 104 capitally sentenced in England and Wales in 1853 and 1854, thirteen were executed in England and Wales, and out of the 21 capitally sentenced in Ireland in the same years, thirteen also were executed. The returns do not furnish us with the means of stating the number of executions in each country for the *three* years ending with 1854.

The 49 capital convictions in England, and the 6 in Ireland, during 1854, were respectively for offences as follows—

	England & Wales.	Ireland.
Murder,	11	4
Conspiracy to murder,	0	1
Attempts to murder with wounds,	7	0
Sodomy,	15	0
Bestiality,	0	1
Burglary with violence to persons	4	0
Robbery with wounds,	7	0
Arson of dwellings, persons being therein,	5	0
	<hr/> 49	<hr/> 6

It may be useful to point the attention of our readers to those crimes which seem to prevail in either country, in any considerable degree beyond the due numerical proportion; and though the exact proportion of population is about as 36 to 13, we will for greater convenience notice, 1st, those crimes in Ireland which are far more than *one-third* of those in England and Wales, and on the other hand those crimes in Ireland, which are far less than one-third of those in England and Wales; and thus some general conclusions may be suggested, not only as to the comparative extent, but also as to the peculiar character of crime in each country.

First, then, the crimes in Ireland, which are far more than one-third of those in England.

The convictions for manslaughter in England and Wales, and Ireland respectively, in 1854, were as follows:—

In England and Wales,	96
In Ireland,	50

Those for assaults were as follows:—

	Eng. & Wales.	Ireland.
Assaults and inflicting bodily harm,	232	} 679
Assaults, (common)	284	
Assaults on peace officers in execution of duty,	175	
	<hr/> 691	<hr/> 733

These returns deserve the serious consideration of our excitable fellow-countrymen, and of all who have any influence over them.

For Burglary.—England and Wales,	384
Ireland,	240
For Robbery.—England and Wales,	51
Ireland,	93

To cattle stealing Ireland seems more addicted than England and Wales, whilst the latter are more prone than Ireland to horse stealing and sheep stealing.

For Arson. (Capital).—England and Wales,	5
Ireland,	8
For Riot, Breach of Peace, & Pound Breach.—England & Wales,	144
Ireland,	562
For rescue and refusing to aid Peace Officers.—England and Wales,	8
Ireland,	116

On the other hand, the convictions for the following crimes are far more than three times as many in England and Wales as in Ireland.

Shooting at, stabbing, wounding, &c., with intent to maim, do bodily harm, &c.—England and Wales,	9
Ireland,	17
Breaking into shops, &c., and stealing.—England and Wales,	108
Ireland,	16
Robbery by persons armed.—England and Wales,	210
Ireland,	2
Larceny from the person.—England and Wales,	1570
Ireland,	389
Larceny by Servants.—England and Wales,	2,140
Ireland,	44

This last return is very remarkable, and is not peculiar to the year 1854, the same extraordinary disproportion having been observable in 1837, and it furnishes a striking testimony to the superior honesty of Irish servants, which may deserve the attention of those English housekeepers who have been accustomed to say, "No Irish need apply."

Larceny simple.—England and Wales,	12,562
Ireland,	3,329
Frauds and attempts to defraud.—England and Wales,	676
Ireland	62
Forgery.—England and Wales,	149
Ireland,	4
Uttering and having in possession counterfeit coin.—Eng- land and Wales,	674
Ireland,	4

These instances we have selected as those in which the crimes are numerous, and apparently much more remarkably developed in the one country than the other; the general conclusion towards which they seem to point is, that Ireland is more addicted to crimes of personal violence and England to crimes of fraud or of violence arising from motives of lucre.

In order, however, to enable our readers to judge for themselves, we beg to submit for their examination the following tabulated list of the whole of the convictions for criminal offences in England and Wales, and in Ireland, for 1854.

The arrangement is not ours, but altogether that in which they are presented to parliament, only that, for the purpose of facilitating the observations of the reader, we have added a mark (a) to those which are disproportionately large in Ireland, i. e. more than one-third of those in England, and have added another mark (b) to those which are disproportionately large in England, or more than three times those in Ireland.

CONVICTIONS FOR CRIMINAL OFFENCES IN 1854.

No. 1.—Offences against the Person.

	Eng. & Wales.	Ireland.
a Murder	11	6
a Attempts to murder, attended with dangerous bodily injuries	7	9
a Attempts at murder, not attended with bodily injuries	7	5
b Shooting at, stabbing, wounding, &c. with intent to maim, do bodily harm, &c.	97	18
a Manslaughter	96	50
a Attempts to procure the miscarriage of women	1	2
a Concealing the births of infants	39	20
b Sodomy	15	0

Carried forward 273 ... 110

	Eng. & Wales.		Ireland.	
Brought forward,	273	...	110	
<i>b</i> Assaults, with intent to commit sodomy, and other unnatural misdemeanors	41	...	0	
<i>b</i> Rape, and carnally abusing girls under the age of ten years	41	...	9	
<i>b</i> Assaults with intent to ravish and carnally abuse	89	...	24	
<i>b</i> Carnally abusing girls between the age of ten and twelve years	15	...	2	
<i>b</i> Abduction	4	...	3	
<i>b</i> Bigamy	72	...	5	
<i>b</i> Child stealing or desertion	5	...	30	
<i>a</i> Assault and inflicting bodily harm	232	...	0	
<i>a</i> Assaults (common)	284	...	679	
<i>a</i> Assaults on peace officers in the execution of their duty	175	...	54	
<i>a</i> Total of No. 1.	1231	...	916	

No. 2.—Offences against Property with violence.

<i>b</i> Sacrilege	11	...	0	
<i>a</i> Burglary	384	...	240	
<i>b</i> Burglary attended with violence to persons	4	...	0	
<i>b</i> Housebreaking	520	...	75	
<i>a</i> Breaking within the curtilage of dwelling houses and stealing	46	...	24	
<i>b</i> Breaking into shops, warehouses, and counting-houses and stealing	106	...	10	
<i>b</i> Misdemeanors with intent to commit the above offences	43	...	12	
<i>a</i> Robbery	51	...	93	
Mail robbery	0	...	0	
<i>a</i> Robbery of arms	0	...	4	
<i>b</i> Robbery and attempts to rob by persons armed in company	212	...	0	
<i>b</i> Robbery attended with cutting and wounding	7	...	0	
<i>b</i> Obtaining property by threats to accuse of unnatural crimes	1	...	0	
<i>a</i> Assaults with intent to rob and demanding property with menaces	22	...	8	
<i>a</i> Stealing in dwellinghouses persons therein being put in fear	1	...	2	
Sending menacing letters to extort money	0	...	0	
Piracy	0	...	0	
<i>a</i> Taking and holding forcible possession	0	...	63	
<i>a</i> Total of No. 2.	1408	...	531	

No. 3. *Offences against Property without violence.*

	Eng. & Wales.		Ireland.
<i>a</i> Cattle stealing	28	...	57
<i>b</i> Horse stealing	96	...	13
<i>b</i> Sheep stealing	153	...	45
<i>b</i> Larceny to the value of £5 in dwelling houses	274	...	72
<i>b</i> Larceny from the person	1579	...	389
<i>b</i> Larceny by servants	2140	...	44
<i>b</i> Larceny simple	12562	...	3329
<i>a</i> Larceny from shops	0	...	18
<i>b</i> Stealing from vessels in port, on a river &c.	125	...	5
Plundering wrecked vessels	0	...	0
<i>a</i> Stealing from bleach ground	0	...	4
Stealing goods in process of manufacture ...	0	...	0
<i>b</i> Stealing fixtures, shrubs, trees growing, &c.	344	...	1
<i>a</i> Misdemeanors with intent to steal	70	...	84
<i>b</i> Embezzlement	404	...	39
<i>b</i> Stealing and receiving letters stolen from the post office by servants	21	...	2
<i>a</i> Receiving stolen goods	576	...	258
<i>b</i> Frauds and attempts to defraud	676	...	62
<i>b</i> Total of No. 3.	19048	...	4485

No. 4.—*Malicious Offences against Property.*

<i>a</i> Arson (capital)	5	...	8
<i>b</i> Setting fire to a house, warehouse, cornstack, &c.	56	...	0
<i>b</i> Setting fire to crops, plantations, heath, &c.	8	...	0
<i>a</i> Attempts to commit arson, set, fire to crops, &c.	3	...	2
<i>a</i> Riot & feloniously demolishing buildings, machinery, &c.	0	...	13
Destroying silk, woollen, linen, or cotton goods in process of manufacture	0	...	0
<i>b</i> Destroying hop binds, trees, and shrubs growing	5	...	0
<i>a</i> Attacking and injuring dwellinghouses, lands, &c.	0	...	2
<i>a</i> Killing and maiming cattle	7	...	6
Sending letters threatening to burn houses ...	3	...	1
<i>b</i> Other malicious offences	26	...	5
Total of No. 4.	113	...	37

No. 5.—*Forgery and Offences against the Currency.*

	Eng. & Wales.	Ireland.
b Forging and uttering forged bank notes ...	21 ...	3
b Forging and uttering other forged instruments	128 ...	0
a Forging and uttering forged wills and powers of attorney for transfer of stock, &c. ...	0 ...	1
Forgery of stamps and uttering ...	0 ...	0
a Having in possession, &c., forged bank notes	2 ...	0
a Uttering other forged instruments	0 ...	6
b Counterfeiting the current gold and silver coin	9 ...	1
b Having in possession implements for coining	21 ...	4
a Buying and putting off counterfeit gold and silver coin	...	54
b Uttering and having in possession ditto	674 ...	4
b Total of No. 5.	855 ...	73

No. 6.—*Other Offences not included in the above Classes.*

High treason and sely compassing to levy war, &c.	0 ...	0
a Assembling armed to aid smugglers ...	0 ...	6
a Assaulting and obstructing revenue officers ...	0 ...	6
b Deer stealing, and felony resisting deer keepers	1 ...	0
b Being out armed, taking game, and assaulting game-keepers ...	62 ...	0
b Taking and destroying fish in enclosed water ...	3 ...	0
b Returning from transportation before time ...	3 ...	0
Offences connected with illicit distillation ...	0 ...	0
b Prison breaking, harbouring, and aiding the escape of felons ...	6 ...	1
Rescuing prisoners ...	0 ...	0
b Perjury, and subornation of perjury ...	56 ...	9
a Riot, sedition, &c., administering and taking unlawful oaths ...	0 ...	1
a Riot, breach of the peace, and pound breach ...	144 ...	562
a Rescue, and refusing to aid peace officers ...	8 ...	116
b Keeping disorderly houses ...	44 ...	5
a Indecently exposing the person ...	2 ...	8
a Vagrancy ...	0 ...	5
a Bestiality ...	0 ...	2
a Felonies not included in the above denominations	8 ...	72
a Misdemeanours, ditto ...	55 ...	214
a Total of No. 6.	392	1002

Total	23,047	7044
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An examination of these lists may, we hope, suggest some useful reflections to our fellow-countrymen in both divisions of the kingdom.

There is one class of offences, those against chastity, in respect to which the contrast between the two countries appears rather remarkable. We have before noticed how very seldom the women of Ireland offend in this respect; and Irishmen appear to manifest a degree of respect for the other sex, far greater, unfortunately, than seems to prevail in England. In England and Wales the convictions in 1854 for crimes of personal violence on women and young girls were 141, in Ireland 35. Nor is this peculiar to the year 1854; in the previous year, 1853, the convictions for the same offence were 151 in England and Wales, and 33 in Ireland.

Bigamy also seems an offence very unusual in Ireland, there being in 1854 only 5 convictions for that offence in Ireland, and 72 in England.

There is one offence which will be found in the list which appears to be almost unknown in Ireland, as no conviction for it can be found in Ireland in either 1853 or 1854, whilst the returns disclose an average of 50 convictions for that offence in England and Wales in each of those years.

We do not consider the classes into which Government has divided offences in the preceding list to be incapable of improvement, since it does not appear sufficiently to consider the divisions of crime according to *motive*; but, adopting the divisions as we find them, it is observable that in No. 1 offences against the person, the offences in Ireland are much beyond the due proportion, principally owing to the number of Irish assaults. In No. 2 assaults against property with violence, Ireland is also beyond its proportion. In No. 6, offences not included in the other classes, Ireland actually exceeds England in number, owing principally to the very great number of Irish riots. Whilst on the other hand, in No. 3, offences against property without violence, (which is more numerous than all the other lists put together,) England develops far more than its due proportion of criminality. In class No. 4 malicious offences against property, the offences in each country are about in due proportion to population. In class No. 5, forgery, and offences against the currency, the disproportion is so great, that whilst they prevail very

extensively in England, they may be said to be almost practically unknown in Ireland.

We have added these few remarks in order to assist our readers in the examination of the returns. We have nothing extenuated, or set down in malice, and we may plainly, but earnestly and fearlessly say that these returns effectually vindicate the character of poor and Catholic Ireland, when compared with rich and Protestant England; and we repeat that, notwithstanding the circumstances which might a priori lead us to expect a different conclusion, the convictions for crime, and especially for the more heinous crimes, are considerably less in proportion to population in Ireland than in England and Wales, the exact figures being given above. The greater poverty of Ireland would prepare us to expect a greater number of invasions upon property there; the contrary is the fact, and we cannot hesitate to attribute this fact to the influence of our holy Religion. If we had found that property was less secure in Ireland than in England, we could have accounted for it by the more pressing poverty of the Irish people; but, finding that it is more secure, notwithstanding the pressure of that poverty, we are urged to the conclusion that there is a stronger moral feeling in the main body of the poor population of Ireland, which keeps them honest in spite of the keenest temptation to fraud and theft. And to what is the moral feeling thus practically manifesting itself in their lives and conduct under peculiar difficulties to be attributed but to their Catholic Religion, and to the good influence of their Catholic Priests? These facts deserve, and will repay a little quiet reflection.

The lesson which these returns teach to Ireland is, that her character, though bearing on the whole, an advantageous comparison with that of England and Wales, yet does not shine with that degree of superior brightness which would otherwise distinguish her, because so many of her sons are yet slaves to passion, and revenge, and drink, for to these causes, we presume, may be attributed the assaults and riots which form just one-sixth of all the crimes for which Irishmen are convicted.

On the other hand, dishonesty and fraud, in all the forms in which they can develop themselves, seem peculiarly to preponderate in England and Wales.

- ART. VII.—1. *Un Graffito blasfemo nel Palazzo dei Cesari.* [In the *Civiltà Cattolica*. Serie III. vol. iv.] Rome, 1856.
2. *Graffiti de Pompei.* Inscriptions et Gravures tracées au stylet Recueillies et interprétées par Raphael Garrucci, S.J. 4to. Paris, 1856.
3. *On the Recent Excavations and Discoveries on the Aventine Hill in Rome.* [From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.] By Cardinal Wiseman. London, 1856.
4. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, by Various Writers. Edited by W. Smith, D.D. [Article "Pompeii."] 2 vols. 8vo. London: Walton and Maberly, 1855-7.

THE Antiquities of Italy are, it would seem, inexhaustible. For four centuries they have supplied to the learned of Europe endless material for research and for speculation. Every town and province of Italy has contributed its share. Antiquarians, local and general, have explored every known site of interest, and there are few of them who have not, in some form or other, made public the result of their explorations. It would seem therefore that now at least their labours might end, or that, at all events, no notable addition to our knowledge of the ancient world could be hoped from their continuance. It is true that the search after specimens of ancient art, of coins, medals, rings, trinkets, and even larger objects, can never be deemed utterly hopeless, as long as any single spot, once the site of any considerable edifice, public or private, remains unexplored; but such explorations can no longer possess the interest which they had of old. Among the multitude of such objects of art that have been accumulated in the private collections of Italy, and in the public museums of that and of every other country of Europe, it may be fairly supposed that there is hardly a form of ancient art of which some type is not to be found; and the most that it would seem reasonable to expect from future successes in explorations, is to repeat and multiply (perhaps in greater perfection) the forms which we already possess.

Such a supposition may, at first sight, seem natural;

but no one who has attended to the progress of antiquarian research in Italy for the last twenty years will for a moment entertain it. We have come in truth to a second and entirely new period in the work. The history of this branch of ancient learning has been very similar to that of the revival of classical literature itself. In the first burst of public interest—in the days of the Aldi and the Etiennes—editors hastened to give to the world the great works which lay first to their hand—the celebrated poets, philosophers, and historians of the pagan world, and the great and prominent ecclesiastical writers of the Christian. The more obscure writers of both were for a time neglected. And even of those authors who were first chosen for publication, many of the smaller and less important treatises were overlooked in the early editions. The first generation of editors, in a word, did little more than the rough work of their art. Then came a second more laborious and painstaking generation, who took, expressly as their especial work, the duty of collecting and arranging the minor authors, and of completing the collections of the works of the greater. And of these editors may be traced several successive series, each following up with increased exactness the work which its predecessor had but partially accomplished, until in the classic age of this great art—the age of the Benedictines and the Bollandists—the days of Mabillon and Montfaucon, of Papebroch and Muratori—it might seem that not a fragment of the ancient learning, sacred or profane, had escaped the searching eye and the capacious hand of the literary explorer. Nevertheless it was only then that a third age—the age of the gleaners—can be said to have begun—the age of “*Spicilegia*” and “*Bibliothecæ*”—an age to whose critical and cautious spirit literature owes many obligations. Last of all came the Palempsest editors—Knittel, and Peter Bruns, and Barrett, and above all, Mai—who chose for themselves a department the existence of which had hardly been suspected by their predecessors; and who have filled up many a broad gap in the work left imperfect by the editors who had gone before them, from materials which these editors had regarded as utterly unworthy of their notice;—nay, in some cases, from the very manuscripts which they had examined and edited, unconscious or unobservant of the hidden treasure which they contained. Kuster obtained his interesting and valuable readings of the Greek text of the Codex Ephremi,

under a manuscript of the works of St. Ephrem, to make room for which the original Gospel text had been effaced. It was in the same circumstances that Peter Bruns recovered the fragments of the lost ninety-first book of Livy: and Cardinal Mai's *De Republica* had lain unnoticed for generations, covered by a manuscript of St. Augustine's Commentaries on the Psalms, which had been written over the *De Republica* by a scribe of the fourteenth century.

Something extremely like this has been the course of the more recent antiquarian exploration at Rome, and in other parts of Italy. A new generation of antiquaries has arisen, whose vocation resembles very closely that of the Palimpsest editors in the literary department. Passing by the more prominent and striking objects of research—the obvious and tangible remains of the ancient world; leaving to others to pursue what yet remains to be done, in the excavation of temples and theatres; the restoration of palaces, and baths, and theatres; the identification of the several portions of circuses, amphitheatres; and the exploration of sepulchres and columbaria, the modern explorers have begun to address themselves to minutiae, which, while the harvest of antiquity was still new, were deemed too small to excite, still less to reward, curiosity—to the examination of the buried remains, which, like the original writing of the Palimpsests, had been as it were effaced, in order to make way for the more useful or attractive edifice by which they have been succeeded; of the substructions of the great remains of the ancient city—many of them portions of pre-existing buildings which were sacrificed to some variation of fashion, of taste, or of caprice, while they still retained much of their primitive proportion, and sometimes even no little of their original freshness.

The knowledge thus obtained, we need scarcely say, must necessarily be precarious and fragmentary, and will often be but an imperfect repetition of what we have known before in a more complete form. But a considerable portion of what has been discovered, too, has proved well worthy of the newly awakened interest which it has created. Some of these results have thrown upon the ancient world a light entirely new and unexpected. Some have opened to us glimpses of the past, brief and broken it is true, but equalling, if not surpassing, in vividness, distinctness, and life-like reality, almost everything hitherto discovered of the ancient world, with the single exception

of what may be described as the hermetically sealed repositories of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

These new and interesting researches have taken place chiefly in Rome ; but much also has been recently found in Pompeii, or, we should more truly say, a good deal of what had been found at an earlier period has been collected and made public. We propose to lay before our readers a short account, narrative, rather than descriptive, much less critical, of the most important steps hitherto made. For the full details of the results to which these researches may eventually lead, we must await the completion of the patient and laborious investigations which they necessarily involve.

In Rome, the first of these discoveries to which we shall allude was made several months since, in the course of certain excavations in the garden of the monastery of Santa Sabina, an ancient convent of the Dominican order, and one of the oldest religious establishments of the city. Of these discoveries a very interesting account is contained in a paper read by Cardinal Wiseman, for the Royal Society of Literature, which we shall take for our guide in this portion of the subject.

The Convent of Santa Sabina is situated upon the Aventine Hill ; of which it is truly remarked that although "of the seven hills of Rome, there is not perhaps one more intimately connected with the origin of the city, real or mythological, yet scarcely one less interesting in general to the antiquary, than the Aventine. It preserves the traces of no historical edifice, scarcely the lines of walls or obscure masses of brickwork, which leave room for interesting conjecture. Any new discovery therefore, in this portion of the ancient city, comes upon us with double interest, and seems well worthy of record."

We must leave his Eminence to describe the actual site of the monastery.

"Any one who has visited Rome will easily remember the position and appearance of the Aventine. As he has directed his steps towards the Ostian Gate, to visit the rebuilt Basilica of St. Paul's, he may recollect, that after passing the beautiful temple of Vesta, the high-road, yet within the walls, becomes narrowed, on the right side by the Tiber running close under it, on the left by a high hill rising almost perpendicular, clad in green to its summit, which

is crowned by gardens and the towers of three churches close together.

"After the third, the hill gradually slopes down to the Tiber ; but beyond the valley thus made, it rises again gently, so as to present another eminence less lofty, and much richer in ruins, known by the name of the 'false Aventine.' It is with the first, that is the 'true Aventine,' that we have to deal this evening. An easy road, from near the temple mentioned, leads us along its ridge, within or beyond the line of churches and their enclosures, to which we have alluded. The first of these is the Basilica of Santa Sabina, which flanks the road on the right, having however a considerable opening between it and the roadway. It is not my duty to describe this interesting monument, nor to speak of its many peculiarities ; but my hearers must be good enough to go into the adjoining convent with me, by a door beside that of the church, to pass through a curious covered court, once the *atrium* of the church, and to rise by a few steps, through a spacious cloister, resembling others of the middle ages in Rome, into the spacious garden, which reaches to the very edge of the hill, and commands one of the most beautiful views that I know.

"Even this however must not now detain us. Suffice it to say, that from the parapet we look down upon the road below, the Tiber, and on its further bank, the magnificent hospital of San Michele a Ripa, till the view is bounded by the Janiculum ; while on the left, Rome is seen unrolled as on a map, with that wonderful commingling of ancient and modern, ruin and freshness, stone and greenness, which form its peculiar charm, till the purple line of Sabine hills cuts the azure of the sky.

"In this garden is situated the scene of our present researches, and therefore we must make ourselves acquainted with its history and its inhabitants. As to the first, our traveller's guide will have told us that the cave of Cacus was supposed to have been at its foot, and perhaps the grove of the Furies : while above we are on comparatively modern ground. The monastery was the site of the palace of Pope Honorius III., who was Pontiff in 1226. He bestowed it upon St. Dominic ; and his Order, that of the Dominicans, has held possession of it since. The community now established there, is remarkable for its exact observance of rule, and edifying discharge of every duty. It is extremely poor, and was plundered of the little which it possessed, indeed of all its furniture except three beds, in 1848. At its head however is a French Prior of peculiar qualities. Those who know the history of the Dominican Order will not be surprised to hear of its possessing artists of high eminence. The celebrated Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, known generally by the name of Beato Angelico, and Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, are the greatest artists of the Order, but many others have belonged to it.

"Père Besson, the present Prior of Sta. Sabina, was a painter of great merit before he joined the Order; and since that time he has painted in fresco the walls of the Chapter-house of San Sisto, the first house of the Dominicans."—pp. 1-3.

The discovery, in its origin, was in fact accidental.

"About last October the religious of this community undertook to remodel their garden, and to reduce it more to what is called on the Continent, out of compliment to us, an English garden. As I have said however, they were poor in the extreme, and therefore they depended entirely on the labour of their own hands, and could not afford to hire workmen. During their recreation hours they laboured hard and cheerfully, until their exertions took a new direction. For suddenly and unexpectedly, in digging, they broke into a vault, which arrested their previous operations, and from gardeners turned the good religious into excavators.

"Now came the advantage of having an artist at the head of the community. Any one who has seen and known P. Besson, will recognize in him perhaps the finest type which he has ever seen of a Christian artist; but still so gentle, subdued, sweet, and devout is the expression of his countenance, and the tone of his voice, that one might fear his enthusiasm and fire had been smothered under the asceticism of his life and pursuits. It soon appeared however that it was not so. He had for years desired to make a trial, and see if some discovery could not be made in that interesting spot. And now that accident had led to one, he was all eager to pursue it. After clearing a sufficient opening, the religious descended into the vault, and commenced removing the rubbish which had accumulated during centuries, or rather had fallen in at an earlier period, as I will later explain. As soon as one room was cleared out, an entrance was found into another; this was generally found to be full up to the ceiling of broken fragments of brick, stone, and mortar, which had to be removed, before the value or worthlessness of the discovery could be ascertained. And so the work proceeded, carefully and perseveringly, if not most skilfully. For with the exception of one friar, who had been a mason, there was not among all those religious labourers one who had ever handled an instrument necessary for the work. They could not even afford a windlass to haul up the broken materials, but all was carried away by hand. Nor was it a labour unattended with danger. Portions of masonry became detached, broke and fell; and on one occasion, when the Prior was engaged in studying or copying some painting just discovered, he was suddenly called away to attend a person taken dangerously ill; he obeyed instantly, and the moment after, a huge mass from above filled the place on which he had stood.

"Still the unaided work went on till February, when some ex-

perienced excavators were furnished by the Government, to whom the community at length applied for assistance; as the important results of their exertions had now become evident, and the antiquaries of Rome had ascertained the value of many of the new discoveries."—pp. 3-5.

The rooms or passages thus successively excavated amounted to no fewer than sixteen; and although some of them presented nothing of importance whatever, there are others the superior interest of which has amply made up for the deficiency.

It had long been known that the wall of Servius Tullius traversed the slope of the Aventine, and was carried down its declivity till it reached the Tiber. But even as far back as the days of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the growth of the city around it, and the accumulation of buildings which had taken place in the long series of ages since its construction, had rendered it difficult, if not impossible, to trace its course, and in some spots even to ascertain its direction. It is an interesting result of the late excavations, therefore, that they have actually fallen upon the Servian Wall, for a considerable part of its course at this spot of the Aventine. The brethren, in the progress of their work, came upon "a wall of primitive construction, formed like the Cloaca Maxima, and other works of the kings, of huge blocks of tufo, though here irregular in shape." It is curious that this rude wall, which carries us back to a period so remote, and, as many deem, so legendary, had actually been incorporated with the more modern structure which has just been disinterred. It forms, for a considerable distance, an interior division wall, (the stones being merely covered with plaster, without any lining,) on each side of which are ranged the chambers of this building. The discovery of this bit of the ancient City wall is the more important, inasmuch as another portion of it had been found a few years since by the Jesuits, in their garden on the opposite side of the Aventine; and thus, not only can its direction be easily traced over the Hill, but we are also enabled to determine the site of the Temple of Hercules, which had long been a puzzle to the antiquarians. This temple is known to have been built at the meeting point of the Servian Wall with the Tiber;—a position which is identified by the late discovery, beyond the possibility of being mistaken.

Another discovery of considerable classical interest is, of a fragment or inscription relating to the little-known fraternity, or religious college—the *Fratres Arvales*. Although the name of this institution was well known, and is often alluded to, none of the earlier classical antiquarians had succeeded in satisfactorily explaining its nature or constitution. “Two passages in Varro, and one in Pliny,” says Cardinal Wiseman, “and a few lines in Minucius Felix and in Fulgentius, was all that antiquity told us about a college of priests with which the imperial families and all the principal houses of Rome were in connection, which performed the most splendid public rites, met in the palace, and were possessed of one of the most sacred spots in the neighbourhood of Rome,—the grove of the Goddess Dia (*Dea Dia*), unmentioned also in ancient mythology, but believed to be the same as Ceres. Singular it is too that when Livy, Cicero, or Pliny enumerates whole classes of soothsayers or priests, not one of them should ever allude to the existence of this tribe (Marini, *Atti dei F. A.* p. 16). To endeavour to account for this silence is useless, and now unnecessary. There is no body of ancient pagan priests whose offices, ceremonies, words, names, dates, we are so minutely acquainted with, as with those of the *Fratres Arvales*; and this we owe to inscriptions, and to the sagacity, learning, and perseverance of one man.

“No scholar ever exhausted a subject more maturely and more satisfactorily than Monsig. Marini in his ‘*Atti e Monumenti dei Fratelli Arvali*’ (Rome, 1795). In excavating for the foundation of the new sacristy attached to St. Peter’s, a number of Arval inscriptions were found, and the learned priest undertook the study of the whole subject. He collected every fragment (in copies at least), and thus produced an unrivalled collection of sixty-seven inscriptions,—some much mutilated, some very full. But one helps the other, till the complete system of this curious fraternity stands as clear before us as that of any city guild or corporation can do.

“They carved their annals year by year on marble tablets; they publish at the beginning when the sacrifices will be, only leaving a blank after the word house as it might be at that of the master or pro-master; they tell us who were present there and at the grove; who the noble boys in attendance, what dress they wore (whether *riciniati* or

prætextati); who the brothers present, how they crowned themselves, went to the bath, ate of the sacrifice, received sweetmeats, carried away baskets of good things crowned with flowers. Sometimes an augur tells them that a tree has fallen in the grove, when peculiar expiatory ceremonies are to be performed; sometimes they record the barbarous archaic song which followed their secret dance (tav. xli.) In fine, they have concealed nothing from us which we can care to know. But, indirectly, these Arval annals have thrown great light upon obscure and minute points of history. They contain so many names in full, with titles after them, and the names of fathers, that the history of families can be made out wonderfully from them. For the completion of the Consular Fasti the information is invaluable."—p. 10—12.

It is in reference to the point last alluded to—the Consular Fasti, that the fragment discovered at Santa Sabina is particularly valuable. It clears up several genealogical difficulties till now unresolved, and has enabled the antiquarians to determine more than one hitherto uncertain identity. To those who know how material, in relation to chronology, are even the minutest points connected with the Fasti—often our only guide in dates of the last importance, the value of this discovery will be easily intelligible. The fragment, imperfect as it is, has supplied to the learned Cavaliere Borghesi material for an interesting dissertation.

The walls of two of the disinterred apartments were originally covered with paintings, which, however, have now almost entirely disappeared: but they still retain numerous inscriptions and scribblings, which have exercised the ingenuity of the discoverers. The apartments appear to have been originally intended as waiting-rooms, probably for slaves; and as some of the inscriptions are mere catalogues of names, (and these, with hardly an exception, names of slaves,) it is conjectured that they comprise lists of the slaves belonging to the household.

Some few of the inscriptions, we should add, are of more interest.*

We have alluded, however, to this portion of the discoveries at the Aventine, less for its own interest than on account of its connexion with another far more important discovery of the very same class, and of a still more recent date. In describing the scribblings and scratchings on the walls of the rooms at the Aventine, Cardinal Wiseman also referred to certain similar discoveries in the Palace of the Cæsars. Far from regarding them as mere matters of amusement or idle curiosity, he described the discovery as "opening to the antiquary a field of research almost entirely new." It is curious that the Part of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, which contains his Eminence's paper, had hardly been issued, before his prediction was verified by a most strange and startling discovery, which has fallen to the lot of the learned Jesuit, Father Garrucci, already well known by his labours and successful researches in the same department at Pompeii.

There is no locality of Ancient Rome which has passed through so many architectural phases as the Palatine Hill—the site of the Palace of the Cæsars, or at least of that nucleus of building from which the gigantic structures which the successive emperors added to the original edifice, spread out in various directions over the adjacent region. From the modest beginnings of Augustus, who purchased for his own use the residence of Cicero's great rival, Hortensius, on the Palatine, it gradually advanced in extent

* One of these inscriptions (which is given by the Cardinal,) is an amusing combination of piety and anger.

VOTUM FECI
SI RECTE EXIERO
QUI ERUNT
INTRO VINI
SEXTARIOS
THEONAE
MORBUM

"I have vowed, if I shall get out of this all right, as many sextaries of wine as there may be within. A plague on Theonas!" The Cardinal pleasantly suggests that it is "an inscription worthy of Falstaff, if shut up by Poins in a cellar, when he had already drunk his fill!"

and magnificence. A stately palace was erected at the public cost for Augustus himself, though, with politic humility, he never would consent to inhabit it. Tiberius enlarged the proportions of this building, which he carried as far as the Velabrum. Caligula extended it still further, to the very verge of the Forum. But it reached its fullest development under Nero, from whose ambitious plan (in which it was carried by arches and galleries over several streets,) it obtained the name of *Domus Transitoria*; and under whom it was extended over the Cœlian and Esqueline Hills, as far as the gardens of Mœcenas, (close to the site of the present church of Santa Maria Maggiore) thus comprising a circuit of three miles and a half!* These enormous dimensions were variously contracted by successive Emperors, by whom the existing buildings of Nero were removed or modified to make way for later structures of different destinations. Thus the Baths of Titus occupied the site, the substructions, and in part even the buildings, of the Golden House of Nero.

In the course of these successive modifications it necessarily happened that portions of the pre-existing structure were occasionally preserved. Sometimes, when the inequalities of surface rendered it necessary to resort to the expedient of levelling, the first building was actually used as the substruction of the second, its apartments being carefully filled up with rubbish for the purpose of greater solidity. In such cases the expedient adopted by the architect has been the means of preserving in almost its primitive integrity the original chamber, or series of chambers which he thus sacrificed to the convenience of his own plan. None of the general moveable objects which it may have contained, of course, are preserved; but the forms of the buildings, its rooms, its passages, its walls, and in many cases the paintings which had adorned them, and almost always the inscriptions or sketches scratched upon the plaster, remain in such a state of preservation as to be decipherable without difficulty in all their substantial parts.

It is to a very remarkable and indeed startling sketch

* This was the occasion of the well-known epigram—
Roma *Domus* fiet!—Veios migrata, Quirites,
Si non et veios occupet ista Domus!

of this description, discovered by Father Garrucci, that we now allude. Several paintings and inscriptions, some of them of a very curious character, had already been found in the chambers of the Golden House which now form part of the ruins of the Baths of Titus. F. Garrucci's discovery lies in an opposite direction, and upon the site of the Palace of the Cæsars, properly so called. The ruins to which it appertains stand near the church of St. Anastasia in the so-called "Orto Nusiner," at the south-west angle of the Palatine. It was uncovered some years since; and some of the apartments then explored were found to contain a considerable number of figures and legends scratched upon the plaster with a stylus. Of these figures and inscriptions Father Garrucci has published fac-similes in his *Graffiti de Pompei*, of which we shall speak before we close. Still more recently, however, in November, 1856, a second apartment was disinterred; and Father Garrucci was speedily attracted to the spot by information that the portion of the wall which had been laid bare contained some traces of Greek letters. On proceeding carefully to remove the rubbish, he observed above the Greek legend which his informant had discovered, a human figure with the head of an animal of the horse kind, and with its arms extended in the attitude which is commonly seen in the pictures of the catacombs, and which in early christian pictures always represents the act of prayer. A little further examination detected a human figure standing below and at one side of that which had first been discovered; and at length, having obtained the permission and assistance of Mgr. Milesi, the Minister of Public Works, Father Garrucci was enabled to decipher the entire sketch, and to perceive that the ass- or horse-headed* figure was represented as fastened to a cross, and that the man pictured by its side was in the attitude of address or supplication.

But the subject will be better understood by a facsimile,

* It may seem trifling to reason critically regarding a sketch so rudely and unartistically executed. The head certainly resembles that of a horse more than of an ass. But it must be remembered that the animal referred to in the popular calumny was the *onager* or wild ass, which resembles the horse much more than the domestic one.

which we copy from F. Garrucci's own interesting account in the *Civiltà Cattolica*. *



The attitude of the standing figure can hardly be mistaken. The outstretched hand, with its rudely delineated extended fingers, was evidently meant to be represented as just withdrawn from the lips; and can indicate no other than that gesture of worship or adoration to which we so often find allusion, not only in the Roman, but even in Oriental Pagan worship. It is distinctly described by Job (xxx. 26) "If I beheld the sun when it shined, and the moon going

* November 19, 1856.

† The scale of this engraving is one-third of the original.

in brightness: and my heart in secret hath rejoiced, *and I have kissed my hand with my mouth*; which is a very great iniquity, and a *denial of the most High God.*" An equally unmistakable allusion to it is found in 3rd. Kings (xix. 18), where God declares that "He will leave Him seven thousand men in Israel, whose knees have not bowed before Baal, and every mouth that hath not *worshipped him kissing the hands.*" St. Jerome explains that this was an ordinary form of Gentile worship; and even Juvenal, in his sketch of those parasitical arts practised by sycophants towards the rich on whom they fawn, which he lashes with such severity, enumerates

A facie jactare manus.

But even though the gesture itself was less ambiguous, its signification is at once determined by the inscription Ἀλεξαμένος σέβετε [σέβεται] θεόν. (Alexamenus worships God) which stands beneath. There can be no doubt that this rude sketch is a Pagan caricature of the Christian worship of the Crucified God.

But beyond this general fact it is difficult to proceed with certainty. Who was the "Alexamenus" whose worship is thus ridiculed? There is no means of determining. The name, though not unknown, is unusual in antiquity, nor are we aware of any example in early ecclesiastical history. We shall merely say that, from the fact of its being found upon the wall of what (as appears from the numerous names of slaves which occur in the inscriptions) was seemingly one of the Slave's halls or waiting-rooms of the palace, it may not unnaturally be conjectured that Alexamenus, like so many of the early Christians of Rome, was of servile condition, and that this sketch was the work of one of his fellow slaves.

The precise date, too, is a matter of some uncertainty. The form of the letters of the rude inscription, is (beyond a certain limit,) only an imperfect guide. They resemble, in everything, the characters of the similar remains discovered at Pompeii, and figured by Father Garrucci in his interesting work. The bricks, too, of this portion of the ruin, which Father Garrucci has carefully examined, bear an early date. One fragment is dated in the consulship of Pœtinus and Aponianus, (which corresponds with A. D. 123): another has that of Verus "the third time," and of Ambibulus, (A. D. 126.) These dates, however,

can only determine a period beyond which we must not ascend. It is only by conjection that we can approximate to the actual time of the execution of the sketch.

Father Garrucci is disposed, from the circumstance that the Emperor Severus was a known favourer of the Christians, and that many members of that community were to be found in his household, to fix upon his reign as a not unlikely date, and to regard Alexamenus as one of the Christian household of this Emperor, whom his fellow-slaves selected as the object of their ridicule. To the argument suggested by F. Garrucci we may add that, as this rude representation is but an embodiment of the popular calumny which assailed the Christians as "worshippers of an ass's head," it may most naturally be traced to a date at which this calumny is known to have been current. Now there is an interesting passage in Terullian's *Apology* which is very precise on this particular:

"For as some of you," he says, "have dreamed of an Ass's head being our God; a suspicion of this sort Cornelius Tacitus hath introduced. For in the fifth of his *Histories* having begun the account of the Jewish war from the origin of the nation, having also discussed what questions he chose, as well touching the origin itself, as the name and the religion of the nation, he telleth us that the Jews being delivered, or, as he supposed, banished, from Egypt, when they were pining with thirst in the wastes of Arabia, places most destitute of water, took as their guides to the springs wild Asses, which, it was supposed, would perhaps, after feeding, go to seek water, and that for this service they consecrated the image of a like creature. And so, I suppose, it was thence presumed that we, as bordering on the Jewish Religion, were taught to worship such a figure. But yet the same Cornelius Tacitus, (that most untacit man forsooth in lies,) relateth in the same history, that Cneius Pompeius, when he had taken Jerusalem, and thereupon had gone up to the temple to examine the mysteries of the Jewish religion, found no image therein. And without doubt, if that were worshipped, which was under any visible image represented, it would be no where more seen than in its own holy place, the rather because the worship, however vain, had no fear of strangers to witness it; for it was lawful for the priests alone to approach thither; the very gaze of the rest was forbidden by a veil spread before them. Yet ye will not deny that beasts of burden and whole geldings, with their own *Epona*, are worshipped by yourselves. On this account perchance we are disapproved, because, amidst the worshipping of all beasts and cattle, we are worshipping of asses alone.

"But he also who thinketh us superstitious respecting of the Cross, will be our fellow-worshipper, when prayer is made to any wood. No matter for the fashion, so long as the quality of the material is the same; no matter for the form, so long as it be the very body of a God. And yet how doth the Athenian Minerva differ from the body of the Cross? and the Ceres of Pharos, who appeareth in the market, without a figure, made of a rude stake and a shapeless log?

"Every stock of wood which is fixed in an upright posture, is a part of a cross; we, if we worship him at all, worship the God whole and entire. We have said that the origin of your Gods is derived from figures moulded on a Cross. But ye worship victories also, when, in your triumphs, crosses form the inside of the trophies. The whole religion of the camp is a worshipping of the standards, a swearing by the standards, a setting up of the standards above all the Gods. All those rows of images on your standards are the appendages of Crosses; those hangings on your standards and banners are the robes of Crosses. I commend your care: ye would not consecrate your Crosses naked and unadorned. Others certainly, with greater semblance of nature and truth, believe the sun to be our God. If this be so we must be ranked with the Persians; though we worship not the sun painted on a piece of linen, because in truth we have himself in his own hemisphere. Lastly, this suspicion ariseth from thence, because it is well known that we pray towards the quarter of the east. But most of yourselves too, with an affectation of sometimes worshipping the heavenly bodies also, move your lips towards the rising of the sun. In like manner, if we give up to rejoicing the day of the sun, for a cause far different from the worship of the sun, we are only next to those, who set apart the day of Saturn for rest and feasting, themselves also deflecting from the Jewish custom, of which they are ignorant.

"But now a new report of our God hath been lately set forth in this city, since a certain wretch, hired to cheat the wild beasts put forth a picture with some such title as this, '*The God of the Christians conceived of an Ass.*' This was a creature with ass's ears, with a hoof on one foot, carrying a book and wearing a gown. We have smiled both at the name and the figure. But they ought instantly to adore this two-formed God, because they have admitted gods made up of a dog's and a lion's head, and with the horns of a goat and a ram, and formed like goats from the loins, and like serpents from the legs, and with wings on the foot or the back."*

It is impossible not to recognize in the picture which Tertullian here describes, the same general type as that

* *Apology.* (Oxford Translation.) p. 36-9.

of the grotesque and blasphemous representation before us. It is true that some minor differences may be discerned. The figure in our sketch has no book; nor is there the "hoof on one foot"* which Tertullian describes. Neither does Tertullian's description suppose that the figure was represented as fixed upon the cross. But it cannot be doubted that the two pictures are merely varieties of the same popular calumny; and as Tertullian speaks of that to which he alludes as "new," we can hardly err widely in assigning the caricature of the Palace of the Cæsars to the same date. Indeed, if we adopt the opinion that the Apology was written in Rome and addressed to the Senate, Tertullian's allegation that the picture had been "lately set forth in that city," would seem to fix the date about, or a little before, the year 198, in which year the Apology was probably written. Even if the Apology were written in Carthage, our inference from the above passage as to the date, would not be notably affected.

The form of the letters of the rude inscription, too, and especially the twofold form of the E—the angular as well as the rounded one—falls in well with this date; and although the false orthography of the inscription—the use of *σέβετε* for *σέβεται* may be met at an earlier period, as early indeed as the Augustan age, yet the same error was continued to a considerably later date also, and occurs in some inscriptions in the catacombs, which certainly are not earlier than the fourth century.

We need not hesitate, therefore, to regard this curious relic of Pagan bigotry as a production of the last years of the second, or the beginning of the third century, while such calumnies as Tertullian details in the remarkable passage extracted above, still entered into the popular notions of Christianity which pervaded the pagan world. It can hardly interest us, however important it may be in certain recent controversies in Germany, to observe that even these popular notions of the contemporary pagans

* The passage as translated in the Oxford translation supposes the reading to be *ὀνοκοίτης* ["begotten by an ass."] There is another, however, and in our opinion a better reading: *ὀνονυχώτης* ["having the hoofs and ears of an ass."] It seems clear from Tertullian's own description of the picture, that the latter must have been the title inscribed beneath it.

supply a curious evidence of the Christian belief of the Divinity of Christ at the close of the second century. The caricaturist who turns Alexamenus into ridicule, describes him as "*worshipping his God*"—who from the very nature of the blasphemous representation can be no other than the crucified Christ,—the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.

The subject, however, is more interesting in its bearing on the question of the use and honour of images, (and especially of the cross and the crucifix,) among the early Christians. Although the caution and reserve in the use of all images which were observed in the Church, or at least in its public worship, as long as the prevalence of the old paganism, and of the inveterate notions of idolatry which it had fostered, rendered their use among Christians a source of scandal and offence to the unbelievers, and of direct danger to the weak and uninstructed neophytes themselves, have long been known and admitted, yet the recent excavations in the Catacombs have made it plain, that, in their more private, and as it were domestic worship, where they were released from the dangers to which we have referred, they indulged much more freely than had hitherto been imagined, that natural instinct by which men are impelled to seek, in external representations of sacred objects, an assistance for their own feeble and inconstant imagination, a protection against wandering thoughts, and even an incentive to warmer and more vivid devotional feeling. Mr. Northcote, in the admirable volume on the Catacombs, which he has just published, has described with much feeling and simplicity the great variety of sacred subjects which are still discernible on the walls of the chapels in the various catacombs of Rome:—of the Good Shepherd; of the several scenes in the history of Jonas; of the Raising of Lazarus; of Daniel in the Lions' Den; of the Temptation of Adam and Eve; of Noe in the Ark; of Moses Striking the Rock; of the Healing of the Paralytic in the Gospel, &c.

We are tempted, even at the risk of seeming for a time to turn aside from our immediate theme, to transcribe one or two paragraphs of Mr. Northcote's interesting description of those among the sacred subjects thus depicted, which have more especial reference to the mysteries of the New Law, and particularly to the Sacraments.

It is impossible, for instance, to mistake the allusion to

the Sacrament of Penance, which is contained in the representation of the Healing of the Paralytic, as we find it occasionally depicted.

"Another frequent subject of painting in the Catacombs is the healing of the paralytic by our Lord; and a reference to the circumstances of that miracle, and the language used by our Lord on the occasion, sufficiently explain its mystical meaning. The palsied body of the sufferer was to Him who saw both body and soul only a lively image of a soul palsied by sin; and accordingly, instead of speaking first of his bodily ailments, He at once said, 'Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee;' at which, when the Pharisees murmured, He proceeded to show them, by the miracle of healing, that 'the Son of Man had power on earth to forgive sins.' Now if we connect this saying of our Lord with that other (John xx. 23) in which He delegated this same power to His Apostles, we shall see that this miracle afforded a lively image to the faithful of the 'power' which yet remained 'on earth to forgive sins,' namely, in the holy sacrament of Penance. And that this is the sense in which it was actually used is clear, from a painting in the Catacomb of S. Hermes, where, in immediate connection with it, is the administration of that sacrament represented literally, in the form of a Christian kneeling on both knees before a priest, who is giving him absolution."—pp. 59-60.

Still more striking are the allusions which these pictures contain to the Blessed Eucharist.

"But the sacrament which is the subject of by far the greatest number of these ancient paintings is, as we should expect, that central and crowning one, if we may so call it, of the Holy Eucharist. Of this, the feeding of several thousands with a few loaves and fishes is in some respects an obvious figure; the changing the water also into wine at the marriage-feast of Cana becomes, under another aspect, a very lively memorial of the same sort; and both these miracles of our Lord are therefore frequently repeated, more especially the former. And not only is this scene represented historically, but fish and bread are also often brought together in these paintings without any reference to this particular history, as far as we may judge from the number of loaves and fishes or of the people, but simply for the sake of their symbolical meaning. The fish, from the very earliest times, was always taken as a type of our Lord. 'Christ, figuratively called the fish,' says Origen; and later writers observed how the letters which form the Greek word fish (ἰχθῦς) presented the initials of our Lord's name and office, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour; but more especially it was taken as a figure of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist. A Greek sepulchral inscription of great antiquity bids us 'receive the sweet food of the Saviour of the

Saints, taking into our hands the fish ;' S. Austin, in his Confessions, describes the Eucharistic feast as that solemnity 'in which *that fish* is set before us which, drawn forth from the deep, becomes the food of pious mortals ;' and the '*piscis assus*' of the Gospels, wherewith our Lord fed His disciples by the sea of Tiberias (John xxi. 13), is always by the Fathers held to be mystically significant of '*Christus passus*.' 'Our Lord,' says S. Austin, commenting on this passage, 'made a feast for these seven disciples, of the fish which they saw laid on the hot coals, and of bread. The broiled fish is Christ ; He, too, is that bread which came down from heaven ; and in Him the Church is incorporated for the enjoyment of everlasting happiness, that we all who have this hope may communicate in so great a sacrament, and share in the same bliss.' Fish and bread, therefore, when taken together, furnish a very proper secret representation of the Holy Eucharist ; the one denoting its outward and seeming form, the other its inward and hidden reality.

"Accordingly, in a *cubiculum* in the cemetery of S. Callixtus, close to the tomb of S. Cornelius, and probably of a date anterior to his pontificate, that is, belonging probably to the first half of the third century, a fish, bearing on its back a basket of bread, may be seen twice repeated, as a kind of ornament on either side of one of the principal paintings on the walls. The bread is not of the ordinary kind, in small loaves,—*decussati*, as they were called, i.e., divided into four equal parts by two cross lines,—but of the kind known among the Romans by the barbarous name of '*mamphala*,' a bread of a gray ashen colour, which was used by the people of the East, especially the Jews, as an offering of the first-fruits to the priests, and was therefore considered sacred. Within the basket, too, is painted what seems evidently to be intended for a glass chalice full of red wine ; and the whole painting brings forcibly to our recollection the description given by S. Jerome of a bishop's treasure, '*Corpus Domini in canistro vimineo*' (for the basket in the painting is precisely of this character, made of osier-twigs), *et sanguis in vitro*.' 'The body of our Lord in an osier basket, and His blood in glass.' The sacred bread and the red wine borne by the fish, form a combination, which, we cannot doubt, was typical of the Holy Eucharist.

"Another chapel of this same cemetery was the burial-place of several bishops of Rome, from S. Pontianus in the year 235, to S. Melchiades in 314 ; and in its immediate neighbourhood is a series of chambers designed only for purposes of sepulture, and ornamented with paintings belonging to the same high antiquity. In one of these is represented a table, with two loaves and a fish ; and in another, a table of the same kind, with a single loaf and a fish, over which a priest is stretching forth his hands for the purpose of blessing, while on the opposite side of the table stands a woman with uplifted hands in the attitude of prayer. It may be doubted

whether this last figure were intended to represent the Church, or only the particular individual buried in an adjacent grave ; but we cannot doubt that the whole picture, as well as those in the adjoining chambers, in which seven disciples are seated at a feast consisting only of bread and fish, refers to the Holy Eucharist."—pp. 60—62.

There is a symbolical significance, too, in the treatment of one of the subjects from the Old Testament, which is too remarkable to be overlooked—we mean the representation of Peter under the figure of Moses, and the evident application to Peter in the New Law of the characteristics of Moses, the Founder and Lawgiver of the Old, and the chosen Head of God's chosen people in the Old Covenant.

"At another time, the same doctrine is alluded to under another historical type,—Moses striking the rock; and there are peculiarities in the mode of treating this subject, which are worthy of serious and candid consideration. Moses taking off his shoes before obeying the summons of God which called him up into the mountain, and Moses striking the rock, are sometimes to be found on opposite sides of the same chapel, and sometimes in immediate juxtaposition to one another, actually forming parts of the same picture; but in a picture of this kind in the Catacombs of S. Callisto, the heads of the two figures of Moses are perfectly different. Moreover, on the bottom of one of the glass chalices found in the Catacombs, this same scene of Moses striking the rock is represented; but over the head of the person striking is inscribed the name, not of Moses, but of Peter. Lastly, in many of the carved sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries, to be seen in the Museum of Christian Art at the Lateran Palace, the same event is carved in bas-relief, not among the actions of Moses, but of S. Peter. Now we know that Moses was especially typical of our Lord, as being to the old dispensation, in his measure, what our Lord Himself was to the new; and we know that this particular action of striking the rock was symbolical of baptism, for S. Paul tells us that 'that rock was Christ;' and everything in the Old Testament that has to do with water is universally interpreted by the Fathers as having reference to baptism and the grace given under the New Law. Christ, however, did not remain on earth to administer His Sacraments and to preach His law, and these specimens of early art sufficiently testify who it was, in the belief of the ancient Church, that He appointed as His delegate, to be to the New Israel what Moses was to the old,—their leader and head; even he to whom He specially intrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and gave the solemn charge to feed His sheep."—pp. 57—58.

From these and many similar remains of the early centuries, it is abundantly clear that, where Christian worship was withdrawn, as in the catacombs, from the scrutiny of the unbeliever, and where the danger of leading to idolatrous notions among the still carnal-minded converts from paganism did not exist, the great principle of the use of Sacred Art, as a help to devotion, as well as an instrument of instruction, was much more fully recognized than even Catholic writers had commonly imagined. It is chiefly, however, in reference to the use of the cross and crucifix that the curious relic of pagan times, discovered by Father Garrucci, is interesting. The well-known Christian monogram, and the rude cross, without a figure, are among the emblems of the catacombs. But of the crucifix, properly so-called, the paintings of the catacombs present no example. Indeed, it is to the crucifix, that is, to the image upon the cross, that the danger of idolatrous worship from the neophytes, to which we have already referred, as the motive which led the early Christians to abstain from such representations, is chiefly, if not entirely applicable: for the constant use of the sign of the cross, to which Tertullian bears witness, involved equally with the visible representation of the cross itself, the whole principle upon which our modern practice is based.

The first question, therefore, which is suggested by this blasphemous caricature of the worship ascribed to Alexamenus is: whether we should not hence infer that the Christians of the second century actually did render honour, if not to graven, at least to painted, representations of the crucifixion?

Such is, undoubtedly, the inference which would at first sight suggest itself. The caricature of Alexamenus worshipping before the crucifix, would seem to have no significance except upon this supposition. A caricature is an exaggeration of the reality, but it necessarily supposes *some* reality, which underlies and gives point to the grotesque idea which it embodies.

It may be said, on the other side, that this rude sketch is but an *ideal* representation of the supposed absurd worship of the Christians; that it was merely intended to combine the popular notion which Tertullian commemorates of the Christian "God conceived of an ass," with that of the worship of a condemned and crucified man; and that it had no other foundation in reality than that

the artist chose to embody in this coarse sketch, his conception of the absurd nature of Alexamenus's religion.

But Father Garrucci is strongly disposed to regard it not as a fancy sketch, but as a representation of an actual scene; and, therefore, as a caricature of Alexamenus, as supposed to be *engaged in the act of worshipping before the cross* with his God suspended thereupon. And undoubtedly there is much in the whole piece to give probability to this idea.

There is one of Father Garrucci's arguments, indeed, which we do not consider conclusive. He argues from the very figure itself, that the Pagan caricaturist must have sketched this grotesque crucifixion, not from his own unassisted fancy, but from some actual type of the subject, such as it existed among the Christians. Had he drawn from his own imagination the ideal of a criminal affixed to a cross, he would have represented that form of punishment, such as it actually existed among the Romans. Now, we know, both from the Gospel history of the crucifixion, and from other sources, that the Romans commonly crucified criminals naked and not clothed. Hence, had this sketch been a mere ideal one, the figure would have been represented naked, and not as we find it, fully clad, not merely in the tunic, but even in the ordinary clothing of the lower extremities. The argument is certainly an ingenious one, but we cannot think it decisive; not merely because we believe that the practice of stripping the criminal naked was not universal, but still more because in the contemporary caricature of the Christian's God, which Tertullian describes, he was represented as *togatus*.

In other respects, however, the sketch has much to make it appear intended as a representation of an actual scene. The position which Alexamenus occupies in relation to the cross; the act of worship itself, in which he is portrayed; the language of the inscriptions which describes a present scene, and proclaims Alexamenus as actually "worshipping," [σέβετε] his God; all in themselves naturally import a reality which the artist proposed to depict;—a reality which he had himself witnessed, or the nature which he had learned from others.

And it must not be forgotten that, even from the cautious language of the fathers of the time, we learn that this was the belief which pagans commonly entertained

of their christian fellow citizens. What else is the meaning of the pagan imputation against christians to which Tertullian alludes in the passage cited above—that they were “worshippers of the cross”—[superstitiosi crucis]? Why does Tertullian take so much pains to retort upon the pagan accusers the same imputation of cross-worship? Why does he try to find parallels for the worship of the cross in the various usages which were received among them?—in the trophy to which the soldiers rendered religious honour, and which, stripped of the spoils suspended upon it has nothing but a cross?—in the form of the standard?—in that of the military banner upon which the military oath was solemnized?—in the very frame upon which the potter or statuary moulded the images which they worshipped as Gods?

And if it be said that Tertullian here only speaks of the nude cross, without the image of Christ upon it, do we not find him elsewhere describe as one of the ordinary usages of the christians of his time, the practice of engraving upon their chalices the image of Christ as the good shepherd? Was not this usage so universal that he is even enabled to appeal to it as an argument whereby to establish a principle of Catholic doctrine?

At all events, without entering into the doctrinal question, since it will be freely admitted that the very existence of a belief among Pagans that the Christians adored the cross, is in itself a presumption that there must have existed among them some practice of honour or reverence of the cross to serve as a foundation for this exaggerated calumny, Father Garrucci's discovery is simply interesting, as placing this pagan calumny in a new and more startling light than it could have in the bare recital of it in any of the literary records of that time. This singular relic of the second century carries back to those very times themselves, and brings us face to face with the actual strife of the new and the old religions in its crudest and most palpable form. And, what is perhaps equally important, it places before our very eyes an actual and living example of the motive to which Catholics, in their controversy with the modern iconoclasts, ascribe the policy of the early Church in abstaining from public use of images during those

* *De Pudicitia*, chap. vii. p. 1199.

ages while idolatry still prevailed, and while images could hardly have been introduced into public worship without creating in the minds of the pagans the idea that they were worshipped as idols. The rude sketch disinterred by Father Garrucci, is at once the witness and the justification of the policy which Catholics describe.

We shall not delay to detail the other discoveries of Father Garrucci in the apartment of the Palace of the Cæsars. With the exception of the Christian monogram which is scratched on the wall of one of the adjoining passages, none of the other writings or figures which he has deciphered, possesses any religious interest. But we cannot close our observations without devoting a few paragraphs to his curious and learned work on the similar remains of Pompei, which the same learned antiquarian has just published. We had originally proposed, indeed, if space permitted, to enter at some length, into the general results of the excavations in Pompei up to the present period. But for the present we are compelled to deny ourselves this gratification; and we can only refer for a most full and comprehensive, though compendious account of Pompeii, such as it now stands revealed, to the excellent article on that subject in Dr. Smith's admirable "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography," just completed.*

Father Garrucci's publication, however, is confined to one particular department of Pompeian antiquities—a department which, from the causes referred to in the commencement of this article, had hitherto received but little attention. He has taken the pains to reproduce a facsimile with incredible labour, the vast body of *Graffiti*—that is, the figures or inscriptions scratched upon the plaster

* We take the earliest opportunity of expressing our high admiration of this learned and valuable publication. It is a worthy companion and successor to the other publications of the same learned editor—the "Dictionary of Antiquities," and the "Dictionary of Biography." We know no books upon any subject connected with classical learning, at once so simple and so profound, so accurate, and yet so popular so full of erudition, yet so free from pedantry, and uniting so well a just appreciation of every new conjecture or theory, which modern scholars have put forward, with the calm and practical good sense which is the only solid foundation of judicious criticism.

of the walls, pillars, pedestals, and statues, of the buried city. This work consists of two parts;—one a series of thirty-two large plates, containing the facsimiles of the original *Graffiti*: the other, a volume of letter-press, descriptive and explanatory of the plates, and of learned disquisitions on the general subject to which they belong. A portion of these inscriptions, (especially those from the buildings of the forum) had already been published by Mommsen. Dr. Wordsworth, too, published in 1837, a small collection of thirty of these inscriptions, for the most part in verse. In the *Archæological journals* of Naples, a few of the more striking ones have since then been printed from time to time; but nothing that had hitherto been done, could be regarded as more than a preparation for the great work of Father Garrucci. Some of the inscriptions are in Greek, some in Latin, some even in Oscan—a curious evidence of the tenacity with which the population clung to the primitive language of Campania, despite the successive colonizations of Greeks and Romans, even down to so late a period. The blunders in orthography are, in many cases, exceedingly amusing, and the inscriptions themselves often throw a curious light on the habits and pursuits of that class of the population to which, of course, they are chiefly to be referred. The rude sketches which accompany them are amusing in the highest degree. They are, for the most part, gladiatorial subjects, and, with all their rudeness, illustrate far better than many a learned disquisition, the various forms of gladiatorial contest which were in use in the amphitheatre. We would refer particularly to plates ix-xvi. Others of the subjects are professedly caricatures, some of them infinitely grotesque and laughable; and, in some instances, the inscriptions which accompany them, give point and character to the sketch.

But it would carry us far beyond our proposed limits to enter into detail, and we must content ourselves with earnestly recommending the work to the study of classical antiquarians. The commentary which accompanies it, reflects the highest credit on the erudition as well as the critical judgment of Father Garrucci; and is not unworthy of the most brilliant period in the literary history of the great Order to which he belongs.*

* We rejoice to observe in the French Province of the same

ART. VIII.—*The Legend of the Wandering Jew.* Illustrated by Gustave Doré. Translated with critical remarks by George W. Thornbury. Folio. London: Addey and Co., 1857.

THERE is something so awful and wild in the legendary tale of the Wandering Jew, that we are not surprised at its having become the groundwork of many modern poems and romances. The idea that a man yet lives who witnessed the scenes of Calvary, and that from time to time he tells his piteous tale, sometimes in Armenia, sometimes in Germany, now in Palestine, then in Spain; has something fearfully sublime in it. Such a man is a chain, rather than a link, between our time and the first period of christian civilization, and can be made the centre round which may be wound or unravelled any length of "yarn;" he may be the hero of a tale beginning with Tiberius and ending under Napoleon, carrying on in himself a plot which requires for its maturity, the overthrow of a dozen dynasties, the growth and decay of some sixty generations, and the knocking down and rebuilding of at least a hundred capitals. We can imagine him scheming wars in Tartary, displacing kings in China, whistling down Barbarian tribes from Scythia, sending over Anglo-Saxons into Britain, Visigoths and then Saracens into Spain, Northmen into France, and Lombards into Italy, mingling races, crossing languages, blending or confusing civilizations; then keeping these fermenting, and mutually re-acting, ingredients in the black, covered cauldron of dark ages, dancing and seeth-

distinguished Order, the same evidence of literary activity and enterprise which, for many years, have characterized the Italian fathers. A series has just been commenced in Paris by Pères Daniel and Gagarin: *Etudes de Theologie, de Philosophie, et d'Histoire*, which cannot fail at once to command an important place in contemporary literature. The first volume (just issued) is extremely interesting. It contains Essays on "Russian Theological Literature," on "Rationalist Exegesis," on the "Authenticity of the Gospels," on "Moral Philosophy before and after the Gospel;"—all of which are of the highest merit, and precisely adapted to the tone and spirit of the age. Not the least interesting part of its contents are some inedited historical documents connected with the Society.

ing, and recombining in dismal hubbub, but protracted night, till he, the magician, takes off the lid; and out bursts modern society, new learning, fresh art, infant science;—winged powers that fly everywhere, now single, now combined, till the great masses of modern empires and kingdoms take their shapes, and carry on the life and acts of the actual world. The wandering Jew could be the only worker of such a grand scheme, just about as sensible as some modern French romances; and though one might be a little puzzled what to make the object or end of such a grand life of intrigue pursued through ages, one need not be troubled about that. For there are plenty of things which many persons would think quite cheaply bought at any imaginable price. It might be the founding of the Rothschild commercial prosperity, or the establishment of the first newspaper-press, or the bringing about the Reformation, or the Evangelical alliance. What successive pictures, what moving panoramas of every age, unrolling before us Italy and Africa, Arabia and America, with their cities, costumes, and letters, as the unwearied traveller sees them, in each century, while hurrying from one to the other, would not the wondrous tale unfold! Gifted with a sad ubiquity, with an unenviable locomotiveness, becoming the annalist of the entire world, able to trace the chronicle, from personal observation, of any people, or to sketch contemporary *tableaux* of what existed at any time, he anticipates the employment of electric telegraphs, and of connecting railroads. He cares not for viaducts, or causeways, cuttings or embankments, tunnels or inclines; glaciers, ravines, rocks, rivers, and seas, form no obstacle to his everlasting tramp; and if he starts on his fresh journey of ten thousand miles, he has, if he likes, his next hundred years to do it in, so that if he takes a message from a young man at one end, he will probably deliver it to his friend's grandson, in mature age, at the other.

Such is the Wandering Jew, whom Gustave Doré has undertaken to depict in the volume before us, in which we must be permitted to treat the plates as the book, and the letter-press as the illustration. In speaking of the extraordinary legend of this mysterious being, we should hardly think it necessary to repeat its supposed origin, were it not requisite to keep this in view, for understanding and feeling Doré's treatment of his subject. The Wandering

Jew, variously, and perhaps successively, known as Joseph, Cartaphilus, Ahasuerus, and Isaac Laquedem, is supposed to have been a Jewish cobbler, who rudely ordered Our Lord away, when He leaned against his stall for rest, on the road to Calvary. The sentence pronounced against him was, that he himself should find no rest, till He whom he had insulted should come again. Converted by the scenes which he witnessed that day, and duly baptised, he began his perpetual career of indefatigable perambulation, without hope of respite till the crack o' doom.

Matthew of Paris, an English writer, is the first who mentions him, with any clear details, or on any definite authority. A certain Armenian Bishop came to England in pilgrimage, and received hospitality in the chronicler's house, the Abbey of St. Alban's, in 1228. He related, in his own tongue, which was translated into French by a knight from Antioch in his train, how he had not only seen this mysterious personage, but had entertained him a short time before at his table, and found him a man of holy conversation and great piety, by no means loquacious, and requiring gentle compulsion from holy personages, to give his marvellous narrative of what he had seen, with tears of compunction, and with unrelaxing gravity. This account, coming from so reliable a source spread throughout Europe, and gave a definite outline to the dim visions of the erratic Israelite, which had before haunted the imaginations of the vulgar.

* It is, however, singular, that three centuries should have elapsed between this first report of his appearance in Armenia, and his next apparition, which was in Germany, in 1542. Thirty-three years later, two Germans met him in Spain, on the road. Shortly after he appeared at Strasburg, and signified his intention of visiting the West Indies: but he must have travelled quick, for in 1604, he was in France. In the interval, too, he had been seen, in 1559 at Vienna, in 1601, and in 1603 at Lubeck. Between 1640 and 1643 we have accounts of most irreconcilable apparitions, and of his detention in Palestine. Learned Germans now began to publish essays full of erudition on the subject: Thilo, or, in his true name, Frentzel, gave out a dissertation "*De Judæo immortal;*" Martin Schmied, under the name of Schultz, another entitled "*De Judæo non mortali;*" and Martin Drascher a bolder one "*De duobus testibus vivis Passionis Christi:*" for

he dualises the Jew, in the persons of Cartaphilus and Ahasuerus.

At length on the 22nd of April 1772 at six p.m. the Jew entered Bruxelles, as is proved by the indubitable record of a popular ballad, which has been set to music by M. Ernest Doré.

We have here condensed all that is told us in the prose part of the folio before us. What has become of the pilgrim no one knows. Perhaps he is frozen up in one of his arctic expeditions, and awaits a thaw; perhaps he has got shut into a chancery suit, and is standing out for a decision; or possibly he is "the coming man," whom some people expect from nobody knows where.

The rest of the volume is poetry, at least verse. One piece indeed is worth all the rest, and will redeem a great amount of trash, Béranger's *Chanson*. We will quote only the last stanza, which gives the moral of the legend. The Jew is represented as driven on by a furious whirlwind, which scarcely allows him to conclude his speeches. Each stanza ends with the same *refrain*.

"J'outrageai d'un rire inhumain
L'Homme-Dieu, respirant à peine,
(Mais sous mes pieds fuit le chemin :
Adieu, le tourbillon m'entraîne.)
Vous qui manquez de charité,
Tremblez à mon supplice étrange!
Ce n'est pas sa divinité,
C'est l'humanité, que Dieu venge!
Toujours, toujours,
Tourne la terre où moi je cours
Toujours, toujours, toujours, toujours."

There is more poetry, we suspect in Béranger's few stanzas, than in the ten dramas of the French stage, which take their title and theme from the Wandering Jew. The poem, which forms the bulk of the volume, is only the text for Doré's illustrations, one object of which, we are told, was to show the capabilities of wood-engraving. In this the success has been complete. Copper-plate could not have produced, even with its advantages in folio dimensions, more deep shadows filled with distinct details, more lucid and softly blended middle tints, or purer and brighter lights, than we find in these extraordinary prints. The style indeed of all is charged, exaggerated, so as to

become fanciful, capricious, or rather fantastic. It is not a waking, but a night-mare, imagination, that directs the pencil. Nothing can be more lonely and desolate than its inhabited regions, nothing more swarming with life than its solitudes. The high-gabled houses of a German city, the towers of churches in a country pass, are sunk into a melancholy gloom, and soldiers marching into their lanes, seem about to plunge into an eternal darkness. The castle on the river side, and the battlements of the beleagured city run up inaccessible into the sky; the one so cankered, time-eaten, and crumbled into monstrous spectral shapes, that it looks like a piece of frost, or sugar-work; the other uplifted above the clouds, so that the inhabitants might be well taking their breakfasts, without being aware of the assault on their outer works, or the tumult of unnatural and ferine war that rages below them. Here particularly the artist shows himself versed in that strange exercise of fancy, so peculiarly Breugel's which consists in combining the ludicrous and the disgusting, the phantasmatic and the coarse, into impossibilities, which carry their own correction, and consolation, with them. Thus, for instance, (Plate IX.) we have an archer that beats Widdrington in Chevy Chase, "fighting on his stumps." For, quietly sitting legless, in a pool of blood that flows, placidly from both the femoral arteries, he is taking cool aim with his arbalist; looking certainly as rugged a villain as ever dined on stolen sausage and purloined schnapps. Near him we have an unfortunate wight, or rather his head, just peering over a mound, stuck so completely everywhere with arrows, eye, brain and cheek, that he looks like an animated shuttle-cock; for though, carved all over with arrow-headed, characters, this head might be considered a monument of a dead tongue, it gives plain evidence of a living one; for you can almost hear its roar, through the grinning and writhing mouth. On the other side you have two knights, evidently of Kilkenny race, probably both bearing the celebrated cats of that city for their cognizance, who have so cut one another up, that all that remains of them is—two right arms hacking at each other on the ground, two heads cheek by jowl gazing, the one furiously and the other stolidly, on the contest, and finally two hearts blazing at one another, or at least smoking angry puffs. Near them is another worthy gentleman, in dashed doublet, with a comical expression of

pain on his countenance; and well he may have; for he has come to such grief as to be reduced, like a cod, to a head and shoulders, walking, that is his head, upon his hands, which must have borne him from some distance, for we see no trace of his body a long way behind him. Finally, a brave cavalier, rivalling our doughty bowman, and having lost both arms is making a ferocious thrust with a sword held in his mouth, against a foe, who is taking the unfair advantage of him, of cutting him down with his left arm, truly the *left* one, for the other seems gone by the board.

Through these ludicrous monstrosities, after having passed through the more real atrocities of a mediæval battle, stalks the wanderer, his white beard streaming like an oriflamme, and his coarse gaberline strained by his rapid pace, and his long stride; his knotty staff just plunged down inadvertently between the arm and the head of a wounded knight, (who gives two unequivocal though vulgar signs of uncomfortableness, kicking up his heels, and scratching his poll,) and his averted look cast in scornful gaze on the scenes of death behind him, as who should say: "Ye fools that *can* die, and love life, how gladly would I make an exchange with you for one or for the other, and buy from you either the power to die or the wish to live! But with both in your hands, what madness is this?

We must, however, lead our reader more systematically through this gallery of the Wandering Jew.

The first picture contains his sentence. Elevated on a rude flight of steps leading to his shop, stands the shoemaker, hammer in hand, thrown into dark shadow by his house which runs down the left side of the drawing, like a frame, from which protrude the sharp Jewish features of the culprit. He seems thus placed in a very pillory. For all the lower part is filled by a group in shadow, composed of the most portentous specimens of Hebrew physiognomy ever collected together. The Judenstrasse of Frankfort, as drawn for Messrs. Brown and Co.'s continental trip, is nothing to it. Such sensual, covetous, debauched, selfish, pelfish, cunning and hypocritical faces we never saw brought together. The Pharisee, Sadducee, Scribe, and Doctor of the Law are all there, most unmistakeably. Above this mass or heap of heads, rises the hill, on the middle space of which, and of the picture, is the motley

procession ascending diagonally to Calvary. It is painfully composed, and shows that the artist's skill does not lie in the region of more religious art. Except the Mother who in front seems helping to support the Cross, not a friend is in the train. There are none but mockers, and scoffers, or the eagerly curious, or the professionally indifferent. But in the midst of these stands the Son of Man, as if roused to an attitude, and an act of justice, with a brilliant radiance round His Nazarite hair, with outstretched arm and hand pointing to the caitiff, and speaks his award. The whole scene is too different from what we have been accustomed to contemplate in that hour and place, too harshly contrasting with the sorrowful speech to the daughters of Jerusalem, to please the mind. We are glad to think it is but a legend.

Plate II. discovers the wanderer just passed through a gloomy defile, from one wall of which springs up into the rainy sky a German spire. He is walking with bent, averted, head in the teeth of the storm, just under the figure of a life-size, way-side Crucifix. Its countenance seems to look down on him with a pitying glance; but a ruthless decree appears to stand between it and mercy. A sickly light, as from a veiled moon somewhere, plays upon the image, on the head and beard of Ahasuerus, and on his broad path, which has that most uncomfortable appearance that a road has in moonlight after rain, the plashy, slimy look of an everlasting puddle. And round this, the bushes, quivering in the wind, have a most irritating, briery, quarrelsome and provoking sharpness, that makes the passer by feel aggrieved and insulted by them.

The next two engravings place the poor outcast so provokingly in public life, and civic society, that we can fancy he would feel glad to be back again in the wilderness. The first scene finds him in the high-street of some Teutonic city, hemmed in by pinnacled and turreted gables, all woful looking, and sad to live in. He is the centre of a double circle; the inner one composed of some burgomasters, or hofraths in portentous wigs and luxuriant pigtails, and a donkey that is munching the fringe of his beard; the outward one of three children and twice as many geese; all seemingly equal in curiosity and intelligence. The second presents a coarser scene. He is leaving a beer-shop, in which he has been taking refreshment, and all the inmates are around him, pressing him to

stay. The old women are particularly clamorous, and amiable. But even the offered glass of beer cannot tempt him; for high among towers and pointed roofs through which his snow-white drapery droops and blends, is poised the sorrowful angel of his doom, pointing with his sword towards the way on which he needs must walk.

These are the two grossest, and least agreeable of the series, which from this point assumes a more imaginative and legendary form. With the exception of the ludicrous, though powerful, battle-piece already described, the pilgrim is alone, at least in solitude; he lives in the world of shadows and phantasms. Now, for instance, (Plate V.) he is crossing a river, not wading, nor swimming, but treading its curly surface. The back-ground, as usual, is a wall of dark, spectral trees, with serpentine roots, above which rise the elfish battlements, turrets and bastions of a Rhenish castle, melting and dripping, rather than crumbling, to pieces. But as the wanderer strides across, bending his head, and holding in his cataract of beard, he cannot fail to see in the shiny patch of moonlight on the waters, the shadowy picture sketched by the rippling surface—of our Lord sinking under His cross, and the executioner raising his staff to strike Him.

This now becomes the vision that haunts him, on earth, in the heavens, in rocks, trees, clouds, snow, grass, and shadow. He is next passing, of course at night, through a church-yard. A bright rack of moon-lit clouds occupies the lower part of the sky, and its driving fleeces resolve themselves into that same spectacle; two crosses stand ready, a third is travelling up the cloudy steep, borne by the likeness of a fading form, crowned with rays, behind which follows a *cirrus* of mob, and mares' tails of sticks and lances, till so evanescent do they become, that you doubt whether it is the artist's pencil or your own imagination that portrays them. Into this ghastly atmosphere penetrate, first the bluff edges of more distant rocks, then the stiff ridge and homely tower of the village church, whose bells are swinging out of their windows, ringing a spontaneous knell, a *passing*-bell, to the affrighted traveller. And well may he be so. For within a belt of funereal cypresses, there stands right before him a group of hobgoblin tomb-stones, all mowing and leering at him with a most tragi-comical expression. But on the sward before him, his own shadow forms the same dismal picture as the

clouds. Nay the very grass playing in the breeze, as if composed of malicious elves, twists itself into a rude sketch of that harrowing recollection.

But next we find him (Plate VII.) in the very depths of nature's visionary horrors. The picture might be taken for an illustration of the following passage. "In those desolate regions, it is said that trees often, from the singularly-unnatural, and wildly-stimulating properties of the slimy depths from which they spring, assume a strange, and goblin growth, entirely different from their normal habits. All sorts of vegetable monsters stretch their weird fantastic forms among its shadows. There is no principle so awful through all nature as this of *growth*. It is a mysterious and dread condition of existence, which, place it under what impediment or disadvantage you will, is constantly forcing on, and when unnatural pressures hinder, it developes forms portentous and astonishing."* Without accepting the philosophy of this passage, we may admit its facts, when combined, and applied by an excited, or a morbid, imagination. We can see "a whale," or something "very like" it, or a crocodile, or a horse and rider, or a boat, or a tree in the lazy clouds that bask in the setting sun, or we can, almost at will make them melt from one to the other, in the golden furnace through which they roll and rise like foam. And who, that was a lover in his childhood's days of Bewick's Beasts and Birds, has not looked with delight, at the charming tail-pieces, where the benighted traveller sees dark grinning faces, and threatening foot-pads looking out in every bush and tree?

Some such idea pervades the plate before us. The unhappy Jew in hurrying down a rugged mountain pass, his hair and beard streaming like a comet, trying, by self-concentration to avoid catching a glimpse of the outer world, its mockeries and its bewitchments. For around all things are flying at him, hooting after him, staring at him like ghouls, with unearthly looks and gestures. The black and brawling torrent that seems running a race with him might be the Styx, one side of it covered, and hovered, over by ghosts. Dry and withered stumps of trees seem flying, with extended arms, ending in vampyre

* Dred, chap. 50.

claws, and hideous grimness of feature in their rugged bark; among which again one clearly distinguishes the ascent to Golgotha, and the Victim bearing the dry wood for sacrifice, while javelins and pikes, formed of arid stems and branches, mark the mob concealed in the dark shadow. The very rocks among which the stranger has to pick his way assume fantastic shapes, looking like a wall of huge bull-frogs or gigantic toads. But above, as if cut clean out of the dark shadows, in their deepest depth, floats an angel of snowy brightness, every ray from his head bristling clearly against the gloom, and with a flaming sword uplifted, the wavy blade of which dies away against the morning gleam that touches the mountain-top.

The next representation (Plate VIII.) makes a bold advance on the last. The poor wretch is high among the mountains. It is day, and the icy glacier above reflects a peculiar happy light on the sombre rocks which fill the picture. Well may he steady his swinging pace by leaning on a rock round which his steep path turns, and look up. The snowy height is a plastic mass, like one of the half-effaced sculptures which Egyptians or Persians left on rocks, as their armies passed, at Nahr-el-kelb, or Behistun; or even more like one of Michelangelo's half finished blocks, out of which protrudes insipient life, figures full of struggling expression, trying to disengage themselves from their marble prison, themselves again resembling the dead that rise amidst sculptured sarcophagi on a relief of the old Pisan school. Horses and men are just blocked out, by frosty juttings, from the white mass, light sketches upon light almost evanescent forms, among which is painfully prominent the threatening figure of our Lord. But still bolder, indeed beyond the license permissible to visionary liberties, with nature, is the life communicated to the craggy heights beneath; for every prominence has a decided shape, bearing Apostles and holy women, crowned with halos, and looming sorrowfully in the shade, so as to require but a touch, to make them vanish and become rocks again. This exaggeration of Don Giovanni's punishment is indeed overdone; but one is delighted with the cleverness of its execution, and reconciled to it by the ideality of the whole story.

We pass over Plate IX, because we have described its battle-scene, and find our traveller again walking on

the water. But this time it is a boisterous sea. A ship has been thrust high on the rocks, and its crew is scattered over the seething waves. A boatful of them is just going to sink among the breakers: a spar to which half-a-dozen are clinging is being very perpendicularly, and very deliberately absorbed, like a skewerful of larks, by a portentous pair of jaws, most unichthyological in appearance, that protrude from the deep: while *disjecta membra* of heads, and arms, floating about are stretched towards the Jew, who walks on, nothing heeding. Some have clung to him or his staff, one is seizing the cordage of his beard, and a much safer life-boat will he make than even that of Broadstairs. The stormy driving clouds typify the usual reminiscence of the carriage of the Cross.

Plate XI. gives the real, instead of the imaginary, horrors of nature. It is indeed the "dismal swamp," along the edge of which the modern Cain is travelling. The way, by which he has reached the spot where we find him, seems shut up in impenetrable darkness, it is a veritable valley of death, traceable as a narrow defile up the mountains beyond, by a fringe of dark trees rising up them. This leads down to the luridly gleaming forest that shuts in the back ground, of rank pines with straight shafts clustered as close as the mouldings of cathedral pillars, and overtopped by meagre palms that wave gloomy tufts above them, like the feathers of a funeral. The lower part of the picture is filled with a slough of despond, a slimy, stagnant, unrippled lake, a dead sea—yet all alive. For it seems the very paradise of every loathsome brood of Saurians, crocodiles, alligators, lizards, newts, and shapeless, nameless things that crawl in steel-proof armour, diving, basking, swimming, creeping, playing, fighting, nay leering at the passer-by or threatening him: but doing all most hideously and disgustingly. And he, poor soul, walks on, as if either used to it all, or too safe against it. He has planted his foot and his staff right in the coil of a huge boa, which is rearing and hissing at him, while another of these amiable creatures curled round a tree, which it seems able to crush in its folds, hangs down from the topmost branches, so as almost to mingle its forked tongue with his silver tresses. Here a hippopotamus is smelling at him, there a lion mounted on a rocky eminence glares indignantly on the intruder into his fastnesses, there an elephant is crashing

down the trees to get at him. The road before him is strewn with every sort of reptile and mollusc, with whatever the human eye most loathes and abhors.

This is his last trial. The last plate sees him happy at last in the arrival of the final day, seated on a rock, and uncasing from the long confinement of their tattered boots, his unwearied feet. The look of satisfaction on his face is drunken and almost idiotic: as if a reaction had taken place in him, and he revelled to intoxication in mere repose, or sunk powerless beneath the unusual exertion of inertness. All the usual pictorial extravagances of the last day are to be found in this engraving. There is in one upper corner, a sort of explosion of radiance, a downward flight of angelic rockets, shot as it were from a celestial fire-work, some blowing trumpets, horns, or bassoons, some clapping cymbals, all fitting and whisking about, in the flashing glory. One is hovering in the dark directly over Ahasuerus, blowing into his ear, in the form of rays issuing from a huge trumpet, the welcome news of his deliverance. Below is an opening with flames issuing of a more volcanic character, surrounded by grinning, and not very dignified, demons, with the usual appliances of pitchforks and ropes. In every direction are shadowy forms, some risen in the flesh, most only in the bone, some in armour, some in pilot-coats with huge buttons. Larvæ and strange shapes of all sorts flit about, or peer through the darkness.

Such is Doré's presentation of the legend of the Wandering Jew. We confess we should have liked to see his conception of him under circumstances of more complicated trial, to see him where others perish and he *must* escape; in an earthquake, in the conflagration of a city, in the actual shipwreck. Or we should have been pleased to behold him amidst more modern circumstances of trial. For example, how would he be, on board an eight-dollars New Orleans steamer, at the moment of an explosion, or when just snagged, and everybody is going down. Or still more in our way, what a position of real trial this would be. He has taken a short cut on his journey, through a railway tunnel, and is walking right along the tram. Nothing more deep than the darkness of the cavern; but the figure of the Jew stands in a brilliant glowing light, which shines on the path before him. We see it at once; it is the furnace glare of the fire-box of an engine at full

speed ; while beyond the two red staring lamp-eyes have cast disks of vague fitful light. On is coming, flashing, hissing, roaring, the very image of inevitable fate, the ponderous yet rapid train. And the Jew looks straight forward towards it, winces not in a feature, blinks not in his eye, and seeks not to turn away. *Impavidum ferient ruinas*. If the artist can give expression to this, we shall believe in the Wandering Jew's faith in his own unextinguishable immortality, his unquenchable everlastingness.

ART. IX.—*Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the Appeals of Liddell v. Westerton, and Liddell v. Beal, from the Court of Arches, delivered March 21, 1857. London : 1857.*

THE memorable St. Barnabas controversy at length is at rest. Just on the eve of publication we have received the long-expected judgment of the Privy Council, which, it may be presumed, is the closing scene of this complicated ecclesiastical drama. Although the interest of an affair so protracted, and broken up into so many seemingly unimportant episodes, may now be deemed well-nigh exhausted, the solemn decision in which it has resulted involves some principles which appear to affect so vitally the present and future relations of the conflicting parties in the Anglican church, that we cannot allow it to pass without a few observations.

The St. Barnabas case differs from most of the other controversies which have recently come before the ecclesiastical tribunals in England. The questions directly at issue in the Gorham case, in that of Archdeacon Denison, and in that of the lamented Archdeacon Wilberforce, so far as it had proceeded, were purely doctrinal. The St. Barnabas case comes before the courts as a mere question of ceremonial discipline. Nevertheless, while such is its seeming character, it differs very materially from other questions of ceremonial which of late years have occupied the public mind. The Surplice controversy, for instance, could hardly be regarded as other than a mere dispute

about the rubric, or at all events, it would be difficult to argue it upon any clear and tangible principles independent of the rubrical regulations which were supposed to affect it. But the rubrical or ceremonial principles involved in the discussion to which the St. Barnabas controversy has given occasion, are so closely connected with certain vital doctrinal principles which they seem to involve, and of which indeed they appear but to be the natural external embodiment, that it is difficult to investigate it thoroughly without considering the truth or falsehood of those doctrines, and almost impossible to pronounce a definitive decision regarding it, without deciding how far such doctrines are reconcilable with the teaching and the formularies of the Church of England.

It will be seen accordingly that the Judgment of the Privy Council on the seemingly rubrical controversy which has arisen at St. Barnabas, is no less plainly a doctrinal decision than that in the purely theological question officially submitted for judgment in the memorable Gorham case.

It is unnecessary to remind our readers of the early history of the church of St. Barnabas. The forms, the services, the practices, and the teaching which prevailed there during the incumbency of Mr. Bennett, have often been the subject of discussion in this Journal. The case on which the Privy Council has just given judgment in appeal, although it is but the natural and inevitable issue of what was then begun, has arisen in the form which it now assumes under the incumbency of the present clergyman, Mr. Liddell, and we must confine ourselves in the brief space now at our disposal, to the actual details of the case which came before the court.

The judgment in reality is a double one, being given not in one but in two appeals, which arose out of two distinct suits already decided in the Court of Arches;—one regarding the "District Church or Chapel of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge," the other, the Chapel of Ease of St. Barnabas, Pimlico: but as both cases involve precisely the same principles, or rather as one of the two, that of St. Paul's, is clearly included in the other as the lesser in the greater, they have both very properly been considered and decided in the same judgment. In both cases an order had, at the suit of members of the congregation, been obtained against the incumbent for the removal of "certain

ornaments of the church." The cases only differ in this, that as we shall see the "ornaments" in St. Barnabas were of a much more elaborate character, and that in this case both the chapel-wardens agreed in opinion with the incumbent as to the propriety of the ornaments, while in that of St. Paul's one of the wardens was opposed to their use. This gentleman indeed, Mr. Westerton, was the promovement of the suit regarding St. Paul's. In the case of St. Barnabas the suit was instituted by a Mr. Beal, "a resident of the chapel district of St. Barnabas."

Mr. Westerton called upon his rector and his fellow church-warden to "show cause why a faculty should not be granted for removing the altar, or high altar, and the cloths used for covering the same, together with the wooden cross elevated thereon and affixed thereto, as well as the candlesticks thereon, together with the credentia, preparatory altar or credence table, used in the said church or chapel, and for substituting in lieu and stead thereof a decent and proper table for the administration of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion, and a decent cloth for the covering thereof."

Mr. Beal had a longer list of *rerum evitandarum*. By the monition which he procured to be issued against Mr. Liddell and the wardens of St. Barnabas, they were "monished to remove from the said chapel the rood screen and brazen gates, together with the cross elevated and fixed on the said screen, and also the stone altar and cloths now used for covering the same, and the cross ornamented with jewels elevated thereon and fixed thereto, with the candlesticks and candles placed thereon, and also the marble credentia, preparatory altar or credence-table, and to substitute in lieu and stead thereof a decent table for the administration of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion, and a decent covering thereto, and to set up on the east end of the chancel of the said chapel the Ten Commandments, as by the laws, canons, institutions, and customs of the United Church of England and Ireland is prescribed."

The Judgment of the Privy Council briefly states the principles embodied in the answers to these several monitions. As these answers contain in its most authentic form the argument which is advanced in the case of St. Barnabas, and all similar instances for the compatibility of these practices with the articles and canons of the

Church of England, it may be well to advert to the summary of them contained in the judgment.

Against the order for the removal of the "ornaments" of St. Paul's it is urged that the article of church furniture called in the citation an altar, or high altar, is in fact, and according to the true and legal interpretation of the 82d of the constitutions and canons of England and Ireland as by law established, *mensa congrua et decens*, or a convenient and decent table, such as is required by law for the celebration of the Holy Communion, and denies that the wooden cross is inconsistent with the laws, canons, customs, and constitution of the said church. In subsequent passages of the answer this table is always spoken of as the altar or communion table, and it is alleged that the said altar or communion table, and the platform on which the same is raised, the wooden cross attached thereto, the gilded candlesticks, and the said side-table or credence-table, were placed in the same church as the same now exist, and formed part of the furniture thereof at the time of the consecration of the said church and of the furniture thereof by the Lord Bishop of London on the 30th of May, 1843.

It is to be observed that in St. Paul's Church the table described as an altar, or communion table, "is made of wood, and is not attached to the platform, but merely stands upon it; that it is placed at the east end of the church, or the chancel, according to the ordinary usage as to communion table; that at the end nearest the wall there is a narrow ledge raised above the rest of the table; that upon this ledge, which is termed 'super-altare,' stand the two gilded candlesticks, which are moveable, and between them the wooden cross, which is let into and fixed in the super-altare, so as to form part of what is thus described as the altar or communion table."

Now in this first case the Judgment of the inferior court did not order the removal of the table or of the candlesticks, but only of the cross, the credence-table, and the cloths. The Judgment adds that "the evidence as to the wishes of the parishioners upon this subject appears to their Lordships to show what, in such a case, might perhaps be expected, that with respect to these ornaments there are many persons of great respectability who from conscientious motives are strongly attached to them; many of equal respectability who, from motives equally conscientious, feel an invincible repugnance to them; and some,

it may be hoped not a few, who, whatever opinion they may form of their intrinsic value, consider them as of no importance whatever in comparison with Christian charity and concord, and who, whether they approve or whether they disapprove them, would infinitely rather sacrifice their individual feelings and opinions than secure their triumph at the expense of disturbing and distracting the church of which they are members."

It will be remembered that the ornaments in the chapel of St. Barnabas are of much more elaborate character, and to the complaining party of the parishioners much more objectionable. Besides those which are complained of in St. Paul's, there is also "*a rood-screen with brazen gates and a cross elevated and fixed thereupon;*" a "*stone altar with a cross ornamented with jewels elevated thereon and fixed thereto,*" "*cloths for covering the same;*" and a "*marble credence-table or preparatory altar.*"

The defence of these ornaments is thus recited in the judgment:

"The answer admits that between the chancel and the nave of the church there is a screen of carved wood, on the summit whereof a wooden cross is affixed. It admits, in substance, the existence of the stone table, or altar, with the metal cross attached thereto, and it insists that the article of furniture so described is a *mensa congrua et decens* within the meaning of the canons, and such a communion table as is required by law for the celebration of the Holy Communion. It admits the use of various cloths differing in colour from each other as coverings of the communion table at different seasons, and that the coverings used on the said altar or communion table at the time of the administration of the Holy Communion is of worked and embroidered white linen, ornamented and enriched with and bordered at the ends with elaborately worked lace, and that the other articles of linen used in the said office are also decorated and enriched with white lace. It denies that the credence-table is attached to the chancel, and alleges that the same is a moveable table, necessary and convenient for the decent celebration of the Holy Communion according to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. The answer then alleges that these ornaments existed in the church when it was consecrated in 1850, and that the services are attended by large and devout congregations, whose religious feelings would be violated by their removal."—Judgments, pp. 3-4.

Now the decision against which the appeal of Mr. Liddell appeals had ordered the church or chapel wardens of St. Bar-

nabas "to remove the present structure of stone used as a communion table in the said church, and to provide instead thereof a moveable table of wood; to remove the credence-table; to remove the cross on the screen, as also the cross on or near the present structure used as a communion table; to take away all the cloths at present used in the said church or chapel for covering the structure now used as a communion table during the time of divine service, and to provide and substitute in place of the said cloths one only covering for the communion table of silk or other decent stuff; and, further, to remove any cover used at the time of the ministration of the sacrament, worked or embroidered with lace or otherwise ornamented, and to substitute a fair white linen cloth, without lace or embroidery or other ornament; to cover the communion table at the time of the ministration of the sacrament, and to cause the Ten Commandments to be set up on the east end of the church in compliance with the terms of the canon." (p. 4-5.) It should be added that there was no appeal against that part of the order which regards the setting up of the Ten Commandments.

With the several branches of the appeal, as thus stated, the Judgment of the Privy Council proceeds to deal seriatim; but by far the most careful and elaborate part of the Judgment is the first;—that which regards the question of the crosses. The judges in the courts below, although agreed as to the inadmissibility of these emblems, grounded the order for their removal on different reasons.

Dr. Lushington argued upon the Rubric, and held that the only question was, "what ornaments could be shown to have been in churches in the second year of the reign of Edward VI., by authority of Parliament, according to the rubric of the present Prayer-book, according to the true construction of those words?" On the other hand, Sir J. Dodson "considered the question to depend on the effect of certain Royal injunctions and an Act of Parliament against the use of images, among which he considered crosses to be included."

Now, as to the first of these grounds of argument the rubric is in these words:—

"And here it is to be noted that such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof at all times of their ministry shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI."

"Dr. Lushington," the judgment observes, "was of opinion that by the true construction of these words reference must be had to the Act of the 2d and 3d of Edward VI., and the Prayer-book which it established, for the purpose of determining what ornaments were thereby sanctioned, but he was perplexed by the difficulty that, although there were words in that Prayer-book describing the ornaments of the ministers, there were none which applied to ornaments of the church in his understanding of this expression."

We should be glad to detail the curious and elaborate argument in which this view of Dr. Lushington is disposed of; but we must content ourselves with briefly stating that the Judgment of the Privy Council distinctly limits the construction of the Rubric to ornaments used in the actual services or ministrations, to the exclusion of those which permanently form part of the decorations of a Church. They hold that "the word 'ornaments' applies, and in this rubric is confined, to those articles the use of which in the service and ministrations of the church is prescribed by the Prayer-book of Edward VI.," (p. 6.) and they conclude "that although the rubric excluded all use of crosses in the services, the general question of crosses not used in the services, but employed only as decorations of churches, is entirely unaffected by the rubric. If crosses of the latter description were in use in the second year of Edward VI. they derive no protection from the rubric; if they were lawfully in use they are not excluded by the rubric, though they might not have the sanction of the authority of Parliament." (p. 10.)

Their lordships next examine, with even greater detail the ground put forward by Sir John Dodson;—viz:—that the term "images" may apply to crosses; that "imagines crucis" are often mentioned, as well as "imagines crucifixi, et sanctorum;" that the cross, at the accession of Henry VIII., was itself an object of superstitious worship in the Roman Catholic Church; that two services in its honour are found in the Roman Catholic missal; that it was abused like other images, and was abolished like other images, and consequently that "crosses" are to be included among the "images" which are prohibited by the Injunctions and Act of Parliament of Edward VI., on which Sir John Dodson relies. The argument considered historically is a curious and interesting one; but as our

principal concern is with the actual Judgment itself, we are unable to enter into the particulars of the reasoning by which Sir John Dodson's view is set aside. It will be enough to say that the Judicial Committee decides that the images contemplated in the Act and Injunctions must not be understood as including crosses as such. We can only find room for one passage of this portion of the argument. After detailing the proceedings under Henry VIII, and Edward VI. and Mary, the Judgment proceeds:—

“On the accession of Elizabeth, in the year 1558, the statutes of Queen Mary on these matters were repealed, the supremacy of the Crown was established by the Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, chap. 1, and all such jurisdiction in spiritual matters as hitherto had been or lawfully might be exercised by any spiritual or ecclesiastical authority was annexed to the Crown of England, and power was given to the Queen and her successors to appoint commissioners for the purpose of exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

“By the 1st of Elizabeth, chap. 2, the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., with certain alterations, was re-established, injunctions were issued, and articles of visitation framed, much to the same effect with those already promulgated in the reign of Edward VI., but which do not appear to their Lordships to extend the prohibition with respect to images.

“It is known, indeed, that at this time great differences of opinion prevailed among the early reformers with respect to the use of crosses and crucifixes, and that the Queen was favourable to the use of both; that she retained them in her own chapel, and although they were removed for a time in consequence of the remonstrances made to her, they were afterwards restored. (Cardw., Doc., Ann., 268.) But a great distinction was made between the cross and the crucifix, and the use of the former might well be permitted, while the other was forbidden.

“This is very manifest from the letter of George Cassander to Bishop Cox, dated at Worms, 1560, printed in the second series of the *Zurich Letters*, p. 43. He there expresses himself in these terms:—

“‘I understand that you are not altogether agreed among yourselves with respect to the setting up the image of the cross or the crucifix in the church; but I do not sufficiently understand whether this question refers to the mere figure of a cross, or also to the image of Christ hanging upon it. I have seen here a certain print which contained a cross only in the middle, with some text of holy Scripture written on each side; whence I suspect that your question only refers to the figure of the cross. . . . Your Excellence is aware in what frequent use and in what great esteem the figure of the cross was held among the early Christians, insomuch that it

was everywhere placed and represented in their buildings, sacred and profane, public and private, and this, too, before the practice of setting up other images in the churches, whether of Christ himself or of the saints, had come into use ; that on the destruction of all monuments of idolatry, by which everything was defiled, the figure of the cross, which was as it were a sacred symbol of Christianity, succeeded under better auspices into their places. And like as the word cross in the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles mystically signifies the passion, death, and triumph of Christ, and the afflictions of the saints, so also by the figure of the cross everywhere set up and meeting the eye, they intended all these things to be set forth, as it were, by a mystic symbol and infixed in men's minds; wherefore they made a just distinction between the figure or representation of the cross, and all other images.'

"Of the cross thus used Cassander signifies his approval.

"That many of the English bishops objected both to crosses and crucifixes, and either ordered or sanctioned their removal from churches within their dioceses, and that in many others they were defaced or destroyed by the violence of the people, can admit of no doubt; and that this violence extended also to monuments in churches appears by a proclamation issued by Queen Elizabeth against defacers of monuments in the year 1560; for it speaks of these proceedings as 'in slander of such as in times past had in charge only to deface monuments of idolatry and false feigned images in churches and abbeys : ' expressious which tend strongly to confirm the meaning their Lordships have already attributed to the injunctions and Act of Parliament of Edward VI."—Judgment pp. 18-20.

Having thus disposed of the grounds upon which the "courts below" had ordered the removal of *all the crosses* from St. Paul's and St. Barnabas's, their lordships call attention to the fact that although no distinction was taken by the Courts below between the different crosses which are the subject of appeal—between the crosses on what are termed the altars or communion tables, both at St. Paul's and St. Barnabas, and the cross on the chancel screen in St. Barnabas, and although the judges treated them as being all subject to the same considerations, and have ordered them all to be removed as illegal ornaments; there is nevertheless, a very intelligible distinction. Of the crosses which were in use in the Catholic ritual there was a great variety, some with, some without, the image of the Saviour, which were in use in the Roman Catholic ritual; altar crosses, processional crosses, funeral

crosses,* and others; and that in addition to all these moveable crosses, there were also many painted or carved representations of the cross not used in the services, but set up as architectural decorations of churches.

Now it is upon this distinction that the most important part of the Judgment is founded. They rule that as an architectural decoration the cross may be permitted in churches consistently with the canons and discipline of the Anglican Church.

The result of their investigation of the authorities is declared to be "that crosses, as distinguished from crucifixes, have been in use as ornaments of churches from the earliest periods of Christianity; that when used as mere emblems of the Christian faith, and not as objects of superstitious reverence, they may still lawfully be erected as architectural decorations of churches; that the wooden cross erected on the chancel screen of St. Barnabas is to be considered as a mere architectural ornament; and that as to this article they must advise Her Majesty to reverse the judgment complained of. The laws in force respecting the consecration of any building for a church, and which forbid any subsequent alteration without a faculty from the ordinary, will be sufficient to prevent any abuse in this respect."—(p. 20.)

The cross of the chancel-screen of St. Barnabas, therefore, remains undisturbed, the judgment of the courts below being so far reversed.

But the remaining part of the Judgment is far more important, both in itself and in the doctrinal results which it involves. "This decision, however," the Judgment proceeds, "by no means disposes of the question as to crosses attached to communion tables, which it will be convenient to deal with in connection with the altar at St. Barnabas, which is ordered to be removed. This article of church furniture consists of a thick marble slab, with a super-altare on the side nearest to the wall of the chapel. It stands apart from the wall, supported upon stone carved arches, the arches resting upon a stone plinth, which is let into and embedded in the pavement on which it stands. The cross is attached to the super-altare, and stands between two large candlesticks, which are moveable. The question is whether this structure is a communion table within the meaning of the law.

In discussing this question the Lords of Privy Council enter at full length into the vital question, what is the true nature of the Communion Service, as it exists in the Anglican Church. The matter is so important that we shall give the Judgment in their Lordship's own words.

"The appellants, in their pleadings, term these tables altars or communion tables; and in the argument they have referred to two recent statutes in which the word 'altar' is used to signify the communion table. When the same thing is signified it may not be of much importance by what name it is called; but the distinction between an altar and a communion table is in itself essential and deeply founded, in the most important difference in matters of faith between Protestants and Romanists—viz., in the different notions of the nature of the Lord's Supper which prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church at the time of the Reformation, and those which were introduced by the Reformers.

"By the former it was considered as a sacrifice of the body and blood of the Saviour. The altar was the place on which the sacrifice was to be made; the elements were to be consecrated, and, being so consecrated, were treated as the actual body and blood of the victim.

"The Reformers, on the other hand, considered the Holy Communion, not as a sacrifice, but as a feast, to be celebrated at the Lord's Table; though as to the consecration of the elements, and the effect of this consecration, and several other points, they differed greatly among themselves."—Judgment, p. 21.

That the Catholic ritual consistently carries out the Catholic view of the Eucharistic service in all the appurtenances of its church decoration, they proceed to point out—

"That the Roman Catholic altars are constructed with a view to this doctrine of sacrifice admits of no doubt.

"Cardinal Bona speaks of them in these terms:—'*De Altaribus Novi Testamenti agendum est in quibus corporis et sanguinis Christi sacrificium incruentum immolatur.*'—Lib. i. chap. 20, p. 251.

"With respect to the question, what is required to constitute a Roman Catholic altar, we have been furnished with valuable information by a treatise entitled *Institutiones Liturgicæ ad usum Seminarii Romani*, by Fornici, the present text-book of the Pope's Seminary.

"In the first part, '*De Sacrificio Missæ*,' chap. 3, page 18, '*De Altari ejusque ornatu*,' it is laid down in the first place, '*nunquam extra altare hostiam immolari.*' It is then stated that altars originally were made indifferently of wood or stone, but that many centuries ago the church ordered that they should be only of stone.

The term altar is thus explained :—‘*Nomine autem altaris intelligitur superficies plana ad sacrificium Missæ immediate deputata.*’ The altar is to be in the church ; it is to be fixed and immoveable, ‘*immobile seu fixum definitum super suis pedibus seu base quod habet totam integram superficiem seu mensam superiorem ;*’ and it is required to be ‘*lapideum et ab episcopo consecratum.*’ The treatise then proceeds to state that by most ancient usage, as early as the Council of Tours, in the year 567, the standard of the cross, ‘*vexillum crucis,*’ was to be placed in the middle of the altar ; it states that by the term ‘cross’ is meant the crucifix ; and it refers to two comparatively modern declarations on the subject by the Holy See, one in 1746, and another in 1822, by which orders are given with respect to the size and position of the crucifix on the altar.

“It then refers to the lights upon the altar :—‘*Ad utrumque crucis latus cereum in Missæ sacrificio accendi jubet ecclesia,*’ p. 22 ; and it refers to the rubric by which it is ordered :—‘*Collocetur crux et candelabra saltem duo.*’

“Such, then, as regards its form, is the Roman Catholic altar. A stone structure fixed in the church, and immoveable, with a plane surface or mensa, on which the unbloody sacrifice (‘*sacrificium incruentum*’) may be offered ; on which the host and the cup (‘*hostia et calix*’) may be placed : with a crucifix and two candlesticks, as essential adjuncts to it.”—pp. 21-2.

So far the Judgment presents no particular difficulty. But we commend what follows to the especial attention of our Tractarian friends.

“At the date of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. the doctrine of the English church as to the real presence and the nature of the Holy Communion was undecided ; the book therefore enjoined no change in the form of the altar, but spoke of the rite itself as the Lord’s Supper, commonly called the high mass, and of the structure indifferently by the names of the altar and the Lord’s Table.

“It contains a prayer for the consecration of the sacred elements, in which the sign of the cross is to be used. The bread is to be unleavened, and round as it was aforetime. The corporas, the paten, the chalice, the vestments are all articles directed to be used in the Roman Catholic ritual, and spoken of by those names in the missal.

“But by the time when the second Prayer-book was introduced a great change had taken place in the opinion of the English church, and the consequence was that on the revision of the service these several matters were completely altered ; the use of a surplice was substituted for the several vestments previously enjoined ; the prayer for consecration of the elements was omitted, though in the present Prayer-book it is restored ; the bread and wine delivered to the

communicants were no longer described as *the body and blood of Christ* as was the case in the first Prayer-book ; the table was *no longer spoken of as the altar*, but as the Lord's table, or as God's board ; and the table is to have, at the time of the communion, a fair white linen cloth upon it, and is to stand in the body of the church or in the chancel, where morning prayer and evening prayer are appointed to be said. And it is declared by the rubric that,—

“ ‘To take away the superstition which any person hath, or might have, in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meals, but the best and purest wheaten bread that conveniently may be gotten. And if *any of the bread and wine remain the curate shall have it to his own use.*’ ”

“ The distinction between the Supper of the Lord and the sacrifice of the mass is set forth with great precision in the articles agreed upon in Convocation in the year 1562, soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and which still form the Articles of the Church of England.

“ The 28th Article, ‘ of the Lord's Supper,’ contains this clause:—

“ ‘The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another, but rather is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death ; insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.’ ”

“ The article then contains a declaration against transubstantiation : and article 31, entitled, ‘ of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the cross,’ declares that ‘ the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.’ ”

“ *This change in the view taken of the nature of the sacrament naturally called for a corresponding change in the ancient altar. It was no longer to be an altar of sacrifice, but merely a table, at which the communicants were to partake of the Lord's Supper.* ”—Judgment pp. 23-4.

It is hardly necessary to add that the partial triumph accorded to the admirers of things as they are at St. Barnabas, is far more than counterbalanced by the momentous consequences involved in the solemn putting forth of such views as these with the authority of the Privy Council.

As regards the present Judgment, the first consequence is, that their Lordships affirm the order of the Courts below for the removal “ of the stone structure at St. Barnabas and the cross upon it, and the substitution of a communion table of wood.”

(2) The Judgment also affirms the order for the removal of the "wooden cross attached to the communion table of St. Pauls."

"Their Lordships have already declared their opinion that the communion table intended by the canon was a table in the ordinary sense of the word, flat and moveable, capable of being covered with a cloth, at which or around which the communicants might be placed in order to partake of the Lord's Supper, and the question is whether the existence of a cross attached to the table is consistent either with the spirit or with the letter of those regulations. Their Lordships are clearly of opinion that it is not, and they must recommend that upon this point also the decree complained of should be affirmed."—Judgment, p. 28.

The Catholic reader will perhaps have some difficulty in understanding how "the existence of a cross attached to the table," can affect what their Lordships afterwards call "*the essential distinction* between an altar and a table." The well-known passage of Tertullian regarding the early Christian use of the cross, *ad mensas*, is actually one of the cases explicitly referred to. And even those Christians who repudiate the idea of the Eucharist being a sacrifice, and who hold it to be a mere feast, must at least admit that it is, to use Cudworth's words cited in this Judgment, "a participation of that sacrifice," of which the cross is the most fitting and expressive emblem. But strange as it may seem, such is actually the ground of this branch of the Judgment.

The remaining provisions are of comparatively little interest. The order for the removal of "the credence table" is reversed.

The order for the removal of the embroidered cloths or coverings for the communion table in like manner is reversed, their Lordships in both cases considering that no rubric or other regulation to the contrary has been established.

But lastly, as a sort of compensation for the indulgence extended in this instance to the practices of St. Barnabas, their Lordships have affirmed the order for the discontinuance of the use of "embroidered linen and lace on the communion table at the time of the ministration of the Holy Communion. The rubric and the canon prescribe the use of a fair white linen cloth, and both the learned judges in the court below have been of opinion that embroidery and lace are not consistent with the meaning of

that expression, having regard to the nature of the table upon which the cloth is to be used. Although their Lordships are not disposed in any case to restrict within narrower limits than the law has imposed the discretion which, within those limits, is justly allowed to congregations by the rules both of the ecclesiastical and the common law courts, the directions of the rubric must be complied with; and, upon the whole, their Lordships do not dissent from the construction of the rubric adopted by the present decree upon this point, and they must therefore advise Her Majesty in this respect to affirm it."—Judgment, p. 30.

Such is the purport of this long expected Judgment. We have neither space nor inclination to criticise it, considered as a legal or constitutional ordinance of the English Church. Our function in relation to it can be little more than that of historians.

But to those who have hitherto cherished the idea of reconciling Catholic doctrines with Anglican formularies, and of combining the essentials of what they conceive to be Catholic practice with Anglican ceremonial, we earnestly commend this important Judgment as a solemn and instructive lesson. It is another example hardly less striking than the Gorham Judgment itself, of the solemn repudiation by the last and highest ecclesiastical authority in the English Church, of what has long been known as the Catholic element of Anglicanism.

It distinctly rejects all idea, even the lowest, of the commemorative Sacrifice of the Eucharist.

It plainly adopts the principles on which were founded the changes introduced in the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., the change of the name 'altar' into 'table,' and the ceasing to speak of the bread and wine as the Body and Blood of Christ.

If any doubt could be entertained as to the view on these subjects which it seeks to enforce, it would be removed by the very authority which is quoted in the Judgment—that of Bishop Burnet—one of the most unmodified of all the adherents of the Sacramentarian School.

It exhibits in a new, and hardly less painful form than the Gorham Judgment, the complete subjection of the Church in doctrine as well as discipline, to the civil power—the Privy Council sitting in judgment in the last appeal

upon what in a free church should fall exclusively within the province of a free assembly of the Church herself. As if to make the servitude the more apparent, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were present while the official organ of the Privy Council delivered its judgment. To our ears there is a strange mockery of ecclesiastical authority in the concluding sentence of the Judgment, which expresses the "satisfaction" of their Lordships in being able to state that "both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London concur in the judgment which has just been delivered!"

Above all, those who still flatter themselves with the dreamy belief to which we have been referring, cannot fail to see in this important decision of the Privy Council a new evidence that while the principle is still laid down, as it was laid down in the Gorham case, that "the Church of England is founded upon a compromise," and that in accordance with that compromise the limits of her communion are to be widened rather than narrowed, yet the practical tendency, as it has always been, still continues to be, to widen and extend those limits upon one side only, the side of latitudinarianism, and maintain, if not to contract the boundary lines which shut out the Old Religion, and all that savours of its principles. If any doubt of this tendency had remained after the Gorham case, it will be set at rest by the decision just delivered in the St. Barnabas appeal.

ART. X.—1. *Divorce and Matrimonial Causes.* A Bill intituled an Act to amend the Law relating to Divorce and Matrimonial Causes in England. (Presented by the Lord Chancellor.) Ordered to be printed 10th Feb. 1857.

2.—*Industrial Schools.* A Bill to make better Provision for the Care and Education of vagrant, destitute, and disorderly Children, and for the extension of Industrial Schools. (Prepared and brought in by Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Adderley, and Mr. Headlam.) Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed Feb. 10, 1857.

THE Parliamentary Session of 1857 has been cut short, to begin a new life in the course of a few weeks. The House of Commons will pass through the fire of a fresh election, and will come forth either more purified or more drossy, than it was before. The meaning of these words will be differently taken by partizans of different sides in politics: some will consider a greater infusion of what is still called whiggism, though nobody understands what it is, to be the improvement; while others will rejoice at every accession of strength to the conservative interest.

The simplest way, however, of now describing parties seems to be by the names of their leaders. Lord Palmerston is neither whig nor radical, tory nor conservative; if he is a pillar of the state he is of the composite order; if he is a philosopher, he is of the eclectic school; if a luminary he is of an erratic, and rather eccentric course. It would be difficult to characterise his policy, and we find few who try, succeed in doing so. Some think that, on the whole, he is the best man, or the only man, to hold the reins of government, though they hate many things that he has done. Others like his spirit and pluckiness, and readiness to assert the honour of his country, but would like all this to be done with a reduced taxation, and greater reforms at home. One set will give him a general support, but will never follow him into every measure; they will still be independent. Another, of course, will oppose him in everything, through thick or thin. Then if we enter into details of his political acts, his conduct is like the celebrated Greek painting on which every one was requested to chalk first the faults, and then the beauties which he discovered in it, till the entire picture became, each time,

like a miller's sack. One puts his finger on Naples, another on Persia, a third on Nicaragua, a fourth on Mexico, a fifth on the United States, a sixth on China, a seventh on the Principalities, an eighth on Spain, a ninth on the income tax, a tenth on the tea-duties. And having thus exhausted both hands to praise, if we begin again, there is not one of these marks which will not be overlaid with tokens of disapprobation, and detestation. If two colours are to be used, we may well say

"*Illa prius creta, mox hæc carbone notasti.*"

The real colouring is invisible beneath the marks of applause and censure. Cheers and counter-cheers are all that reach us of the Premier's declarations. Few people will say that they approve of his conduct in every one of the above matters. It is not the old adhesion to the guidance of one statesman, of fixed views, that is expected in the followers, nor the ancient condescension to the wishes of a party, which now constitutes the principle of the ruling majority. The chief startles, annoys, and disgusts his own people by the waywardness of his measures; to-day he sees himself in a majority through the courtesy of his habitual opponents, to-morrow he will be in the lesser side, because determined liberals are against him. If he steers clear of many rocks or shoals, he has to thank his stars, and not his compass, if he have any. Nobody can tell what will be the policy of the next month; no one can foresee how many wars, expeditions, bombardments, withdrawals of embassies, treaties, congresses or protocols may find place between one prorogation and a new meeting of parliament, nor what sudden or unexpected reductions of army, navy, taxes, duties or other burthens may be made in a fortnight after the budget has been arranged. It would not surprise us to hear, that a measure was being prepared, either to suppress or to add, ten Anglican bishops, "as the case may be;" to make Lord Shaftesbury minister of worship, or propose a Concordat with Rome; to keep up war imposts, or return again to the system of indirect taxation.

The appeal then to the country is not, whether or no it will prefer one definite and understood system of politics to another; whether it will take a government with one set of consistent principles to regulate its dealings with

foreign powers, and its home-measures, in preference to another set. It is simply whether, knowing Lord Palmerston and all his tricks, his caprices, his waywardnesses, his inconstencies, it will rather have *him* with them all, than one untried, whose deficiencies and redundancies when in actual power are as yet unknown. It is whether it be not best to have a brilliant, clever, dashing man, whose resources, however shifting and not always creditable, seem ever up to the emergency, and ready at hand, one who embodies certain qualities that John Bull affects to love, as he loved the deeds of admiral-pirates in Elizabeth's time, or of buccaneers later, and trust entirely to him the honour and guidance of the nation. It is a personality, and not a system that is to be judged by the nation; it is neither a whig nor a conservative policy that is on its trial: it is simply that Lord Palmerston is to be taken as he is, or as he may hereafter choose to be, or a scramble be opened for some unknown power. So publicly is the contest avowed to be one between leaders, rather than between great political sections, that a new paper we believe has appeared with the bold, or rather insolent, title of "*The Derbyite*." We shall expect "*The Palmerstonian*" to follow it; and then the country will see more plainly that two candidates for its government are going to the national poll. Talk now of "measures and not men," indeed! The question is about the man altogether, nobody can foresee the measures of either statesman. Lord Palmerston may restore the corn-laws, and Lord Derby may march on Peking, for whatever any one knows.

Before anything that we write can be in the hands of its readers, the contest will be over, and it will be simply matter of whipping-in calculations, which chieftain musters the larger host: and that for a warfare, in which success at least is always on the side "*des gros bataillons*." In ages and countries wherein there is the least faith in God, there is generally the greatest in man; the intellect that refuses most stubbornly to bow to a divine teaching will most servilely crawl to the feet of a deceived, or deceiving man. We therefore shall be very much surprised, if the "*sense of the nation*," satirically so called, which has been appealed to, does not pronounce in favour of the capricious leader who is supposed to have given evidence of a capability untested in his rival—the power to get us

out of quagmires when he has got us into them. In the latter faculty possibly both are equal : at least it is a very attainable one. But the former one Lord Palmerston is positively admired for possessing.

If, however, it would be superfluous to suggest any motives to guide our friends in their choice, during election, we may venture some observations on future policy.

There are three distinct divisions of politics on which a catholic elector, and consequently a catholic member, has to make up his mind how to act. There are religious, Irish, and national questions likely to be presented to his consideration. It will be seen that we speak necessarily of those members who, returned mainly by Irish constituencies, represent, or are intended to represent, the principles and wishes of their electors, as catholics, as Irishmen, and as subjects of the British Empire. For English representations there will be one catholic member, possibly two. If therefore there is such a thing as a catholic interest to be represented, advocated, and defended, it must be by Irish members. We believe that when a constituency composed predominantly of catholic clergy and laity, select one of their own faith to represent them, they consider this circumstance as an advantageous one ; they put confidence in him in consequence of it, and they expect him to protect the honour of their religion against wanton insult, or legislative aggression. If, as they are often advised to do, they deliberately select an Orangeman, they of course renounce all claim to this representative duty, and exonerate their member from all obligations to perform it. He may give a silent vote for what they prefer, or he may have the decency to keep sometimes away ; but it will be understood that his heart will be with the Whitesides, and the Napiers, the Newdegates and Spooners, making interiorly the usual kind wishes about whither the Pope should go. We will at any rate assume, that if catholics advisedly elect a catholic, they do so with as sincere a desire to serve their religion, as protestants entertain when they systematically reject a catholic, and elect a protestant, member. No one can doubt, that whatever liberality of feeling may exist in any English, Scotch, or North-Irish constituency, it will have sufficient protestantism in it, be it mild or be it bitter, to have itself represented by a protestant, because he is one.

And in many cases, he goes in pledged to support every protestant, and every anti-catholic, measure.

The only antagonistic force, opposed to this principle, is that of members chosen in their turn, *because* catholics, by electors of their own church. It is not therefore too much to expect them to justify this selection, and to consider themselves as holding in their hands a brief, a general retainer at least, on the catholic, *religious*, side. And what is the extent of this? It will be the lowest standard that we select, when we say, at least as wide and comprehensive as their adversaries accept.

The thorough protestant members of the House of Commons, those whose names we will not repeat, do not ever consider a religious question as local, or as circumscribed by any limits, in its interest. They never say, "this does not affect us in England, or in Ireland, for places in which we sit. It is simply a measure beneficial, or hurtful to popery, and as such we must oppose, or favour it." Suppose it to be an Irish measure, the member for North Warwickshire is as ready to speak, and as diligent to vote, against it, as if it were one concerning his own county. Indeed let it be a motion in favour of catholics in India, or Canada, or of catholics in the army or navy, to protect convents in Malta, or salary a chaplain at Bermuda, in fine imagine any possible measure anywhere, of which catholics would enjoy the benefit, or rather the justice; and say if it would not be opposed, as a matter of course, by those who consider themselves entrusted with protestant interests in the house. And no matter in what form it is proposed, in a Bill, a rider, a clause; nay be it one item out of hundreds in navy, or army, or general estimates, and it has no chance of escaping the lynx-eyes of these nocturnal prowlers, the canine scent of these earnest bigots.

If protestantism can thus excite a sort of universality of sympathies, though in its very nature a divided system, it is not surely too much to expect, that a catholic, whose very title signifies universal, will feel at least as extensive an interest in matters affecting his religion, and not shelter himself behind the paltry excuse, that he has nothing to do with a religious measure, unless it affects Ireland. The individual member is not merely a delegate from one county or borough, he is an integral portion of the imperial legislature, he has confided to him the true

interests of England, as much as the English member has those of Ireland. Now no true catholic can, without creating suspicion in the sincerity of his faith, maintain, that to uphold anywhere the rights, just claims, and principles of what he professes to believe as God's own truth, is not a true interest of the Empire, and therefore a part of his conscientious duty.

But further still, the Church is one, and so bound together by intimate ties, it is an institution so unnational, so unlocal, nay so spiritual in the mutual relations of its parts, that it is a miserable and irreligious lowering of its position in the mind and in the world, to confound, or identify, its claims with those of any other order of things, however dear or preponderating. To judge of the value of a question affecting the doctrine or the well-being of religion, only by the consideration of how it will affect the morals or the purse of one particular portion of the Empire, or one set of constituencies, is surely to pull down to a lower level the high dignity and importance of our religious standard of thought. Nor after all is such a policy any wiser or more prudent, than just. An encroachment in a colony, still more in England, on liberty of religion, on ecclesiastical authority, on catholic education, once carried and sustained, becomes a precedent soon applicable to Ireland, and requires only a "short Act," to extend it. And if opposition to this be made, it must come burthened with the prejudice of previous silent consent, and with the retort ready prepared, and justly merited, of; "why did you not oppose this measure, when passed for England, if contrary to your religious principles?"

Let it not be supposed that this is but an abstract, and imaginary case. It is one, at the present moment, urgently present. And we therefore boldly state it, that in the moment of forming new combinations, of framing rules for energetic and united action in a new parliament, at a time when, to use an American phrase, the Catholic "platform" has to be constructed, this principle may be weighed, and we trust in God (for it is a sacred matter,) be firmly adopted, that, "every question brought before the legislature affecting the principles, persons, liberties, and interests of catholics in every part of the British Empire is one of interest to all catholic members in the House of Commons, without distinction, and should be

watched and controlled, promoted, or opposed, in joint action." Should the Government, whatever party may hold it, know that such a resolution has not only been taken, but is energetically acted upon, it will know well how to respect such a combined power, and will think twice, as the saying is, before introducing or countenancing vexatious and harsh measures about us.

Let us come, then, to some exemplifications of this proposed action. Looking to the past, the catholics of England have now had, hanging over their heads a Bill, which might be ruinous in an unmitigated form, and in any shape involves an infringement of the rights of the catholic church. We allude to the "Charitable Trusts' Act" of 1853. The object of this enactment was to bring all charities, in other words all ecclesiastical, educational, religious and charitable funds under the unlimited control of a Board exclusively protestant. Catholics were not exempted, as they had been in all former general Trusts' Bills; nor were they separately dealt with, in consideration of the action of penal laws. The evils of such a measure were twofold. First, it subjected charities of every sort, conventual ones for instance, funds for ecclesiastical education, and many others of a strictly ecclesiastical administration on catholic principles, to the prying and controlling superintendence of protestant laymen. Through the management of funds, with most arbitrary powers, the commissioners under the Act might have obtained uncanonical and most mischievous power in, and over, the institutions to which they belonged. Secondly, owing to the irregularity, or rather illegality of catholic investments through the iniquity of a persecuting code, the manifestations which the Act required might have proved fatal to a great proportion of our ecclesiastical and charitable funds. It was just at the last hour, at the third reading, that Lord John Russell declared to the house, that he had been assured but just before, of the ruinous effects of the measure, if applied to catholics. He therefore moved a clause, exempting them entirely from the operation of the law. Had he been supported, had there been catholic members there, to urge the injustice of a measure which put the unprotected property of catholics on the same footing as the fully recognized property of other bodies, the iniquity of bringing under law, possessions slowly accumu-

interests of England, as much as the English member has those of Ireland. Now no true catholic can, without creating suspicion in the sincerity of his faith, maintain, that to uphold anywhere the rights, just claims, and principles of what he professes to believe as God's own truth, is not a true interest of the Empire, and therefore a part of his conscientious duty.

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lated in spite of the iniquity of older law, there can be little doubt that the exemption would have been carried. Instead of this, Mr. Headlam, we believe, proposed, as an amendment, a delay of two years, during which remedial measures to save catholic property from confiscation were to be passed, and then it was to fall under the edge of the new law. No efficient opposition was made to this, and the catholics of England obtained a reprieve, instead of a total dismissal from the bar of the House.

What has been the consequence? Efforts were made in vain to come to some terms or understanding on the subject. Ministerial crises, the war, and other more general demands on time and attention prevented anything being done, in the given term; the avowed injustice of the law as it stood, in its bearing on catholics, forbade its enforcement; and just before the two years expired, a further year of grace was obtained. This brought us on, to the end of the session of 1856. In the interval nothing effectual had been done, though overtures had been opened, and bills proposed; and at the period just mentioned another respite was found necessary. It was granted, but with a condition or understanding, that early in the session of this year the sanatory measure, so long promised, should be introduced by Mr. Baines. Before the meeting of February, efforts were made, but in vain, to obtain a sight of the intended Bill: for it was surmised, that Government preferred consulting, not the persons who had been versed in matters of catholic church property, and its difficulties, legal and administrative, but such as were likely to give advice from party feeling, more than from knowledge and experience. And so as yet nothing is known of the intended motion; and in fact the parliament in which it had to be proposed has been swept away, and the first session of the new parliament will have enough to do; first in the "gentle passage of arms," the tourney in which Lords Palmerston and Derby must try to tilt one the other from his seat, and then in the great questions untouched, that wait their manager.

This uncertain state, these four years of anxiety to all concerned in the administration of church property in England have been harassing and perplexing; and yet we are no nearer a final solution than at the beginning. Another delay will no doubt be proposed; for it is impossible to frame a satisfactory measure now in time, if at all.

But surely it would be simpler, fairer, and more statesmanlike, to cut off all connection between catholics and an Act, pronounced by three successive votes of Parliament unjust and unpracticable in their regard, instead of letting them hang to it, by the loose thread of temporary suspension—a legislation of expedients, which may be at last defeated by an accident, by a counting out of the house, by a shortness of votes, or by a sudden dissolution, when the injustice acknowledged would become law. Were such a decisive measure taken at once, time would be given for a well-matured legislation, if really it be required. But surely it is not too much to ask, or even to entreat, or if you please, to insist, as brethren are allowed to do, that a question like this, involving vital interests of one portion of the catholics of the Empire, and made by the sworn enemies of our faith a religious question, should enlist in its favour the sympathies of all catholic members, and command their attendance, and their efficacious votes?

In addition, however, to this unseen foe, two other real and palpable ones had started living on the political stage. But for the attention of one watchful eye, the first of them might have passed unnoticed, and neutralized completely all that we had gained by our reformatory movement. It is the second at the head of our article, and we will briefly state its provisions, selecting such clauses as will best in their own words express it.

I. "V. The Police may take into Custody any Child who may be found Begging, and also any Child who may be found wandering in the Streets or Highways, or sleeping therein at Night, and not having any Home or settled Place of Abode, or proper Guardianship, or any lawful or visible Means of Subsistence.

"VI. The Police shall forthwith, or at the earliest Opportunity, bring any Child taken into Custody as aforesaid before a Justice of the Peace, who may direct due Inquiries to be made and Notice (Form) to be given to the Parent of the Child, if any can be found, or to the Persons with whom the Child is or was last known to have been residing, and to the Guardians of the Union in which the Child was taken into Custody, of the Circumstances under which the Child has been taken into Custody, and that the Matter will be inquired into at the Time and Place mentioned in the Notice, and may order the Child to be detained in the Workhouse of the Union in which he was taken into Custody, or in some other proper Place, not being

a Prison, for any period not exceeding *Forty-eight* Hours, while any Inquiries that he may deem necessary are being made."

This is the first step in arbitrary detention. A policeman takes up a child not charged with any crime or even fault. The chances are that a child, answering to the description in the Bill, would be an Irish catholic one. He is brought before a magistrate who sends him to the custody of the merciful Workhouse, and gives notice to the parents *if any can be found*, or to any one else likely to claim a child who possibly sweeps a crossing, or cleans shoes, without the protection of Lord Shaftesbury's uniform against police-tyranny.

II. "VIII. At the Time and Place mentioned in the Notice any Justices may make full Inquiry into the Matter, and may require Security (Form) to be given for the proper Care and good Behaviour of the Child for any Period not exceeding *Twelve* Calendar Months, and, in default of Security, may, by Writing under their Hands and Seals (Form), order the Child to be sent for such Period as they may think necessary for his Education and Training to any Certified Industrial School the Managers of which are willing to receive him."

This is the second step. Security is required for the "good behaviour" of the boy charged with no offence, and his "care" from parents who can give no guarantee; and in default, almost the necessary case, the poor child is sent at once to "*any* certified industrial school, the managers of which are willing to receive him." No stipulation whatever is made as to the religion of the Industrial school. Protestant managers will be always ready to take charge of any poor catholic children; and protestant magistrates will be equally ready to send them to them. Now comes the only remedy.

III. "XI. If the Parent at the Time of making any such Order, or within *Fourteen* Days afterwards, objects to the Certified Industrial School to which the Child has been sent or ordered to be sent, and proposes some other Certified Industrial School, and proves that the Managers of it are willing to receive the Child, and pays or finds good Security to pay any Expenses which may be incurred in consequence of his Objection, any Justice of the County where the Child was taken into Custody shall order the Child to be sent to the Certified Industrial School proposed by the Parent."

Let any one, acquainted with the feelings and habits of the destitute poor, in London for instance imagine how

many of them will have leisure, or courage to go spontaneously before that object of his awe, a police magistrate, to complain of the policeman of his beat, and of his own and fellow-magistrates' award. But first he must have spent time in finding out where else his child may be placed, and must "prove" that the managers of the place are willing to take his child, and give payment or security for all expenses incurred by the transfer—say from Plymouth to London! Is this even a possibility for a poor hard-working man? No—the child's fate is sealed; unless the priest, or some charitable person interposes, drags the father forward, and finds the necessary means, that poor child is consigned irrecoverably to the jaws and maw of legal state proselytism.

Such are the essential provisions of a Bill which passed through its second reading unopposed almost; and which, though somewhat modified in committee, we rejoice was lost. For we do sincerely hope that catholic members will not be prevented from doing their duty, by the cajoling thirteenth clause: "This Act shall not extend to Ireland or Scotland." The history of the Poor Law, and of the Income-tax gives us surely a lesson, that an English Act requires but little to stretch its meshes across the Channel, and avenge in Ireland any apathy of her representatives. The quotation is trite indeed, but no less therefore true;

"*Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*"

Let us only further remark, that this Bill almost undoes virtually the benefit obtained by the reformatory law, which compels magistrates to send children to an establishment of their own faith: and moreover now no conviction is required, so that every catholic child of good character may be sent to a protestant industrial school, while the worst and most corrupt will be necessarily thrust upon our own establishments.

The other Bill to which we have alluded is the first upon our list. It is one for the greater facility of procuring a dissolution of the marriage tie, so as to allow a second legal marriage, during the life of the divorced party. This measure goes in the very face of the catholic doctrine of marriage, will allow one party to obtain separation, and legalises what the church will continue to consider an adulterous connection; and thus protects an open violation

of the divine, and the ecclesiastical, law. Can any catholic conscientiously allow such an Act to pass without a strenuous opposition, and a record of his vote, at least, against it, as a profession of his belief on what he has been taught to consider a sacrament, symbolical of the union between Christ and His Church? It is difficult to foresee the amount of evil which this Bill, if carried, will work in families, and how it will weaken that family bond which is nowhere more sacred, or more productive of happiness than in Ireland, among rich and poor. But independent of this consideration, we must hold, that as a public legislative contradiction of a moral and dogmatic principle defined by the Church in general Council, no catholic who is a part of the enacting body, can sit down and let it be enacted, under silence on his part, which makes him a consenting party.

These illustrations will suffice to explain our meaning, of cases where a Catholic member may justly be expected by his constituents, who have returned him because a Catholic, to be in his place, and lend all his influence, his eloquence, and at least his vote, in defence of Catholic persons or principles, whenever assailed through legislative enactments. And we sincerely trust that, in any arrangements of parliamentary policy, by catholic members, this principle will be openly and distinctly avowed.

We have spoken of the two contending heads of parties, as representing rather themselves, than any definite line of politics. We may naturally ask the question, how do they respectively stand, as to any religious programme? If we look at Lord Palmerston through the medium of his past conduct, we think catholics have no reason to consider him as bearing them any personal dislike, or inclined to grudge them any just claim, which the strong feelings of others would permit him to grant. He certainly has not taken up any bigot's cry against us. He may have shown himself weak in asserting his opinion sometimes; so far as to have it surmised that his sluggishness was suddenly roused into activity by a foreign reminder. But neither in the Maynooth outcry, nor in the Convents' visitation most unmanly excitement, has he allowed his love of popularity to draw him aside from a consistent adherence to his liberal views. Even in the miserable truckling of his Premier to national frenzy, seconded, and aggravated by the ridiculous Durham letter, we do not

believe that he felt either enthusiasm in the cause, or admiration of the inconsistent course of that unfortunate statesman. When there was manifest injustice to us in the law on cemeteries, he at once, on the remonstrance of the late Mr. Lucas, had it amended. The establishment of catholic chaplains in the army in the Crimea, in the camp, and now in the Chinese expedition, has been owing, we believe, much to Lord Palmerston's liberality; and no doubt to him personally is due the most beneficial appointment of chaplains with floating catholic churches in all the great dockyards. In the recognition too of catholic reformatories, he has acted with the utmost fairness and straightforwardness; and we believe that in no case has he individually manifested a partial or bigoted spirit. It appears, indeed, that the vexatious impost called "Minister's money" is going to be given up by the present government.

As far, therefore, as catholics in the United Kingdom are concerned, we think they have as little to complain of Lord Palmerston as of any minister they have ever had to deal with. Common justice demands this acknowledgment at our hands. And on the other side, what hopes of liberal dealing have we from Lord Derby or his party? During his last brief administration, he contrived most wantonly and unprovokedly to insult catholics by a stupid proclamation against processions, issued we believe at Mr. Newdegate's suggestion, and by another still more absurd piece of littleness, the cancelling of a presentation at court. Mr. Disraeli's coquetting with the Orangemen of Ireland, about accepting their leadership is an event too recent to leave room for hope of any cordial feeling towards the population of the country. It argued either a bias and leaning towards the detestable spirit of that oppressive faction, or, what is worse, the want of all principle as to the choice of means by which to climb to power. At the party meeting held at Lord Derby's, during the late crisis, Mr. Spooner was a prominent member; and finally the noble leader himself, not having to address electors, spoke his manifesto in the Upper House, and there clearly proclaimed himself as intending, should he come into power, to pursue a protestant policy, the meaning of which, of course, every one understands. For, as no minister has ever yet professed, or followed a catholic policy, if the past systems are considered by Lord Derby to be so far Catholic

as that *his* by contrast, or *par excellence* will be deemed to be protestant, heaven help us and our rights, under his administration, if he have one. We trust, however, that by putting this broken reed as one support to his "platform," he has prepared the way for a good and speedy head-fore-most downfall.

If from what we have considered the catholic principle of action justly to be exacted from catholic members in the new Parliament, we proceed to their Irish policy, the task of definition becomes more difficult. It is plain, that for attaining the full power of controlling a Government by a combination, numbers form the element of strength. And it is no less clear, that for securing numbers together with unity, the basis of this must be as wide and as comprehensive as is consistent with justice.

We do not mean to enter into the *vexata quæstio* of Tenant-right. We are satisfied that a point on which so many high and respectable persons among the clergy and laity insist, as one which shall be the test of efficiency and fidelity in their representatives, must be one of vital importance. We are therefore quite content, that as many persons as possible be pledged to obtain a measure that shall equitably adjust the claims of the two great classes that share the soil of Ireland. But however just the wish may be to unite a strong body of electors and members on this ground, it is certain that practically it has failed for this purpose; or rather that it has led to disunion, or at least want of co-operation between zealous men of the same country and religion. If so, would it not be better to let this remain the basis of a combination of many of one mind, but not that of *the* union from which no member returned by a catholic constituency, be he catholic or be he protestant, should be allowed to stand aloof, but to which he should stand pledged by his very election? And what should this be?

The question scarcely requires an answer. It is the removal of the evil of evils, of the eyesore to every catholic from peer to peasant, from priest to layman, from old man to suckling, of the bane, the shame, the curse of Ireland. It is the sweeping away of the disgrace of Great Britain in the sight of the civilized world, the cause of foreign incredulity as to the wisdom, the justice, the sagacity, nay the common sense and honour of a country that boasts of its liberality, equality, and constitutional institutions.

The Irish protestant church is all this and more. We believe that its existence, not merely tolerated, but protected and justified by liberal and clever men, is as foul an anomaly, and as inexplicable an enigma to the minds of enlightened publicists and statesmen abroad, as is the defence of slavery in the United States, the very groundwork of whose federal existence is the proposition that "all men are born equal." For surely it is quite as absurd to pay and support a huge establishment of men called ministers, who have none to minister to, of preachers who have no listeners, of churches that have no congregations, of shepherds who have no flocks, of clergy without a church. And when this portent of wicked absurdity shall have vanished, as completely as the Druids before them, from the face of a great portion of the land, as must be if common sense has any chance of ever prevailing, two things will excite the astonishment of the historian; and we can imagine a dash of indignation too in his pen. The first will be, the incredible blindness, or stubbornness, or weakness of successive statesmen, who either could not see what every one will then see as clear as noonday, the unmitigated inconsistency of such a religious condition, or, seeing it, wilfully supported, or cowardly tolerated its existence. And the second ground of amazement will be, how the catholics of Ireland held in their hands a leverage that could upheave any government, if all hands joined in it, and yet wasted its power on questions which begot division, instead of concentrating it upon the one huge burthen that pressed on the soil, the hearts, the consciences, and the souls, of the worried population. Get rid of this abomination of desolation, and with it drain off a thousand other grievances and impurities, which now afflict and defile the land. Away go proselytism, and souperism, and the nests of pestilence which they have built amidst the neighbourhoods that they have infected, and educational strife, and the stalking missionary, and the sneaking bible-reader, and the lying apostate, and perhaps at length the unbelieving prelate, who scorns revelation and patronizes bigotry. And then too, there will be funds abundant for every noble and sacred purpose; even though the catholic church may refuse to soil its fingers with the wealth so long abused. Hospitals, retreats for the aged, orphanages, almshouses, asylums for every form of human misery; establishments for the education, without danger

to faith, or impertinent patronizing interference, of all classes, from the college to the infant-school may cover Ireland, and be its own, restored to it from the plunder of its fathers' charities, and catholic endowments.

We believe, indeed, that if the determination to give no Government rest, till it fairly and honestly put its hands to the removal of this monster grievance of a protestant church establishment, were made the bond of electoral, and representative, union, the great working principle of Irish parliamentary combination, it would soon extend to many other important objects. Every great question connected with education (such as the measures lately attempted) would be considered intimately to affect the still greater one of the entire church system: and so would every minor one about reforms in this—its tithes, livings, bishoprics, chapters. The Maynooth question, convents, the social position of nuns, the legality of monastic institutions, and other points, which from time to time agitate the surface of the political current, would be treated only as parts of the much mightier combat, and coming settlement, between a wearied and impatient people, and an alien and insupportable incubus. For it is clear that all these things would have an intelligible, and canonically regulated *status*, if the present English establishment were removed, while at present, they seem at variance with the recognized order of things.

Nor is it necessary to deal with so grave and solemn a subject in a hasty and revolutionary mode, or spirit. What has to be insisted on is, that no government shall go on, without being made to feel, year by year, that it must not assume the perpetuity of what is called "the Irish church" as a foregone conclusion, and its laws like what Smollet calls "the laws of the maids and parsons," or that it is as sacred, and as much a thorn-hedged, and unapproachable, part of the constitution as trial by jury or representative government, or that it is a palladium, or a glorious institution, or that sort of thing. It must be shown up, as a thing, to all intents and purposes, human, of the earth earthly, and requiring to be thoroughly sifted, purged of its dross, pared down to the exigencies of its followers, and denationalised most completely, even though no other be substituted in its place, and the first example be given of a people that can support its recognised religion, without the assistance, or intervention of the

State. Let every existing claim be respected. We can afford to wait; the catholic church is undying, and it can allow every living professor of her former dowry to fill up the allotted measure of his earthly fruition, protracted though it may be. But there is no time to be lost by those whose time of responsible activity is short, and on whose speedier beginning it may depend, whether they, or their children, or perhaps their grandchildren shall be the first to see this delightful clearing of the overgrowth, which has sucked up the riches and energies of a great people.

If now we contrast the prospects of Irish politics, under the respective leaderships, to which the country is to be delivered, we do not see, at present much to choose between them. *Utrum horum?* Will either grant tenant-right? Will either go manfully into the great church-incubus question? Or rather can either venture to do so? or doing so, has either strength to carry either concession? Certainly not; unless there be a great, combined phalanx, large enough to control divisions, strong enough, morally as well as numerically, to dictate terms that interfere not with general measures and government, incorruptible, unpurchasable, taking no oaths and making no protestations, beyond their baptismal vows, which are sufficient for all virtuous purposes, which will back them through the struggle, and through all its influence into the scale that bears its just demands. But depend upon it, no principle held by either of the political chieftains, without such a quiet but irresistible pressure as we have described, will ever lead him to remove a mighty grievance, like that of the church. For it is a black cloud on the side which turns to unfortunate Ireland, but a bright pillar on the side which looks, beaming with golden effulgence, towards the patronage offices of Downing street.

Coming, at last, to the third point of our political division, that of general policy, we must own ourselves to be very much in the dark. We have already observed, that the choice is between a man whose conduct follows no rule or principle, who is alone his own parallel, upon whose future acts no one can speculate, and one of whose intentions we can only judge by that most uncertain of rules,—the declaration of a statesman out of place, of what he would do, if he were in place. Of what he *would*, not what he *will*, do. For we all know that he is as

likely as not to become guardian to all his predecessor's political children.

As to the policy of the present ministry, domestic or foreign, we certainly cannot approve it. At home, it has carried, as yet, no great measures, no effective reforms. Year after year, measures of grave importance have been brought in and dropped; nor does it appear as if any general plan had been formed, or any comprehensive views taken, that depend upon a decided principle. But it is the foreign policy which is most strikingly reprehensible. It is certain that our national character has severely suffered everywhere abroad: that in almost every continental state England has the reputation of either exercising irritating influence, or of encouraging discontent, and patronizing revolution. The language used in Parliament has given just ground for such a suspicion: and Count de Montalbert's noble letter on the Premier's absurd and insulting speech about the Pope may be justly considered as embodying the feelings of all thinking men, on the conduct of our Government, bullying to the weak, and truckling to the strong.

It is probable that Lord Derby's administration, if raised into existence out of the chaos in which its future lies yet enwombed, would be more courteous, civil, and perhaps even considerate towards foreign powers, and that we should not see under his direction of public affairs, wars break out here and there, like fires, in a volcanic soil. But what security have we against other evils, which may prove as bad? The enumeration of these possibilities could, at best, be conjectural: we can only say, therefore, that untried ills may be in store under a conservative government.

The conclusion to which we come, therefore, is, that the trial of strength should not be to change masters, but to enforce good measures. Let any concentration of Irish power be, not to eject Lord Palmerston, but to make him enter seriously into the great Irish questions. Let that concentration begin even higher, and take under its protection the cause of catholics whenever oppressed or threatened. India alone will furnish plenty of work. England, as we have shown, has its claims. But the bad politics abroad, to which we have alluded, rise into the class of religious questions, when the conduct of our holy Father is rudely and unjustly assailed. Surely

voices have been silent, which should have been lifted up manfully, when abuse has been poured out upon that venerated head. Of course we know that many would rather plume themselves than otherwise, on the liberality with which they distinguish between the Pontiff and the Sovereign, and join perhaps in denying the one, while they profess great fidelity to the other. But who does not know, that any amount of error, or corruption, if existing in any German protestant state, of the same extent as his would never be made a topic of a Prime minister's speech ; but that it is the spiritual and ecclesiastical character of the Pope which is sought to be lowered, and even destroyed ? We have every reason to suppose that the apathy manifested, when his name is abused, by those who call themselves his children, and who would kiss his feet, must afflict his paternal and affectionate heart : especially when the things said of him and his government were so grossly and obviously false, that even a flat contradiction, or an expression of indignation might have been safely volunteered.

But enough. It is clearly necessary that catholics should keep a watchful eye on the course of events, and note the signs of the time. The decisions, contradictory and inconsistent as they appear to be in the Race and Stourton cases, show us what measure we are to expect. Some thought, that when the first decision had been given, it would rule the second. The principle had been plainly laid down as that which always guided the Court of Chancery—that a child must be brought up in the father's religion. On this declaration, many thought there could be no question as to the issue in the Stourton case. For our parts, we laughed at the idea, and expressed our certainty, than an expedient would be found for setting at nought that principle, and bringing up the second child a protestant. And another may come on, and another ; and it will be the same. When the wolf protestant, has made up its mind to swallow the lamb catholic, up the stream or down the stream, itself or its dam—all is one ; the finding of the excuse is easy enough, and so is the devouring. *Mentita est iniquitas sibi* is an old saying and a true. Contradictions in legal decisions are nothing to the religious public of England, so that they lead to the same conclusion, and that in its favour. The opposite ends of a stick are equally good to

beat him with, whom you are resolved to hurt. Who could have expected a judge to call us "Papists" on the bench? Who could have expected him to drag in a declamation against Jesuits, in his award? *Fecit tamen*: as St. Augustine writes of another judge. Or, who would have thought, that, evidence should have been considered necessary, to prove that a catholic father leaving a catholic mother belonging to an eminent catholic family guardian of their child, meant it to be brought up a catholic! No: let us expect no reasonable concession, or even equitable dealing. We must depend upon our own energy, upon our union, upon the exercise of our duties as citizens, and working steadily upon principles which no one can blame as factious, or slight as undignified.

ART. XI.—*Flemish Interiors.* By the writer of a Glance behind the Grilles of France. London: Longman and Co., 1856.

BELGIUM has always been distinguished for four things—its devotedness to the Catholic Church, its attachment to the free mediæval institutions, its success in agriculture and manufactures, and the multiplicity of its religious and charitable establishments. These qualities characterized that country even in the last century, which witnessed the religious and political decline of so many Catholic states. It was to Flanders and Brabant the learned and venerable Alban Butler always pointed, when he heard monastic institutes disparaged, as exerting an unfavourable influence on commerce and population. These establishments continued to flourish with more or less vigour, till they were in great part swept away by the revolutionary tempest of 1789.

From this period down to the year 1830, a yoke more or less galling weighed on the Belgian church—a period during which so many memorials of ancient piety, so many sanctuaries of virtue and learning, so many asylums for poverty and wretchedness were destroyed. Some female communities survived the storm, and others spe-

cially adapted to the wants and circumstances of the age, rose up with the sanction even of anti-Catholic governments.

From the year 1830, when a new era of freedom dawned on the church and state of Belgium, religious institutes of both sexes, according to every variety of rule, and designed to meet all the intellectual, moral, and physical wants of mankind, sprang up and spread on all sides with the most marvellous vigour and fecundity. Monastic communities of men, so long suppressed, took root again in that soil, where they had once flourished with such luxuriance. Religious orders and congregations of either sex, some old, some new, some designed to impart religious and secular instruction to the higher, some to the humbler classes of society, some to relieve poverty, some to administer temporal aid and spiritual consolation to the sick and dying; others to tend the more frightful maladies, physical and moral, which afflict mankind, others more especially devoted to the functions of the clerical ministry, and the cultivation of sacred and profane literature; and others again dedicated to pure religious contemplation, now arose to adorn and support the church of that country.

It is these various institutes, religious and charitable, which the able and accomplished author of the work before us has undertaken to describe, and none, we think, will deny that he has executed his task with considerable skill. His research is extensive, his descriptions are graphic, his style is easy and natural. An interesting historic sketch is often appended to an account of some religious community the author visits on his tour; and curious anecdotes respecting eminent individuals, living or deceased, are interspersed in the description of religious or charitable institutes. The British public are abundantly supplied with hand-books describing the churches, the hospitals, and other charitable and religious edifices. But here is a *Manual*, where the writer conducts us into the secret laboratories of piety and benevolence, and reveals to us the spirit that raised those structures designed for the glory of God and the solace of humanity.

We heartily recommend the present work as one replete with information on a most important topic, and which conveys that information in a very lively and attractive form.

We refer the reader to the brief notice we gave of this book in our last October number, and shall now content ourselves with affording him an insight into it by a few extracts.

The following remarks of the able and excellent Canon Maes, on the comparative state of morality in Belgium and England, will be found well worthy of consideration.

"He maintains that the morality of Belgium exceeds that of all other countries; and carries off the palm when compared with the tone which pervades society of all classes in France. He further remarked, that the portion of the latter country where the highest moral and religious feeling prevails, is the north, which has always been more or less identified with Belgium, once indeed formed part of it, and is still styled '*La Flandre Française*.' The Flemish language is still spoken in this part of France, and many Flemish customs have been preserved there, although it has long ceased actually to belong to the Belgian dominions.

"Compared with England, the purity of manners of the Belgians casts us entirely into the shade, whether we speak of the higher or less elevated grades of society. A glance at the statistics of crime in both countries is sufficient proof of this assertion. To use the Chanoine's own words, and he seems to have been a keen observer of these matters, "Les crimes qui se commettent en Belgique, ne sont que rarement perpétrés avec cette finesse, cette étude, et par suite, avec cette méchanceté comme on en voit commettre en si grand nombre, en Angleterre.

" 'Ceux qui sont coupables, en Belgique, de ces crimes, dégradant pour l'humanité, sont généralement des êtres de la plus basse classe de la société; des gens à demi brutes, qui n'ont pas eu d'éducation, ou qui n'ont jamais été aptes, à en recevoir, aussi rencontre-t-on rarement des empoison-nemens ou d'autres crimes pour lesquels il faut un certain degré d'intelligence.'

" 'An important circumstance has to be taken into account when considering the state of crime in Belgium, which tells much, in appearance, against it. We must remember that Belgium has no distant colonies to which to transport her convicts, who consequently are perpetually repeating their crimes, and returning on the hands of the law.'

" 'To what causes then,' said I, 'do you attribute the superiority you claim for the Belgians over other nations?'

" 'First,' answered the Chanoine, 'I believe religion has—as indeed it ought—a great share in these happy results. Since the third and fourth centuries, to which period we trace the establishment of Christianity in Belgium, the people has remained attached to it with a fidelity and a constancy which has resisted all attempts to weaken or corrupt it.

“In the second place, I think the character and disposition of the Belgians, as a race, is calculated to form a basis of the most stable and enduring nature. You will find them contemplative, steady, laborious, simple in their habits, and content with little ; rarely given to indulge in acquired tastes and fanciful desires, and therefore, in a great measure, ignorant of the luxuries and excesses which in others, have become almost necessities.

“This tranquillity of temperament naturally preserves them from many of those embarrassments in which the rash, the imprudent, and the enterprising are likely to find themselves, and from which it is so difficult to extricate oneself with clean hands.

“And I may add, that it is the peculiarity of the Belgians to be able to pass through life without those pernicious amusements, frivolous distractions, and dissipating pleasures, with which more excitable nations are wont to kill those hours they know not how to value, and to fritter away wealth which might be so much more profitably expended.

“Another cause is suggested by the patriotism which distinguishes the Belgian, and the attachment with which he holds to his Penates, and to all domestic ties.

“This feature, which also marks the Englishman, is carried to excess in the Belgian, who scarcely leaves his native place, even to travel in his own country, and very seldom to visit any other. Surrounded as he is, therefore, by connections and acquaintances, among whose ancestors, his own left an honoured reputation, he is actuated by an innate desire to keep up his family honour, and to transmit it unsullied to his children. I may say, I have universally remarked, that those of my countrymen who have fallen into crime are almost invariably men who had been previously given up to a vagabond and desultory life.’”—pp. 55—57.

The following description of the Hospice St. Julien, under the direction of the distinguished ecclesiastic, whose remarks we have been just citing, is very interesting, and we ourselves can vouch for the accuracy of many of its statements.

The Hospice St. Julien is a lunatic asylum, tended by nuns, the *sœurs hospitalières*. A certain number of patients are thoroughly cured every year, and others regain their soundness of mind to such a degree as to enable them, though not to quit the asylum entirely, yet to discharge their religious and social duties, and even to mix from time to time in general society.

The worthy Chanoine has a wonderful tact and skill in the treatment of the insane. A mere look from him awes them into subjection, and stills their agitated bosoms, and quiets their restless movements.

At one of those elegant entertainments to which, among other friends, the writer of these lines has the honour of being sometimes invited, this worthy clergyman once told us, "the servant that is now waiting at table came only the day before yesterday into the asylum." Nothing could exceed the writer's astonishment, for it was not possible for any servant to have waited with more care and intelligence at table.

The Chanoine related to the writer the following anecdote. A poor priest, afflicted with the most awful malady that can befall us here below, was admitted to St. Julien's Hospital, left a good deal at large, and treated with the utmost gentleness. One day he had an attack of frenzy, and began destroying the furniture, and was about pulling to pieces his bed, when the Chanoine, accompanied by two keepers, came into the room, and affecting a look and tone of great severity, addressed the priest as follows:—"Hitherto, Sir, you have been treated with the greatest indulgence, but you have shamefully abused our kindness; you are now acting in a manner most scandalous, most unworthy of your sacred profession." Then turning round to the keepers, the Chanoine still affecting the air and language of stern rebuke, commanded them to throw the priest into fetters, and inflict on him the chastisement his conduct so well deserved. Before the strait jacket could be put upon the unfortunate ecclesiastic, he was perfectly tranquil, and never again fell into these paroxysms of rage.

"Wednesday 5th Sept.—Having arranged to visit the *Hospice St. Julien*, one of Chanoine Maes's admirable Institutions, I proceeded to the Rue de la Bouverie, where I was to meet Father Ignatius at ten o'clock.

"Arrived at the convent, we were shown into the *Salle-à-manger* or guest-chamber, a fine room in the style of the last century, with noble windows, tapestried walls, and substantial furniture. It is here that annual and other meetings are held by the friends and supporters of the Institution: on the occasion of a dinner given to such persons, the guests are waited upon by the convalescent patients, who acquit themselves so well that no one would discover in them any mental indisposition.

"The Mother Superior soon appeared, received us with great civility, and readily consented to show us the Institution.

"The building is extensive, but irregular and rambling, not having been originally constructed for its present purpose. This, as well

as the land on which it stands, is parish property, which occasions much inconvenience to the occupants. Such are the restrictions that they can neither add, alter, nor even repair any portion of it without express permission. There is a farm of about fifty acres attached, which furnishes occupation to the male patients, and contributes to their common support.

"This house contains about 330 inmates of both sexes and all ages; though except in the case of children born idiots, madness seldom manifests itself in persons under twenty years of age. But of this number, about twenty are sent out cured, annually, and about as many are removed by death. There are some patients who have been in the Institution ever since it was founded.

"There are, of course, always a considerable number in the infirmary. A surgeon and two physicians are attached to their service, in this as well as the two other houses founded by the same benevolent ecclesiastic.

"The inmates in this Institution are for the most part '*les indigens de la ville*;' but middle class patients are also received on paying a moderate sum annually, being accommodated with a private room. The former are paid for, by the parochial authorities by whom they are sent. The cost of each inmate is estimated at 75 centimes (about 7d.) per diem.

"To all these houses a separate *corps de bâtiment* is attached for the reception of *pensionnaires*, or boarders, who enjoy the tranquillity, respectability, and privileges inseparable from a residence in such close vicinity to a religious community, at a very moderate expense; and as no 'profits' are sought, the little income thus realized, after paying expenses, goes to increase the fund which supports the poorer inmates.

"The care of the *Aliénés* of both classes is committed entirely to the Sisters; and though there are servants, their duties are confined to the *gros ouvrages*, in which they are superintended by the Sisters, and assisted by such of the inmates as are sufficiently sane to be employed.

"Everything that is personal to the patients is done for them by the Sisters; this, indeed, is part of their vow, and even the cooking for them comes within the province of the nuns.

"They are *Hospitalières* of the order of St. Augustine, sixteen in number, at this house, and eight at the *Couvent St. Joseph*,—a similar Institution for the reception of patients of the upper class at Cortenberg, near Brussels.

"In consequence of the nature and variety of their employments, these nuns have been permitted by episcopal authority to reverse the white habit and black scapular for a black habit and white scapular. They are all Flemish but one, who is a young English-woman not yet professed.

"Besides the Chanoine himself, who says mass daily here, there is a chaplain at each house; all the inmates who are in any

degree able, attending the services, and rarely behaving otherwise than remarkably well.

"At Cortenbergh, are received one hundred patients, of the higher class, on wonderfully moderate terms, 25*l.* per quarter securing every comfort and luxury. The greatest secrecy is maintained respecting them, and, excepting by special introduction, no person is admitted among them. Those of the town itself, or its vicinity, are never, under any circumstances, allowed to visit the wards. A special attendant, always a *religieuse*, can be devoted to the service of an individual patient, if desired. The patients are also removed from one Institution to the other, according to the season of the year, that they may enjoy the advantage of the change; and carriages are provided, in which they daily take the air. In order that their attention may not be too long fixed on any one subject, they are allowed all the various occupations in which ordinary persons employ themselves; vocal and instrumental music, drawing, fancy work, walks in the extensive grounds surrounding the Institution, and other similar *délassemens*. The poorer inmates are provided with suitable occupation in like variety.

"There is another of these Institutions under the same direction, called *Couvent de St. Anne*, near Courtrai. The arrangements are precisely similar.

"Round the *corps de bâtiment* appropriated to the *Aliénés*, runs a cloister opening with arches into the garden which belongs to them. Being fine bright weather, a great number of the patients were seated on the benches which are fixed against the wall, others on chairs, and many in the garden itself; some were occupied with needlework or lace-making, others were conversing together, and some were walking or playing; a few looked wild, and several seemed in a passive state of melancholy tranquillity.

"As we entered, we observed a little knot of the patients collected in one spot, and giving way to rather noisy demonstrations of mirth and hilarity, the cause of which proved to be the costume of a party of Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul who had come to visit the Institution, and whose large white caps, being new to them, had greatly attracted their attention, and appeared to create no small degree of merriment, in which the Sisters of Charity themselves heartily joined. Most of them nodded familiarly as we passed, and seemed pleased to be noticed or addressed. They all appeared conscious of the presence of the Mother Superior, who accompanied us, and saluted her as we walked through the various rooms. Some asked her for snuff, of which they are very fond, and held out the backs of their hands for it; as she always carries a boxful in her pocket, their requests were soon complied with. All these, she told us, were quite harmless.

"In a large room within, was another detachment under the surveillance of a Sister, sitting very quietly, occupied at different kinds of work, but chiefly lace-making. The most part of these

had quite the appearance of sane persons. They seemed gratified when we stopped to admire the result of their industry, which is sold for their own benefit. One among these, who was not employed, called to us to stop, and then asked if we did not know who her parents were, and immediately added, 'Je sais, moi, que nous serons tous jugés par Dieu après notre mort.'

"There were several patients in the infirmary; and many who were idiots, were seated in chairs with a table fixed in front, like children. The dormitories were like those of other hospitals, and two Sisters sleep in each. Those who are given to somnambulism, or who are subject to fits, have a separate dormitory. There are a number of private apartments for the pensioners who pay, and who seem to be respectable middle-class persons. The charge is very moderate. They have also a garden of their own, nicely laid out, and much more extensive than that of the ordinary inmates.

"In one of the private rooms was a melancholy case of a young girl of nineteen, one of two sisters co-heiresses to a very handsome fortune. She had been in the house twelve years, having become insane from a sudden fright when at school. She and her companions were playing at 'hide-and-seek' in a large garden, when, running into a retired corner to conceal herself, she fell into a well which had inadvertently been left uncovered, and of the existence of which she was not aware. When taken out, she was found to be in a fit, from which she never returned to consciousness.

"A Sister, who seemed to take great interest in her, was sitting with her, and said she varied very much; that sometimes she was cheerful and chatty, though quite childish, but that she was subject to periodical attacks, for some days preceding which she remained perfectly silent, immoveable, and unconscious. This, she said, was one of her *mauvais jours*,—that these fits returned more and more frequently; and the medical men were of opinion that one of them would carry her off. She sat in a fauteuil opposite us, looking fixedly, but apparently not in the least aware of our presence, and taking no notice when we addressed her. I never saw a look of such completely unmeaning vacancy.

"They are all treated with the greatest humanity and gentleness, and force is rarely if ever employed. The consequence is, that they are excessively fond of the Sisters, and seem to obey them from motives of love and gratitude. The kitchen is attended to by the Sisters. The farm and gardens are worked by the male patients, under the surveillance of keepers. Those we saw occupied in these avocations looked not only contented but interested in their employment. Two, who were sawing wood, were assisted by one of the keepers."—pp. 71-6.

The subject of insanity is so important, and of such interest, that we are induced to transcribe the following account, where some striking facts throw light on the

causes of the most painful disease which can afflict humanity.

"There is an *aumônier*, and Mass is said daily in the chapel, to which the inmates are allowed access at all times. During the services, however, for fear of interruptions, they occupy a large *tribune*, or chamber, divided off with a grating. While we were in the chapel, one of them stole quietly in, and, having signed herself with holy water, knelt before the altar. This, the Rev. Mother told me, was their constant practice; and they never misconduct themselves at any time while there, generally speaking evincing much devotional feeling.

"Of the lower class of patients, those who are sufficiently sane are employed in various ways in the *ménage*.

"A large number were occupied in washing in the *buanderie*; but the Rev. Mother told me they often did great mischief, and required so much watching, that their assistance was of very little service, and the work was only given them as an occupation, being a real trial of patience to all who were concerned with them.

"Of the second class, about forty were manufacturing lace, and appeared perfectly rational.

"One of them exhibited her work, and remarked, with some satisfaction, that when her eyesight was better she had made some much finer than that.

"This lace is all sold for their own benefit, and the proceeds, as the Rev. Mother observed, serve to supply them with such little '*douceurs*' as the charity cannot afford them.

"In another room were some making clothes for their own wear, while parties of others were amusing themselves with cards or dominoes.

"Of the upper class, many remain in their own apartments, either from choice, or because they are not fit to leave them; but about half-a-dozen were seated in an arbour, formed in their own private garden, which is very tastefully laid out. One or two were engaged in fancy work, two were conversing apparently very rationally, and another was reading. A Sister was with them. The Rev. Mother told me these were all '*personnes de considération*.'

"One case she mentioned to me among the patients of this class, was that of a lady of rank, and a very beautiful woman. She had been married at fifteen, and had had a large family, of whom six children were living. At thirty the malady had manifested itself. It grew on her by degrees, and she was now furiously and hopelessly insane. When she first came to this house she confessed regularly, attended Mass, and neglected none of her religious duties; but now she was indifferent to everything of the kind, and was even exceedingly violent at times.

"Two Sisters remain with her day and night. Her husband,

who is much attached to her, comes to see her constantly, and would make any sacrifice which could contribute to her recovery.

"There is a common dining-room for these patients, where all who are not confined to their own apartments meet for meals, unless, as in some cases, they prefer solitude.

"There is a separate kitchen for this portion of the house, of which the Sisters have the charge, as well as of the others, but are assisted by servants.

"There are several children, of whom some are what is called 'simple,' or, as they say here, '*innocent*,' and others semi-idiotic. One was a remarkably pretty child of five years old, and the pet of the house. She has three sisters, all deficient in intellect, and in a worse state than herself. The parents were first-cousins.

"Another child occupying this part of the house is exceedingly mischievous, but is not placed under restraint; indeed, force seems quite out of date in the management even of the worst cases. Another was rocking herself backwards and forwards in her chair all the time I was there; and they told me she had never ceased this movement since she first came into the house, three or four years ago, but goes on in the same way from the time she is taken up till she is put to bed.

"A third sat in the corner of the room, horribly deformed, and making the most awful grimaces and contortions imaginable.

"Among the worst cases was one of a woman who was brought in yesterday with her throat frightfully cut by her own hand. The wound had been sewn up, and it was thought she might recover.

"She was now quite rational, and, indeed, seemed to have come to her senses the moment she had committed the act. As soon as she was brought into the hospice, she herself asked for a priest. Hunger and distress were the causes of the dreadful act.

"Many of the patients belonging to this department were taking the air in the garden reserved for them, under the care of several nuns.

"Among them was a young girl of about twenty, fantastically dressed in a light-blue, loose, muslin *peignoir*. Her hair, which was very fair, was dishevelled over her shoulders; her head was crowned with flowers, and she also had garlands of flowers on her wrists; she was dancing, apparently taking her own shadow on the wall for another person. One who, the Rev. Mother told me, had a habit of catching and devouring every insect she could find, had her hands muffled; and others, remarkable for unaccountable peculiarities, were walking or sitting within the enclosure.

"Several of them made a rush for the door the moment they saw it opened to admit us, but a firm look, at the same time full of kindness, from the Rev. Mother effectually checked them.

"I understood her to say that out of 300—for the house is always full—about twenty are cured annually, and about as many

die. This is the same average as at Chanoine Maes' Institution. The percentage is less favourable than this at Salpêtrière. She told me they rarely died without a lucid interval, which, of course, is taken advantage of to administer to them the last sacraments of the Church. Besides their own *aumônier*, they are visited by the *Pères Recollets*.

"A nun sits up each night, going the rounds of the wards, and only calling up the Nursing-Sisters if necessary. One curious fact she told me, was that of their having noticed the rule of silence observed by the community, and of their having, in consequence, volunteered—though not apparently in a spirit of penance—to keep a three hours' silence daily, and, what was more surprising, they had religiously observed it. The Rev. Mother told me that, as far as her experience went, need and affliction of various kinds were the ordinary causes of insanity among the lower classes, and among the upper, for the most part, 'la lecture des mauvais livres.'"
—pp. 144-7.

The *Béguines* were the sisters of charity in the Middle Ages. Clad in a peculiar costume, they went about visiting the sick, and relieving the poor. Frequent allusion is made to them in the mediæval poems of Germany. The reader will find an interesting account of this religious congregation in the work, which the celebrated German Catholic writer, Clemens Brentano, wrote many years ago on the Sisters of Charity.*

One of the most imposing spectacles we ever beheld was the sight of the six hundred *Béguines* of Ghent, adorned with their white veils, holding lighted tapers in their hands, and chanting hymns before the Blessed Sacrament at Benediction.

This scene the author has described with his usual skill.

"The church was nearly full when I entered, and the effect was most striking. The broad stone floor appeared strewn with hillocks of snow, as the sisters knelt covered with their white *faïlles* or veils. The daylight was waning, and the vast space, only illumined by the dim lights upon the altar, had a mysterious and almost unearthly appearance. Presently the vesper-service began, and the united voices ascending in psalms of praise, added considerably to the solemn beauty and strangeness of the scene.

"Benediction being given, after the interval of a few moments, during which each nun extended her arms in the form of a cross,

* Die Barmherzigen Schwester. Coblenz, 1826.

all rose simultaneously, and folding, with most surprising rapidity, and a sudden rustling sound, their white coverings, laid them in a small square on the top of the head, and returned to their homes." —p. 161.

The following is an interesting historic sketch of this community.

"To the *Béguinage*, which stands quite alone on the other side of a bridge crossing the canal, and leading out of the town. It is inclosed within an extensive mural enceinte, and is entered by a fortress-like gateway. It might be considered a village apart, the houses which compose it standing more or less scattered round an irregular plot of green turf, in the centre of which is the chapel.

"The dwellings are very neat, being all scrupulously clean, with whitewashed walls and green doors and window-shutters, surrounded by little gardens. Some of them are small, and are occupied by not more than two or three *Béguines*; while others admit a much larger number, and in that case they are called convents, or religious communities, within the *Béguinage*. They observe a rule, and have private hours of devotion, besides those which find them in chapel.

"They come under the denomination of *Congrégations séculières*, and do not appear to make any actual vows. They are certainly not bound '*usque ad mortem*' to any of the practices they observe or the works of charity they perform, which latter are left to their own discretion. Neither does there seem to be much self-denial, nor therefore much merit, in their adoption of this mode of life; but they are interesting, inasmuch as they are a pure relic of Mediæval times, their observances having undergone no change of any kind since their first institution.

"It is generally supposed that this community and the two at Ghent, known as the '*Grand*' and '*Petit Béguinage*,' are the only specimens remaining of the numerous congregations of *Béguines* with which Flanders was once sprinkled; but this is quite a vulgar error. It is true Belgium is now the only country where *Béguines* exist; but there is scarcely a town within its precincts which has not its *Béguinage*. Some are considerably reduced as to the number of occupants, and others have had their territory invaded, and portions of it—in some few cases the whole—seized and appropriated to other uses; so that these three may rightly be considered the most perfect remnants of the original foundations, though by no means all that are worth visiting.

"Those of Malines and Antwerp, though now not boasting more than about fifty sisters, once were by far the most remarkable in Belgium; the former (about a century back) contained no fewer than 1600 *Béguines*, and at the same period there was still a very flourishing *Béguinage* at Amsterdam. It was no uncommon circum-

stance in early times to find two or more churches within their enclosures, according to the number of their inhabitants.

“ Though traced to a very early period, there still seems to hang some doubt over the origin of these communities. Some historians give them *Sainte Begghe*, or *Begga*, for their foundress, which would carry it back as far as the seventh century. Others, again, attribute their existence to Lambert le Bégue, who lived towards the end of the twelfth, and who received this sobriquet from an imperfection in his organs of speech. That which seems most probable is, that the order of *Béguines* existed under another name before the time of Lambert, but that having been reformed by him, they received and retained the name which had been given to him. Certain it is, that it was he who added the vow of celibacy to their other sacred undertakings, and enforced it both by counsel and example. Rikel, in his History of the *Béguines* of Flanders, says : ‘ *Lambertus, le Bégue, quia balbus erat, de Sancto Christophoro dicebatur ; a cujus cognomine, mulieres et puellæ quæ castè vivere proponunt, ‘Béguines’ gallicè cognominantur, quia primus extitit qui eis premium castitatis verbo et exemplo prædicavit.*’

“ It is supposed by some, that Nivelles was the spot where existed the first *Béguinage*, and that there was the *Maison Mère* from which sprung all the rest. Aubert le Mire affirms that Lambert le Bégue, who, it seems, was possessed of much wealth, founded at Liège two *congrégations*,—one of men, in 1150, and the other of *Béguines*, in 1173. This statement is confirmed by Coëns, Canon of Antwerp, who wrote in 1630, and who tells us that the former of these were popularly called by derision *coquins*, and that their originator gave them a house and a foundation : ‘ *Sidem Leodienses pios viros, quibus Lambertus noster domum et fundum concesserat, ‘Coquinos’ appellarunt.*’

“ In Belgium they at one time reached as many as 5000.

“ Louis XI. introduced them into France ; but they did not spread there to so great an extent as is supposed, having been often confounded by writers, not conversant with all their peculiarities, with the sisters of the third order of St. Francis.

“ In Germany they likewise became a body of some magnitude, but having fallen into extravagant notions, teaching that it was possible to attain to perfection in this life, to live in a state of impeccability, and to enjoy an uninterrupted sight of God,—in short, to reach so eminent a degree of contemplative sanctity, that abstinence, fasting, and obedience to the direction of mortal men were no longer necessary,—the council of Vienna, in 1113, condemned these errors, and abolished the *Béguines* as dangerous and heretical.

“ According to Père Thomassin, Philippe le Bel, who had never been very favourable to the *Béguines* in his own dominions, seized upon this pretext to abolish the order in France, although no similar accusation could be brought against them. Notwithstanding

this persecution, some of them escaped his notice, and survived in that country till the end of the sixteenth century.

"Their regulations are very simple ; but although they are not bound with the same stringency as other orders, there is a certain amount of surveillance exercised over them, and their vows are sacred as long as they last.

"There is, in each house, a prioress or mistress, without whose permission they can never go out.

"When they enter the order, they simply make their vow in the presence of the *curé*, in whose parish the *Béguinage* is situated, in these terms : 'I. N.—promise to you, my parish priest, and to the magistrates at this present or any future time being, to maintain obedience and chastity so long as I shall continue a member of this *Béguinage*.'

"The noviciate lasts three years ; at the end of which time they receive the habit. Formerly they admitted various colours in the costume ; some wearing grey, some brown, and some sky-blue. Now, however, and for more than two centuries past, they have all adopted the black dress.

"The curate of the parish is the *Superieur* ; and in deliberations on the affairs of the society no vote is carried without a council of at least eight *Béguines*."—pp. 92-5.

The following passage contains some extremely interesting anecdotes relative to the celebrated preacher, Father Lacordaire.

"On his mentioning Père Lacordaire, with whom he is of course well acquainted, I took occasion to ask what foundation there was for the story I heard last year, in Paris, of his having been banished from that city by the Emperor, on account of a sermon in which he had expressed opinions of too liberal a nature.

"He denied the statement in toto, and added, he had the best authority for his assertion ; a friend of his, who was in great favour at the French Court, having asked the Emperor the question in so many words, and his Majesty having altogether repudiated the idea. He further said, that the sermon in which the offence was reported to have been given, was maliciously twisted into that sense by an enemy of the Rev. Father, who wished to make mischief, but who was well aware that he was imputing to it a signification that was never intended. However, the Dominican Father himself admitted that Père Lacordaire was sometimes so carried away by his enthusiasm, that he actually looked '*ecstasié*,' and as if he were giving utterance to inspired thoughts—'*enfin, comme s'il ne se possédait plus*.' That on one such occasion, on a friend observing to him, 'C'était divin, ce que vous avez dit ce soir à propos de telle ou telle chose,' he answered, 'Comment ! est-ce que j'ai dit cela ? Ma foi ! Je n'en savais rien.'

"Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that he should mistrust himself, and avoid such a place as Paris, where there would naturally be so many, jealous of his great reputation, ready to misinterpret his words and to malign his intentions.

"He described Père Lacordaire's preaching as something totally unimaginable. One day, when discoursing on the Blessed Trinity, he remembered to have seen him so *entraîné* by his subject, that the people he was addressing, awed and overcome by what they saw and heard, and altogether forgetting where they were, rose *en masse*, exclaiming, with one voice, '*Il voit Dieu ! il voit Dieu !*' The effect was thrilling, and none who witnessed the scene could ever forget it.

"At another time, when holding forth on the doctrine of the Holy Sacrifice, he began by a detailed statement of all the objections that had ever been made against it, and laid them down with so much perspicuity and power, that the audience, taken by surprise, exhibited visible signs of alarm and anxiety ; and one man, more shaken than the rest, cried out, '*Mon Père prenez garde ; vous n'en sortirez pas, je vous dis, vous n'en sortirez pas.*' Meantime, this extraordinary man, turning to the other side of the argument, brought forward the Catholic doctrine with such a flow of unanswerable lucidity and eloquence, that he completely overturned all he had before advanced, and the audience, unable to restrain their admiration for his powers, welcomed his conclusion with a loud and hearty burst of applause."—p. 181-2.

We ourselves had once the happiness of hearing this great Christian orator ; but it was in the outset of his career. It was in a small, household chapel, where not upwards of twenty persons were assembled, and where he gave us a short extemporaneous discourse. The fine modulations of his voice, the fire that occasionally flashed from his eye, the burning words that darted from his lips, bespoke the great preacher. He was evidently making an effort to restrain his feelings, and to curb his fancy, like an eagle within his cage.

But we little thought then that the youthful orator was destined to reach such a pinnacle of fame.

How highly he has been esteemed by the most illustrious of his contemporaries, may be gathered from the single fact, that on one occasion M. de Chateaubriand and M. Berryer clambered on the roof of the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, to get in at a window, in order to hear one of his discourses.

Note to the Article entitled "The present Catholic Dangers," in the Number for December 1856.

The Editor of the *Dublin Review*, feels it his duty to add a note to this article, in consequence of remarks upon it in the *Rambler* for February. Had these been confined to a contradiction however energetic of the facts stated in the *Review*, or to a denial of the meaning attributed to the writers in the *Rambler* by it, or to any other legitimate criticism on our article, the Editor would not have thought of renewing a controversy, painful from the beginning. But the writer of "the *Rambler* and the *Dublin Review*," the critique to which we allude, has allowed himself a line of censure, not usual among those who mutually respect each other, even when they feel it a duty to find fault. And it is really a vindication of our *moral*, rather than of our literary, character that we now undertake.

1. The article in the *Dublin Review* extends to about 30 pages; yet the Editor defies any one to find a single expression which attributes to the writers criticised in it, the slightest wicked or malicious intention, or a word or thought which is incompatible with virtue in life or principle. They are spoken of as mistaken certainly in their views, and in their manner of expressing them: but they are not treated as guilty of what would be sin.

The article in the *Rambler* occupies four pages, and in the course of it, applies the following expressions to that article, and by implication to its writer. (P. 140.) "Unjust and uncharitable," "misrepresentation;" (P. 142.) "misrepresentation, again," "untrue accusation," "bitter charge," "ironical admission," "representing a thing to be what it is not," "such an interpretation of thoughts, as is both invidious and false," "unfairly treating," "insinuating that their *black* souls delighted in croaking;" (P. 143.) "perverting meaning," "raking up forgotten controversies," "misrepresentation and cutting irony," "personality and perversion of truth;" (P. 144.) "censuring in a manner to which charity forbids them to make the obvious reply," "holding them up to the ridicule of their brethren, as busybodies—half-protestants,—croakers—supine catholics."

It is obvious that the accusations here made are of positive sins and crimes—"perversion of truth—untrue accusation—misrepresentation—holding up to ridicule &c." No one guilty of these things could presume to approach any sacrament, except the one wherein he would be enjoined to make reparation. For throughout the article there is not one palliating phrase, excusing from deliberate and knowing commission of all those grievous crimes; not one hope expressed that there has been a blinding by prejudice, or a false

zeal, or ignorance; not one kind excuse on the ground of good motives, or intentions. In fine, the words, "error, mistake, misunderstanding, misinterpretation," or such like, are never once applied to the writer, but rather "misrepresentation, perversion of truth, representing a thing to be what it is not."

The Editor boasts that this style of criticism will not prevail among Catholics, even if it may be thought to suit elsewhere; but that, however widely apart their opinions may be, they will refrain from attribution, to their opponents, of malicious, wicked, and sinful conduct. And this seems the more necessary, because the limited number of writers, in the catholic body, makes the veil which disguises personality very transparent, in our few periodicals.

2. The writer in the *Rambler* proceeds to explain its article. But while he accepts with pleasure all the explanations that are offered, the Editor feels obliged to say, that he has never met a single individual who understood the article as now explained, nor indeed otherwise than as it was interpreted by the *Review*. Much sorrow and even indignation had been felt and expressed, by those who did believe, on reading the *Rambler*, that the literary and intellectual capacity of a portion of the catholic body was therein disparaged. The Editor confesses that even yet, the simple reading of the original passages, justifies that mistaken conclusion.

3. The Editor must deny the assertion that, because the *Rambler* avowed its "inability to write in a masterly manner," "thereupon the Dublin reviewer accuses" its writers, "of charging the 'catholic public with an incapacity of appreciating their productions.'" (P. 141.) Surely not. This confession was not the foundation on which our Reviewer grounded his charge. It was upon very different expressions which the Editor wishes not further to quote.

4. Let us say one word on the use of the phrase "little remnant of catholics in England." It is a scriptural one, borrowed from passages that allude to the few scattered persons or families remaining behind, after the Jewish nation had been carried away into captivity; to those who were like the bunches of grapes left here and there, after the vintage. (Is. xi. 11. 16. xxiv. 13. Jer. xlv. 14.) Hence an analogy not unnatural has caused that word to be applied to the catholics whom persecution similarly spared: and probably nine readers out of ten would so understand it.

5. The Editor thinks it due to the *Review* to observe, that no one, reading the rejoinder of the *Rambler*, would be led to suppose, that in the Article to which it refers there was a single word of kindness about converts, or any estimation of their value and services to religion: nay, still less, that there was a single friendly expression about the *Rambler*, and even of articles in the very number criticised. Is this handsome? Is this a generous mode of dealing with a fellow-labourer in the common field? It is but too probable, that if any one has become acquainted with our article only from the *Rambler's* pages, he will have come to the conclusion,

that it was throughout an ugly, bitter, spiteful attack on a convert party, without a drop of kindness, or a word of sympathy. It was not so: and surely one word of acknowledgement of a contrary impression would have been graceful and true. May it not be asked, if in the article of the *Rambler*, there is *one* kind, or even courteous expression, towards us, or towards any one?

6. On the contrary there are two charges, to which the Editor feels compelled to reply. The first, several times repeated, is of irony, "cutting irony," in speaking of the writer in the *Rambler*, when he described what he and his fellow-labourers were able to do. He does not believe that the readers of the *Review* took it as such. In case any did, we have the most solemn assurance of the writer of the article, that nothing was further from his mind and meaning than irony, in what he wrote of them, and that he did, and does sincerely believe them to be possessed of the powers and acquirements, that he considered they claimed for themselves, though he thought them to be misapplied.

7. The most painful and unwarrantable charge of all, however, is that of having attacked those writers personally. It is contained in the following passage.

"There is another sentence of the *D. R.* which we can scarcely trust ourselves to quote: 'the writers (of the *R.*) do not attempt to throw themselves into the true position of Catholics. *They stand aloof, and do not share the real burden of Catholic labour.*' Does the reviewer mean this as an attack upon us as writers, or as private persons?"

Surely when one speaks of "the writers" in a periodical, he must naturally be supposed to speak of them "as writers." In this case certainly the author was ignorant who compose the staff of the *Rambler*. For in fact, between the publication of our article and that of its criticism, it was thought advisable to make known through the papers, that the editorship had changed hands; and this notice was repeated at the end of this very February number; though no names were mentioned. The fact is, that the writer of our article did not know of such a change being possible; for he had not the remotest idea, nor has he yet, of who the editor was when he wrote; that is, he who has given back his wand of office to its original wielder. How then could he have even dreamt of attacking the gentlemen of the *Rambler*, "as private persons?" But the whole of this strange dilemma will disappear if the entire passage be considered; and the Editor of the *Dublin Review* presumes to think, that this course would have been the fairer, because some one, on behalf of the *Rambler*, insinuated in a newspaper communication, that the *Dublin Review* had given a mutilated quotation, and thus led to misunderstanding of its meaning. Removing, therefore, the *Rambler's* italics, the whole passage runs thus:—

"It (the *R.*) may not indeed have exercised any practical influence, nor led public opinion amongst us. But the reason of that is

obvious, and may be found in the very paragraph under consideration. Its writers do not attempt to throw themselves into the true position of catholics. They stand aloof, and do not share the true burthen of catholic labour. They lecture admirably, criticise, find imperfections in what is done; give excellent theoretical instruction on our duties as catholics. But they address us rather as a speaker does from the hustings, from without and above the crowd addressed."

When embedded in its context, and reduced to common type, does the sentence referred to strike the reader as one which a public writer can "scarcely trust himself to quote," because he thinks it possibly meant as an attack on him not as a writer, but as a private person? Does not what goes before the formidable sentence speak of "it," not of "them?" Is not the reader referred to the paragraph in hand for explanation of what is meant by "standing aloof?" and what has that to do with the private life and conversation of the writers? Is not what follows, sufficient to show that it is as lecturers, critics, and *theoretical* instructors that they are spoken of? and does not the comparison with a speaker from the hustings show that their public capacity is alone alluded to?

The Editor will not enter into an explanation, or justification of the faults meant to be found; for it would lead to another, and a useless, controversy. He will only remark with regret, that this becomes the concluding grievance of the *Rambler*. It goes on to say:

"In the second case" (i.e. if he allude to us as private persons) "we beg to ask, what the writer knows of our private life?" (Answer, "nothing.") "and if he knows about it, what right has he to violate its secrets in the pages of a Review?" (Ans. "none.") "If the charge is false, modesty forbids us to expose its falsehood." (Ans. "it has not been made.") "If it is true, surely charity *ought to have* prevented its publication in this form." We have added the italics to show how cleverly, by a series of dilemmas, the positive conclusion is reached, that the sentence above quoted *was* meant for an attack on the personal, private, life of the writers in the *Rambler*!

The Editor leaves others to pass sentence on this mode of reasoning. But after it, was the *Rambler* justified at the close of the article, in assuming one side of its dilemma as proved, and denouncing our writer (with the insinuation that it knows who he is) as one who has held up its writers to ridicule "as such supine Catholics that they refuse to take their place in the body among their brethren, or to bear their fair share of their burdens?"

Let us hope that a better temper, and a kindlier tone will pervade any future strictures in our able "contemporary;" though the Editor of the *D. R.* with every friendly feeling assures it, that, come what may from it, this subject of so much irritation will not again be handled in his pages.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Poems*; by Frederick William Faber, D.D. Second edition. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby, 1857.

We have always known that Father Faber must be a poet by nature. No one could read his works without perceiving what a flood of light and beauty they derive from the truly powerful imagination, which like all his other good gifts he has consecrated to the Divine service. They are all tinged with it; sometimes in style partaking of the defects which lively fancy brings with it. Often the same fancy,—inspiring deeper thoughts,—breaks out into flashes of striking grandeur. We will give but two instances of our meaning, taken from his most popular works. What awful imagery is in this verse from his hymn upon “True Love.”

“The majesty of God ne’er broke
On them like fire at night,
Flooding their stricken souls, while they
Lay trembling in the light.”

Again, in the “All for Jesus,” how vividly do the following words bring out the holy thought of the writer, lighting it up with words of fire.

“The more we know of God, the more our complacency increases; because, to fill our minds and engross us, the simple thought of God must be multiplied and repeated from a thousand objects. It is like the sun lighting up a mountain chain. He is not multiplied himself, but as his golden magnificence lights up peak after peak, we become more and more surrounded by his effulgence. It is thus with God: each attribute to which we give a name, though His attributes are in truth His simple self, is to us a separate height crowned and glowing with His glory, and so reflecting Him upon our souls; while the altitude of nameless perfections, for which we have neither words, standards, are to us like the consciousness of the tops which are beyond our ken, but in that furnace of golden light, and which is circumfused over earth, and

Those who cannot feel with the Father will still follow him with their fancy ; for he has the true power of genius, to excite as well as to direct the minds of others. It so happened, however, that Father Faber's "Poems" were unknown to us. Although long before the public, it appears that the volume has been for some time out of print, and this new edition, containing a selection and reprint of his poetical works, was to us a surprise as well as a pleasure. We would gladly give many extracts to invite others to share with us in our enjoyment of them, but we have not space to do them justice. What tempt us most are the marvellous pictures of natural beauty of which Dr. Faber has a keen appreciation ; not merely with the eye, but with every sense he has drunk in the glory and the charm of nature, and he has studied her in all her fairest scenes ; his wood-painting is exquisite, and as simple as it is elegant. We must give as a specimen the following description, which many will recognize.

" We came unto a river's mouth
Which hath its secret fountains
Away in the unpeopled south,
Among unpeopled mountains.
A sultry haze upon the sea,
And long low shore, lay heavily.
A bar of rocks stretched east and west
The frothy shadows under,
On which the chafing billows pressed
And broke in muffled thunder ;
And further up the misty land
The waves foamed idly on the sand ;
And on the sandbanks in the bay
Sea-dogs and seals together lay ;
As though the hot mist of noon were sweet
After the deep's cold gloom,
They slept like the dogs at the marble feet
Of a Templar on his tomb.
All was still as a place of the dead,
Not a mountain lifts his far-off head,
Not an outline blue was seen.
Grass was not there, nor shady trees,
Not a branch nor a blade of green,
But a row of seaside villages
With low sand hills between.
The bar is bare where the white waves sound,
And tide and stream are quivering round,
But the bark hath crossed, for the river bound.

"What is distance but nature's best poem, that sings
As it lengthens its flight, throwing off from its wings
The most magical softness, which veils and discloses,
Bringing out, filling up, wheresoe'er it reposes ?

"It is distance which robes far and near with their tints,
Excites by concealing, and heightens by hints,
On earth blends green forests and indigo mountains—
And above presses star-worlds to single light fountains.

* * * * *

"He watched giant systems break up, and re-form,
Like nations renewed by a popular storm :
It was fearful to see how they cracked, swang asunder
And closed up in new systems of order and wonder.

"He beheld with glad terror our own Milky Way,
At its north and south poles self-unrivet, out-sway,
And some world-groups heave anchor, like icebergs sublime,
Thawed out in the lapse of unwritable time.

"So the clouds of Magellan drifted off and dipped down
Towards earth, as a cloud settles over a town,
Mighty realms of white worlds, their soft tremulous shining
With the sunsets of earth most fraternally twining."—

pp. 546-548.

The wanderer descends to earth, viewing all the secrets of nature in her most profound recesses, and these marvels are touched upon with such rapidity and power, and interspersed with passages of such lovely descriptive poetry, that we are carried away by the brilliancy of the narrative. At length satiated with material beauty, Prince Amadis, yielding to human affection, loses his transcendental powers, to find happiness in human duties and affections. But we must conclude a notice which after all must be needless, where the name of the author is so great a recommendation.

II.—*Tales and Legends from History.* Burns and Lambert, 1857.

This work may be considered as forming part of a series with the collection of "Catholic Legends and Stories" already published. Their title of "Tales from History" asserts merely that the stories have a distinct historical foundation, but they belong to the history of the Church, and are taken from the rich stores of her traditions. They are most interesting—incidents connected with the foun-

dation of famous monasteries, or their preservation in troubled times; anecdotes of the lives of the obscure glorious artists whose works abide in the House of God; wonderful interpositions of Providence at different times, and in different countries; we need say no more to indicate the abundance of the source from whence these Legends have been taken, and we must say that the selection is admirable. In all of them there is a deep spirituality, engrafted upon the simple manners of the heroic ages, which gives them a strong hold on the imagination. The style also of the narrations deserves great praise, it neither overloads the subject, nor degrades it by triviality, but has an easy, somewhat stately simplicity that could not be improved.

III.—*The Divine Education of the Church and Modern Experiments.*

By Francis Herbert Nash, author of the "Scriptural Idea of Faith." London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1857.

The staple of religious controversy must always be the same, its mode of treatment is fortunately as various as the minds of those who treat of it, or the objections it has to contend with. We have seldom met with a work more acute or powerfully reasoned than the one before us. Written by a man of education, who evidently addresses himself to the same class: it is yet not a learned book, the chief quotations are from the Bible itself, and from Butler's Analogy, with which the author has fortified his chain of argument. Quotations, however, are not numerous; the force of the book lies in the sagacity with which the writer has fathomed the objections of his opponents, his admirable and somewhat original manner of meeting them, and the light vigorous style which gives force to his arguments, and allures on even those to whom the subject long hackneyed offers no attraction. We wish that the work may be extensively known and read, considering it likely to be eminently useful.

IV.—*The Catholic Church in the United States. A Sketch of its Ecclesiastical History.* By Henry de Courcy. Translated and enlarged by John Gilmary Shea. New York: Dana, 1856.

Mr. Shea's "Ecclesiastical H
—partly original, partly transla 1

De Courcy—is a valuable contribution to the History of Catholicity in America. We are already indebted to Mr. Shea for more than one interesting publication on the different branches of this fertile subject. His “History of the Catholic Missions to the Indian Tribes of North America,” is still fresh in the memory of our readers; and the companion volume on the History of the Organization of the Church within the Circle of Civilization in America, if it be wanting in the romantic interest which characterizes many portions of the former narrative, is certainly a most important chapter in the general annals of the Christian Church.

Its main interest, of course, must lie among the Catholics of America. But we need hardly say that in America English, and still more Irish Catholics, must always regard themselves as almost at home. And even independently of the connection of blood and of religion which must ever subsist between us, the subject is in itself eminently interesting.

We have read Mr. Shea’s volume with much interest, and we commend it to our readers as the only source of information with which we are acquainted on a subject the importance of which is every day increasing.

V.—*Guide for Passing Holily the Time of Pentecost.* By F. Avrillon. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

2. *Guide for Passing Holily the Octave of Corpus Christi.* By F. Avrillon. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

These translations are made from the editions published at Tours, with episcopal approbation, in 1848. They cannot fail to be acceptable to the pious Catholic during the holy seasons for which they are intended. F. Avrillon’s Guides for Advent and Lent were translated several years ago by Dr. Pusey; but we trust we may soon have Catholic translations of these admirable works.

VI.—*A School History of the United States, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* By John G. Shea. New York, Dunigan.

The title of this little work indicates its character; it is a *school* history, the whole of which might be condensed into brief answers to the questions appended in foot notes for the examination of young people. It is just to the Catholics, not grossly unfair to the English, and clear, as far as such a compendium can well be so.

VII.—*Theophania* : or a Scriptural View of the Manifestation of the Logos, or Pre-Existent Messiah, as Contradistinguished from Angelic Personation of the Deity. By Twinrock Elmlight, Esq. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

Few questions connected with the relations between the Old and New Covenants have been more warmly discussed than those relating to the Theophany. In the various instances recorded in the old Scripture of Divine communications with men, or of Divine manifestations through some external agency, the question has been raised whether the Presence thus accorded to man is to be regarded as a Personal Presence of the Logos, or as a personation of the Deity by an angel, constituted for the time the bearer of the Almighty Will to man. At first sight the question may seem to be one of pure exegesis, but like many subjects in themselves polemically indifferent, it has received a doctrinal significance from the controversies upon which it has been made to bear.

On the one hand, the acts of reverence and worship which the scripture describes as rendered to the apparition in the several instances which it records, have led Protestants to shrink from the hypothesis that the object of such worship could have been an angel, lest such an admission should embarrass them in the discussion of the Invocation of Saints in the New Law.

On the other the hypothesis which explains all those apparitions as personal manifestations of the Logos has been felt in some instances, (in which the office seems to be described as purely ministerial and subordinate,) to give a countenance to the Arian theory of a pre-existent but subordinate Logos.

Protestant commentators have been much embarrassed by these conflicting considerations ; but on the whole the fear of Popery has prevailed, and the whole weight of authority has been in favour of the opinion which regards those manifestations in the light of a Personal Presence of the Almighty.

To the discussion of this interesting question the author of the *Theophania* has addressed himself with singular industry and erudition. Few Protestant commentators or critics of any eminence have escaped him. He now balances between the two classes of

Catholic impartiality; and in the examination of each particular instance, he exhibits an amount of biblical learning, of familiarity with the sacred text, and with all the manifold sources of sacred criticism, which we have seldom seen surpassed. Even as a purely exegetical treatise, therefore, the *Theophania* is a work of much value; but the author has given to it great additional interest by the polemical use to which he constantly turns his large and various reading, and by the numerous illustrations of general modern controversy which he draws from the particular subjects which he has occasion to discuss.*

Most of the subjects which are considered in the *Theophania* are matters of free criticism; nor do we in all cases go with the author either in the view which he has adopted, or in the arguments by which he seeks to uphold it. But his work displays so much research, and in many cases so much originality, that even when the reader feels that he cannot follow it, it can seldom fail to prove a source at once of interest and of instruction.

VIII.—*Fables Nouvelles, par Le Chevalier de Chatelain.* 2nd Edition. London, Whittaker, 1856.

These fables are really very clever, full of spirit and humour. They remind us of La Fontaine, whom the Author has imitated, although not servilely. The metre and the style of the Fables resemble La Fontaine, above all they are alike in the power with which he has handled the French language; he has pressed into its service many words and phrases, which certainly would not find favour with the "Academie," and he has done so at some sacrifice of that smooth polish which only was orthodox with that Institution. But for this, the flexibility, spirit and richness of his versification, are an abundant compensation. In matter, M. de Chatelain is more ambitious than "le bon-homme" La Fontaine; he is a satirist and a politician, and has honoured our English politics with a degree of party spirit, and a heartiness of abuse, that surprised us in a foreigner. But M. de Chatelain has lived long in England, and is well acquainted with the country.

* We would refer particularly to a very learned critical discussion of the well-known text, Hebrews xi. 21, pp. 554, and foll.

IX.—*The Catholic Child's Magazine.* London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

This little magazine for Catholic children supplies a want that has long been felt by managers of schools and heads of families. It is published twice a month, and the matter is well selected. The Catholic lady who commenced the undertaking deserves our acknowledgments for her zeal and enterprise, and we trust her endeavours to establish a magazine for Catholic children will meet with success.

X.—*The Roman Catacombs, or some Account of the Early Christians in Rome.* By the Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, M. A., Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London, Dolman, 1857.

There are few of our readers who may not derive information from this account of the Catacombs ; much as has been said and written concerning them. It is the work of a man who has not only diligently studied all the best authorities upon the subject, but who has repeatedly and carefully visited these venerable cemeteries. During this zealous study Mr. Northcote became more deeply impressed with the importance, in every point of view, of a more accurate, and above all, of a more general knowledge of these sacred relics of primitive Christianity : and certainly it would seem as if it were the Will of Divine Providence that the Catacombs should now obtain that importance which has always been felt to attach to them, and should tend to diffuse the faith in the last ages of Christianity, of which they were the asylums and the depositaries in its infancy. New excavations and discoveries are being carried on by his Holiness Pius IX., and Cardinal Wiseman has given the first popular impetus upon this new road to learning and devotion. His exquisite 'Fabiola' "has effectually destroyed that indifference to the subject on the part of English visitors to Rome, of which (Mr. Northcote tells us,) he had previously complained." Multitudes of Protestants, as well as Catholics, now visit the Catacombs, with Fabiola in their hands, from which we may judge that their curiosity arises from no unkindly feelings. To supply these enquirers with accurate practical information is the object of the present work, and the Author has perfectly fulfilled it. To our-

selves the most interesting part of the work is the complete refutation of the common notion that the Catacombs were the general burial places of Rome, of which the persecuted Christians availed themselves. This is a sad derogation from their sanctity. They were the consecrated work of Christians, their refuge, their Church, their resting-place, to be approached by us with filial reverence as well as holy awe.

- XI.—1. *The Blakes and Flanagans*. A Tale of Irish Life in the United States. By Mrs. J. Sadlier. New York: Sadlier, 1856.
2. *Well! Well!* a Tale founded on Fact. By M. A. Wallace. New York: Sadlier, 1856.
3. *Ravellings from the Web of Life*. By Grandfather Greenway. New York: Sadlier, 1855.

The necessities of space compel us to include in one common recommendation these three interesting publications of the Messrs. Sadlier's press. Indeed, although the particular subject of each is specifically different; the first being intended mainly to illustrate Irish life in the United States; the second to explain the social condition of Catholics as such in America, and the third being a tale of more general interest; yet from the community of spirit and of tone which pervades them, they may not inaptly be classed together as emanations of one common movement. We have read them all, especially Mrs. Sadlier's tale, with much interest.

We congratulate our American friends on the new evidences of literary progress which every year brings with it. The Catholic literature of America, young as it is, has one of the best and surest signs of vitality;—it is of native growth; it has sprung from the very necessities of the position of the Catholic body in America. We may add that it possesses also the sound elements of study and permanent popularity: it has adapted itself to the wants as well as to the feelings of the community which it represents.

XII.—*The History and Conquests of the Saracens.* By Edward A. Freeman, M. A. London, Parker, 1856.

This sketch of the history of the Mahommedan power, was originally delivered in lectures to the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, which have been enlarged and revised by the Author. In its present form it is useful, as a rapid bird's-eye view of a portion of history not very generally studied. We object to some of Mr. Freeman's principles, his judgment of the character of Mohammed is far too favourable. Pride—whether temporal or spiritual—is no sin in the eyes of Protestants, and Mr. Freeman leaves it entirely out of view while dilating upon the “moral virtues” assumed at his first outset by this man, who may be considered the very incarnation of pride in every kind.

Mr. Freeman admits that of all the forms of error, Mahommedanism has been most completely antagonistic to Christianity. Such a fact should have enlightened him as to the real character of the man who originated such a system: nor can we help feeling that there is something *ultra* liberal in the extenuating apologies with which he treats of Mahommed's subsequent career, and of the hideous results of his teaching.

XIII.—*Eastern Hospitals and English Nurses*, by a Lady Volunteer. Third Edition. London; Hurst and Blackett, 1857.

In commenting upon a work which has in so short a time reached its third edition, we must be supposed only to record our own approval of a book which the public has already judged, and appreciated. This narrative has indeed been welcomed with an eagerness greater than was deserved by its inherent merits: nor can this be wondered at, when we carry back our thoughts to the time of its publication. The Eastern Hospitals!—how few in the British Islands heard those words without a thrill of interest. From the sorrowful, or grateful feelings of those whose dearest relatives have been lost sight of within those walls, or had hardly and painfully emerged from them; there arose an eager conflict of opinion, growing into party war; and heavy charges were fiercely repelled, and accusations were bandied to and fro, all the more

bitterly from the increasing difficulty of finding where justly to fix the blame, which no casuistry could conceal, and which no repentance had blotted out. In the tumult of opinion, the going out of ladies to undertake or superintend the nursing of the Hospitals, became the subject of much angry discussion. It marks the vast interval that separates Catholics and Protestants in their ideas, when we find that the duty which Catholic ladies have performed for centuries, completely and heroically,—yet in so simple, steady and practical a manner as to leave it still in the rank of ordinary duties ;—should have excited such a ferment when undertaken by Protestants ; on the one hand coarse, unmannerly contemptuous objections, on the other flattery so fulsome that the ears of the good ladies themselves, had they heard it, must have tingled with annoyance. The same uncertainty of feeling seems to have actuated the treatment they received in the East. Some of the Catholic Sisters on their first arrival at Scutari, had difficulty in procuring needful food, or a place where to lay their heads, so little care was taken for them. From the 18th of December to the end of January, 47 women eager for employment were kept idle, while in the crowded Hospitals there were but 12 cooks for upwards of 3000 sick ; and our readers remember the statements as to the difficulty of obtaining the necessary diets for which this amongst other excuses was alleged. Afterwards the services of the ladies were better appreciated ; and then the writer of the present work had “half of corridor A, the whole of B, half C, the whole of I, on the third story, and all the wards leading out of these corridors ; in each corridor there were 15 wards, except in No. 1. where there were only six,”—in all about 1000 men—assigned to herself, one other lady, and a single nurse ;—clearly, more work than they *could* properly get through. From first to last there was the same uncertainty as to the disposal of these ladies ; whether they were to go there or stay here ; where they were most wanted, or whether wanted at all, and what in general was to become of them, seemed to be at the disposal either of the Doctors, or of Miss Nightingale, or of their own choice, or of Lady Stratford de Redcliffe—or of chance. Under these trials however, and many more which our authoress rather indicates than complains of, the ladies continued to fulfil their duties bravely and patiently ; and they

resigned them with a dignified simplicity alike remarkable in those whom their country was pleased to honour, as in those whom she was pleased to neglect. One of these ladies has now given to the public a narrative of her own personal experience. Her object in doing so would seem to have been to enforce upon women at home the duty of personal care of the sick and desolate; and to advocate a charity of which she has seen the necessity. Perhaps also to do justice to many good qualities of the brave men to whom she and her companions were so happy as to have been of service; and in this aim she has well succeeded. Her account of the management of the Hospitals is necessarily limited. For as she says,

"It seems impossible to describe Scutari Hospital at this time. Far abler pens have tried, and all, in some measure failed; for what an eye-witness saw was past description; even those who read the harrowing accounts in the 'Times' and elsewhere, could not have imagined the full horror of the reality. As we passed the corridors, we asked ourselves if it were not a terrible dream. When we woke in the morning, our hearts sank down at the thought of the woe we must witness during the day. At night we lay down wearied beyond expression; but not so much from physical fatigue, though that was great, as from the sickness of heart occasioned by living amidst such a mass of hopeless suffering. On all sides prevailed the utmost confusion—whose fault it was I cannot tell—clear heads have tried in vain to discover this: probably the blame should have been shared by all the departments of the hospital."—p. 40.

The tenor of the work is throughout the same.

The writer makes few personal charges; but her observations sufficiently indicate the extent and the nature of the mischief. "Extravagance seemed to be the great bugbear of our Eastern Hospitals."—p. 42. "Amid all the confusion and distress of Scutari Hospital, military discipline was never lost sight of, and an infringement of one of its smallest observances was worse than letting twenty men die from neglect."—p. 47. "To have plenty of articles in store 'nicely packed' seemed to be the highest point of ambition at Balaklava."—Such hints as these are interspersed amongst graver complaints, such as of clean linen unattainable, and fevered patients denied a drink, because there were no means for boiling water, so unwholesome that *unboiled* it produced disease. No

fires, bad stores, imperfect cooking, endless signing and countersigning orders and requisitions before the least comfort, or almost necessary could be obtained? Alas, it is a grievous history; it is scarcely a consolation when at length we find the Hospitals becoming models of order and plenty. For how many a valued life the improvement came too late! Peace be with them! and all honour to their memories;—those who mourn them must seek comfort in deeper considerations than we need here suggest. We must turn to the brighter aspects of the scene, and it has many. We rejoice in the first place to find here another testimonial to the humanity and zeal of the *army* surgeons.

“Severe things have been said of the medical department of the army; and its members were, apparently, so despised that their work was taken from them in some measure, and put into the hands of civilians. No doubt some of the heads of the departments, who had grown old under the old system of military hospitals, and were unable to realise the necessity of a prompt and immediate change, were obstinate and hard-hearted; no doubt, among such a large body of men, many young and careless ones, unfitted for the awfully responsible charge then placed in their hands, were to be found; but in condemning such, the merits of others should not be overlooked—most ungrateful were it, if the nurses should omit recording their experience of the much-dreaded ‘army surgeons,’ so misrepresented had this class of men been, that it was with far more fear of them than of the horrors of hospital life that the ladies entered the hospital. They were told to expect rebuffs, discouragements, and even insults. During a year’s residence among them, the writer and all her companions never experienced from any army surgeon other than assistance, encouragement, and gentlemanly treatment, and from many of them the most cordial kindness.”—p. 75.

Throughout the narrative instances are given which support these assertions, showing the surgeons, with rare exceptions, to have worked with as much courage as skill, making astonishing efforts to overcome the disadvantages under which they found themselves. The writer will scarcely admit any exceptions in the tribute of admiration she pays to the poor patients themselves; and certainly the many traits she brings forward of their brave patience under suffering, their gentleness, their amenity to all good influences, their *gentlemanliness* when properly treated, induce us fully to sympathise in her feelings. How great will be the satisfaction to many of our

readers to know that they themselves were instrumental in procuring needful comforts for these their brave and chivalrous defenders; they will find it here confirmed to them beyond contradiction; that the fund raised by public gratitude was not only required, but reached its destination, and was well and promptly applied by the men who undertook its distribution, and who were *not* unequal to the task they undertook. "Of course, in Turkey, there were all sorts of difficulties in the way of procuring the usual comforts for the sick; and up to this time every one, excepting the 'Times' Commissioner, looked upon a difficulty as an impossibility." p. 181.

Elsewhere she says—

"There were other visitors to the hospital, who paid their visits once a fortnight or so, attended by a long train of authorities; and though doubtless they were meant for good, yet it was impossible for them to gain a knowledge of the real wants of the hospital, or the sick equal to that gained by Mr. Stow. Great was my astonishment upon being told one day by a distinguished lady, that the 'Times' commissioner was a 'dangerous person;' I made no answer to the remark.

"Living as we then were, amid scenes of sickness and death, tending the wasted forms of those whom want and neglect had brought to this dire extremity—seeing, as we *hourly* did, the flower of the British army cut down in the prime of their youth and strength, finding those cherished in the hearts of their country, lacking daily the common comforts provided for the sick in English hospitals—my heart was too sad and weary to enter into any controversy about the authorities and the 'Times' commissioner; I only knew this—one let the men die for want of things—the other provided them; the one *talked*, and the other *acted*. I could not help thinking how little it signified to us where the things came from, so that we had them for the sick. Therefore, I went straight to the 'dangerous person' who was pacing up and down the barrack-yard, caring very little what people thought of him, and laid a list of our present wants before him.

" 'These things are promised,' I said, 'but we shall have to wait very long for them, even if we do get them at all.' Mr. Stow wrote them down in his notebook; ere twenty-four hours had elapsed, they were in our possession. * * *

"The last visit Mr. Stow paid us was when the fruit was just coming into season, strawberries especially. We told him how the men longed for them, and he gave us leave to buy as many as we wanted. The new Purveyor-in-chief being then in Mr. Stow seemed to feel his services were no longer wanted to the same extent. He said he knew Mr. Robertson would

every requisite was furnished, and that matters would soon be on a different footing."—p. 91.

And accordingly of Mr. Robertson's ability and kindness and of the improvements he effected many grateful acknowledgments are made. But to Catholics the great and crowning satisfaction must ever be the reflection, that spiritual help was not wanting to our soldiers, and that to many this time of suffering was also one of great mercy.

"The improvement among the Catholics in Koulali was very great. The soldiers had been much neglected, and many had yielded to temptation, contracted evil habits, and forgotten their religion; but the efforts made by the priests and nuns were blessed. Those who had lived for years in sin, once more sought their Saviour—those whose last remembrance of prayers and sacraments had been in days gone by, in the shelter of their homes, now returned to the God of their youth.

"Were these pages the fitting place, many a tale might be told of such; but they are not. It will, however, interest Catholics to hear that the Sisters of Mercy had the satisfaction of knowing, that no member of their church ever left the hospitals of Koulali without receiving the Sacraments, nor did any die without their consolations."—p. 250.

Of the Catholic nuns there seems to have been but one opinion possible, whether it was the *Sœurs de la Charité*, or the Sisters of Mercy, Irish or English; in all circumstances and at every time, their conduct was so up to the mark, so true to the highest point of our expectations, that their names are never introduced but to our entire satisfaction. Our authoress often came in contact with the Sisters of Charity, although their services were not given to the English Army. Two of them were received on board ship at Gallipoli, where the French officers and soldiers evidently looked upon them as their exclusive property, and treated them with affectionate respect. Afterwards the authoress was enabled to see the *Maison Notre Dame de la Providence* established at Galata, by the Sisters of Charity, of which she says that it is in itself a wonder. "Persons of all nations come here to ask information on various points; French officers come about their soldiers' wants. Here through the poor of all descriptions. Every body in trouble, distress, or perplexity seems to come here to be relieved," p. 172. Here the nuns have

store-rooms, a dispensary, an asylum of orphans, schools for all classes ; from this the Sisters go out over all Turkey ; and they have now won the respect of even this unchristian land. On one occasion when a fire broke out in its vicinity, directions were instantly given by the Turkish authorities to save the convent, even though half a street were to be lost in consequence. But all the world knows the Sisters of Charity, and their wonderful organization. With the Sisters of Mercy it was different ; their duties had hitherto lain in another direction ; yet when the emergency came they were equal to it, not in will only or in charity, but in ability. "Sister M—— I—— was an excellent accountant. It was a pleasure to look at her books, and they gained great commendation when they went into the purveyor's office to be checked," p. 196. Their stores were considered to be in the most beautiful order, their cooking the most excellent ; "for," says our authoress modestly, "the Sisters' long experience in all matters concerning the care of the poor and sick, gave them a great superiority over us ; but they were ever ready to shew us their method, and to enter into our difficulties, which in our extra diet kitchen in Turkey, were not few," p. 196. Many and beautiful are the instances given of the influence they obtained over the men ; and the general Hospital left wholly to the management of the "Reverend Mother" and her nuns, was considered to be the "Model Hospital of the East."

XIV.—*Hidden Links, or the Schoolfellows ; a Tale.* London, Newby, 1857.

We regret that the late date at which this publication reached us, makes it impossible for us to notice it as it deserves. We can, at present, only recommend it to our readers by the assurance that we ourselves have derived great entertainment from our hasty perusal of it. It is indeed a very clever novel. Original, full of incident, light, and yet powerful in style. The name of the Author does not appear. We hope to have more of his writings.

XV.—*History of the Christian Church, from the Election of Pope Gregory the Great, to the Concordat of Worms.* (A.D. 590—1122) By James Craigie Robertson, M. A. 8vo. London, Murray, 1857.

It is now about three years since the publication of the first volume of Mr. Robertson's *History of the Church*. It comprised the period from the Apostolic times down to the Pontificate of Pope Gregory the Great. The volume now before us, although issued as an independent work, and although in many respects a complete history, is, of course, a continuation of that general *History of the Church*.

The centuries of which it treats comprise what is, in some particulars, the driest and least interesting period of the ecclesiastical annals; but they also contain events which, in themselves, or in their consequences, are hardly second to any in the whole range of Church History, in importance as well as in historical significance. It begins with the memorable pontificate of Gregory the Great; and although Dean Milman, in describing him as, after Augustin, the great founder of Latin Christianity, intends to convey an idea which is foreign to all our views of the history of religion, yet there can be no doubt that to him the Church owes much of its more modern organization, and that his active and energetic administration left its impress upon many of the institutions of the Western Church, especially in Churches of which, (as that of England,) he may be regarded as the founder or restorer. The doctrinal history of the period embraces the great Monothelite Controversy; the last stage of the Controversy on the Three Chapters; the Iconoclast Controversy; the Western Controversies on Image-worship; the Eucharistic Controversies of the ninth century; the Adoptionist Controversy, and that on Predestination. The constitutional history of the same period embraces the rise and development of the Sovereignty of the Popes in Italy; the gradual growth of their temporal influence and authority in the affairs of other states and sovereigns; the great contest about investitures and the struggle for the freedom of ecclesiastical elections and presentations. Many of these subjects, it is true, are carried forward into the succeeding period; but there are few important principles involved in them which are not found already

in full action during the centuries which Mr. Robertson's present volume regards.

Although he has not signified any intention of proceeding further in his task, it can hardly be doubted that these volumes are but parts of a projected complete History of the Church, which the next volume will probably bring down as far as the Reformation. The section now before us resembles in everything the first part; nor do we see any reason to modify the judgment which we have already expressed regarding the opening volume of the History. There is the same evidence of careful reading, and of minute study, if not of the original authorities, at least of all the great modern historians and compilers. We gladly acknowledge, too, the absence of those coarse and offensive allusions which have hitherto but too often characterised Protestant historians of the Church, and especially in the ages which Mr. Robertson's volume regards. His History is, in this respect, a great improvement on almost all his predecessors at least in England.

But we must add that his new volume exhibits in numberless instances, the same evidences of bias and prejudice, especially in all that regards the Popes and the Papal See, of which we had to complain when we noticed the First Part of his History. One or two examples must suffice.

In his account of Pope Gregory the Great's contest with John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, (p. 8.) about his assumption of the title of Ecumenical Patriarch, he says that though the meaning of this term in Byzantine usage was indefinite, yet "*there certainly was no intention on John's part of claiming by it a jurisdiction over the entire Church.*" Now, the fact is, that the very proceeding out of which the whole contest arose, and in which the title was assumed by John, was in itself a claim of universal jurisdiction. It was no less than an assumption of a right to judge in his council another patriarch, (over whom he could have no possible title to jurisdiction,) and even to summon to that council the bishops of a different patriarchate, where as Patriarchate of Constantinople he had no authority whatever.

Again, in detailing the conduct of Pope Honorius in the Monothelite controversy, he distinctly avers that Honorius fell into "a personal profession of Monothelism." (p. 39). And in proof of this statement, he alleges the

well-known sentence of that Pontiff. "We confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ, forasmuch as it is evident that that which was assumed by the Godhead was our nature, not the sin which is in it, our nature as it was created before sin, not as it was corrupted by transgression." Now we need hardly remind our theological readers of what is admitted by all well-informed historians, Protestant as well as Catholic, that in this passage Honorius, in asserting the *one will* of Christ, asserts it simply to the exclusion of *two discordant or contrary wills*. It is plain, indeed, from the argument which he uses, that the second will which he contemplated, was the corrupt and sinful will of fallen human nature.

We might point out several similar misjudgments of the Popes, who figured in the great contest about investitures. Mr. Robertson, indeed, seems incapable of appreciating the position of the Popes in this contest, or of entering into the motives under which they acted.

His history of the Iconoclast controversy, though strongly anti-Roman, is, in some respects, much more impartial than that of the ordinary Protestant historians. He brings out fairly, for example, the strange mistranslation and misapprehension of the meaning of the Decree of the Second Council of Nice, on which the condemnation of it by the Council of Frankfort was founded; and he is far from palliating or disguising the atrocities resorted to by the Iconoclast emperors in the enforcement of their views upon the Church.

We must add in conclusion that, even where we most dissent from Mr. Robertson, it is impossible not to feel that we are dealing with a temperate and scholarlike adversary. This book, both in this and the preceding period, is in this respect a great advance upon the popular church historians of the last generation.

XVI.—*A Popular Ancient History*. By Matthew Bridges, Esq. London, Burns and Lambert, 1856.

We have been too long in noticing this excellent work which has now taken its place in public estimation as a valuable compendium of history, written in a pleasing style, and with great judgment.

XVII.—*Pauline Seward, a Tale of Real Life.* 5th Edition. By J. D. Bryant, M. D. London, Dolman, 1856.

A religious novel is placed at a cruel disadvantage in respect to criticism. It is required to be a manual of sound, though popular, controversy, and it is also expected, in correspondence with its title, to be a well written and pleasing story. It has undertaken, in short, to unite in itself two most opposite kinds of merit. Now, as to the first and most important of these characteristics, we must say, that in this story, the mode of explaining and enforcing the doctrines of our Holy Religion, of meeting the attacks upon it, and of carrying the war into the enemy's country—all this, so far as we can judge upon a cursory reading, is admirable. And we heartily rejoice in the great circulation of the work, and the great approbation it has met with. Of its merits as a novel—or story—we cannot speak so decidedly; tastes differ. We are told in the prefatory notice that "in Great Britain it has been considered that no prose writer in America has yet penned a more graceful or more unaffected tale;"—it may be so; but we must confess that one tragic scene of the heroine's rejection of a suitor made us laugh heartily. We must say also that the reverses of fortune are too sudden and astounding for anything but the theatre; and that it is not in good taste to make the sole act of charity related, develope into the recovery of an orphan niece,—a lost heiress. We think also that the language is inflated, school-girlish, unexpressive either of easy repose or genuine passion. These are perhaps slight blemishes to remark upon in a work of real utility and value; but they *are* blemishes, and they are easy of amendment, therefore, should not be past over.

XVIII.—*Life of Mrs. Eliza A. Seton*, 2nd Revised Edition, by Charles J. White, D.D. Baltimore, Murphy, 1856.

Some years ago we noticed on its first publication this beautiful and edifying work; and now we gladly invite attention to a new and revised edition of it. No life, we think, can afford a study of more general utility than that of this most holy woman. A convert to the faith, a wife and mother, a woman of such exquisite sensibilities that it is difficult to read her letters without tears,—as endearing

as she was admirable in every relation of life,—lovely in every scene of a long and varied life,—rising step by step in holiness, until she became the foundress and first Superior of the Sisters or Daughters of Charity in the United States. Thus she was made the mother of many daughters, in return for her own little angels whom, with such unspeakable tenderness and submission, she had resigned to Him who gave them, and amongst these her children in religion, she expired full of good works, and in odour of sanctity, leaving the Order which she established to become the admiration and the blessing of the land in which she had lived, and her own name and memory to be held in perpetual veneration amongst them.

XIX.—*The Hidden Treasure; or the Value and Excellence of Holy Mass, &c. &c.* By the Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice. Edinburgh: Marsh and Beattie. London: Dolman.

This small volume comes with high recommendations; it is sanctioned by one of the Scottish Bishops, dedicated by permission to his Eminence, and prefaced by a beautiful introduction by the Bishop of Southwark, at whose express instance it was translated. It is not a compilation, or reproduction of known devotions, but the original work of a great saint, and accordingly it is written with irresistible power and unction; and the good purpose of the writer is accomplished as the hearts of his readers burn within them at thoughts of the unspeakable blessedness of that which lies at their doors, and which is by many so neglected—the privilege of hearing Holy Mass. We should say also, that short instructions and suitable prayers are added, inspired by the same sweetness and fervour, which will be valuable even to the advanced Christian.

XX.—1. *The Love of Mary.* Readings for the Month of May. By D. Roberts, Hermit of Monte Corona. New York: Dunigan, 1856.

2. *Manual of Piety, for the Use of Seminaries.* Baltimore: Murphy and Co., 1856.

Two excellent contributions from the American press. Our transatlantic brethren keep pace with us in their spiritual necessities, and in the abundance with which those wants are supplied. Both these little works are excellent of their kind, and will be found most useful.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JUNE, 1857.

ART. I.—(1.) *The People's Sunday.* A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P. &c., on his late Sunday Trading Bill. By an Oxford Man. Second Edition. London, Effingham Wilson. 1855.

(2.) *London and the Londoners.* Published by the National Sunday League. 1856.

(3.) *The Sunday Band at Eastbourne.* London, Kenny. 1856.

(4.) *The Sabbath was made for Man.* London, Kenny. 1856.

THE above form a portion of a mass of pamphlets which have appeared during the last two years under the auspices of the National Sunday League. They are directed, as their titles sufficiently indicate, to the defence of the Sunday as a day of national recreation for the people, against the opinion of those who would fetter it by Jewish restrictions. Some of these publications treat the great Sunday question on popular, while others take up the matter on religious grounds. Viewed one with another, their principal value consists in the testimony which they afford to a very deeply-felt, widely-extended, and, on the whole, well-founded dissatisfaction with the present state of law, and public opinion, upon the mode of observing the great weekly holiday given to man for the purposes of religious rest and the recreation necessary to fit him, from time to time, for the duties of a laborious calling.

The great social anomaly which the writers of these various pamphlets deplore, is one to provoke the indignation of every philanthropist, apart altogether from the question of religion. Almighty God, of His great bounty, gives us one day in each week (and, according to the institution of His Church other days also) for His own peculiar service; and in order to remind us that His service is one

of freedom and joy, He has been pleased to connect with it the temporary suspension of all servile and oppressive labour. In this country, however, the beneficent purposes of the all-gracious Creator are in great measure frustrated by the influence of a selfish and narrow-minded superstition. Practically, the English (and of course all that is true of the English is far truer of the Scotch) Sunday is a day neither of rest, recreation, nor religion. The rest of the British Sunday is too often mere idleness; its recreation mere vicious indulgence; its religion a service more burthensome than even the labour it is meant to replace. Whether we take the London or the country Sunday of the British Protestant, the picture we have just given alike admits of forcible illustration. What is the Sunday of the higher circles in the metropolis? A day of indolence and dissipation (at least of mind) to the master and mistress, and to the servant, of work like other days. A late breakfast, a tedious hour and half in the pew or gallery of a fashionable chapel, luncheon, a drive in the parks, a late dinner-party, and perhaps a "conversazione" to wind up the day. Such a Sunday is anything but a "Sabbath," whether for man-servant, maid-servant, cattle, or the stranger within our gates. The "Fourth Commandment," so conscientiously enforced against the poor mechanic and artizan, is ridden over with triumphant scorn by their rich and noble superiors. Pass now to a Sunday in the country. Here, indeed, you have a less open violation of the rule which makes that day a day of rest; but how stands the matter as regards either recreation or religion? Work, indeed, is suspended, but it is in favour of languor and listlessness, and not of anything which can be called *rest*. The piano-forte mute, the innocent game proscribed, conversation at fault, the parents yawning in opposite arm-chairs, an awful silence now and then rudely broken by the fall of the religious volume from the hands of the somnolent reader, or by the entry of the butler with an uninteresting communication from the parsonage; the interminable evening, and the "Family Prayers," which at length bring this wearisome day to a welcome end. Such are the accompaniments of that holy and happy festival which is given us wherein to rejoice at the most glorious event in the history of the world; to refresh our jaded spirits, and fit us for earth's work by the periodical anticipation of our heavenly reward!

Yet, unsatisfactory as are these pictures of the aristocratic Sunday, they present even a favourable contrast to the Sunday of the working classes. This is too frequently a day, not merely of frivolity or weariness; but of sinful indulgence. The lateness of the hour at which the religious services of the Establishment begin, absolutely precludes the mechanic and the man of business from any participation in them, however much he might be disposed for it; unless, that is, he be prepared to break in upon his Sunday in a way really not consistent with the necessary demands of health and professional duty. He seizes, (and what wonder?) the earliest moment of the day to exchange the heavy and tainted air of Lambeth or St. Giles's for the refreshing breezes of Hampstead or Richmond; and, once free and at large, gives himself up with the most unrestrained abandonment to the circumstances of the occasion. The one idea which he seeks to carry out, the one standard by which he measures all, is *indulgence*; and, to deprive himself of anything which ministers to this object, seems to him almost like a breach of duty. Work in the week, and jollity on the Sunday; this is pretty much the summary of his moral code. Hence the amount of drinking and debauchery which disgraces the suburban Sabbath of the Londoner forms, by all accounts, a most remarkable contrast to the Sunday of foreign Catholic countries. Moreover, the "day of rest" is converted into a day of enervating and stupifying dissipation; so that on the Monday morning too many will be found to rise from their uneasy couches with their bodily and mental powers less equal to the prospect which awaits them than even at the close of the preceding week. This surely is as great a solecism in political economy as it is a palpable abuse of Christianity.

Whether we look, therefore, to the higher or to the lower classes, the English theory of Sabbath-keeping must be accounted a very grievous blot in our social system. The people of Great Britain, with all their boasted light and freedom, are the victims of a miserable prejudice which, after every allowance for good intentions and unavoidable ignorance on the part of those who encourage it, practically reacts in favour of immorality and irreligion. It totally defeats, moreover, the very objects which its promoters undertake to secure. What aims at preventing the "desecration of the Sabbath" really ends in a profanation

of a far worse kind; and every denunciation which our blessed Redeemer uttered against the abuse of religion among the Scribes and Pharisees of His time, is applicable, to the letter, against the insane and really iniquitous policy we have just described, whereby the door is opened to laxity of every kind by the imposition of unnecessary restraints upon the popular observance of the Lord's day. When, therefore, the authors of the several publications before us contend for the opening of the British Museum and the Picture Galleries, for a free access to the Crystal Palace, and for the allowance of military music in the Parks, as Sunday recreations, not only innocent in themselves, but conducive to the moral improvement of the people, they seem to us to propound truths which it is a reflection upon the common sense of England that we are not able to deal with as admitted truisms, requiring neither proof to establish them nor rhetoric to enforce them. We confess ourselves wholly at a loss to understand what principle deserving of that name, can be secured by a course which drives the popular taste into unhealthy channels by closing up outlets through which it might find its way into others of a far purer and higher kind.

Yet we must candidly acknowledge, as Christians and Catholics, that neither the arguments of the pamphlets before us, nor any others which we are accustomed to meet with in parliamentary speeches or other vehicles of English opinion, appear to us to go to the bottom of the matter to which the question of the popular observance of Sunday belongs. The Sunday question is but part of a great subject in which modern legislation, at least in England, appears to us to be much at a loss, and though we fully admit that sectarian prejudices have set obstacles in its way which would have been fatal to counsels far deeper and far more comprehensive, yet we cannot in justice fasten on those prejudices the whole responsibility for the actual failure of attempts to furnish a great commercial people with suitable modes of relief from the demoralizing pressure of a continual and almost unbroken round of worldly occupation.

If we must speak our whole mind, we should say that the great and essential requisite towards mastering the true idea of popular recreation is a firm grasp of the Catholic religion, which is alone adequate to the satisfaction of this, as of every other want of man, whether in his personal, or in his social capacity. But since this is an im-

pression which we can scarcely hope to communicate with every reader, we must first try and found our conclusions upon a somewhat broader and more popular basis.

The normal idea of recreation is not obscurely intimated in the very etymology of the word itself. Hence it is that we prefer that word to one which is rapidly taking its place—amusement. The advantage of the term, recreation, is that it marks very distinctly the due relation between amusements and the work with which they alternate. To “recreate,” what is it? Surely it is to restore the balance of corporal and mental power which excessive labour has disturbed. It is then God’s appointed method of refitting His own instrument for His own work. Recreation, according to its true object, “makes a new man” of those who duly use it. Let us but carry this idea into the province of our inquiry, and in suggesting the true end of recreation, it will also enable us to define the nature, and prescribe the conditions, of all which is designed to secure that end. It will furnish a standard, tried by which a great deal of what popularly goes by the name of recreation will be found wanting in the great essentials of that noble art, whose province is nothing less than to qualify man by wholesome and suitable diversion of mind for duly answering the end of his existence.

The first condition essential towards all true recreation will accordingly be that it shall at least keep clear of anything which is morally wrong or questionable. Recreation, according to the view just given of it, enters directly into the department of moral duties, and becomes an auxiliary towards carrying out the “end of man.” To admit into it, therefore, anything which militates against that end, or ministers to evil, the great antagonist of that end, would be to contradict its purpose and destroy its essence. Relaxation of mind and body is its *sine qua non* indeed, but the nature of such relaxation must be determined by its object which is the strengthening of the moral as well as the reinvigoration of the physical faculties. Hence, in the next place, recreation, at least of the highest kind, should be more than even negatively harmless; it should be positively (in the ethical sense of the term) *healthy*. By this we do not of course mean that it is to be necessarily religious in its nature, but that it should be generally salutary to the great ends of our being, by putting the enervated man into a state of renewed aptitude for his work. C

tainly, when it can be made conducive to any more definitely religious or virtuous impression, without prejudice to its own proper nature, we must account such further effect as a clear gain. But whether this can be so will depend upon our third and last condition of all true recreation, which is, that it should be thoroughly congenial to the character for which it is intended.

The application of these tests to a great deal of the so-called recreation of our time and country would, as we suspect, in different ways convict it of serious, and often fatal deficiencies. The intoxicating draught, the forbidden indulgence, the cruel sport, gambling or betting which keep their victims in a fever of morbid excitement, would vanish at once under the touch of our first criterion. The great moral ends of recreation, it is evident, are flagrantly compromised by whatever clouds the intellect, corrupts the affections, spoils the temper, vitiates the taste, or brutalizes the character. On the other hand, the injudicious attempt to force or precipitate the second proposed object of recreation without a proportionate regard to our third constituent; to give it, that is, a religious or virtuous direction, without consulting the bent of inclination, or providing for the diversities of taste, will explain the signal failure of efforts made by parents or teachers of excellent intentions, but small judgment, to cheat their youthful disciples into the love of religion or virtue by "sanctifying," as the phrase is, their amusements.

We have perhaps said enough to indicate our conviction that, to provide recreation such as we are here supposing; recreation, that is, which shall be pure, yet not dull, relaxing, yet not enervating, invigorating, yet not too exciting, popular, yet not vulgarizing, and much more which the reader will imagine as well as we could describe it, is a problem neither of easy, nor every day solution. And it is evident that the difficulties which embarrass the task of the parent or teacher will be multiplied tenfold where the sphere of invention is not a family, or a school, but a nation. Yet who will deny that the subject is one which justifies and deserves the careful attention of every statesman or legislator who looks to the real and permanent welfare of the people, for whose moral improvement he is, in his measure, responsible? The well-known saying of the ancient philosopher who would have given

up the task of making a nation's laws if he could but have stipulated for the composition of its ballads, was founded in a view of human nature, so deep and true, that all the experience of ages, and all the acquisitions of political science, have been able to add nothing to it. An ounce of good education is worth a pound of law ; and no one has need to be told that of national education (in the fullest sense of the term) Popular Amusements form by no means the least essential ingredient.

It is little more than a truism to say that any well-considered plan of popular recreation must presuppose an intimate knowledge of the national character. Many an enthusiastic traveller has ere now contrasted the elegant pastimes of the French or Italians, with the staid and pompous modes of relaxation prevalent in our own country ; the childlike aptitude for amusement, characteristic of the South, which turns the veriest trifles into occasions of real pleasure, with the churlish and phlegmatic temperament of more northerly latitudes, which treats recreation itself as a business, and mars the enjoyment of God's creatures by carrying a critical and half-supercilious spirit into all it undertakes. But national character refuses to be changed by any such violent processes ; and we may as well expect to find the fruit of the orchard upon the brambles of the wilderness as try to engraft exotic recreational tastes, (at least abruptly) upon native tempers. Greenwich and St. Cloud must continue to preserve their characteristic features, so distinctive of the several peoples ; Englishmen will rejoice in cricket, and Italians love their *tombola*, however we may desire to force upon the one nation more light-heartedness, and upon the other more gravity.

At the same time we are far from desiring to treat national character as that hard and unelastic material which it is sometimes represented. Many facts concur in leading us to think that it admits, if not of radical change, yet at least of material modifications. And this is a point so important towards our present subject, that we shall readily be excused for giving it a brief consideration, and dwelling for a moment upon the phenomena which bear upon the question.

We choose our own country as the most interesting and appropriate field of inquiry, and find, even within the range of our actual and of course very limited experience, much to indicate that our national character is far from being

stereotyped into any unalterable form. Indeed, when we consider the many conditions upon which such character depends, and that some of these conditions are in their very nature of a shifting and capricious kind, we shall find an abundant explanation of those changes in the public taste which often present themselves even to superficial observers during the course of a single generation. Take, for example, the mere fact of an increased intercourse with the continent of Europe, especially as facilitated by modern improvements in travelling. Those who are able to compare the England of thirty years ago with the England of the present day, can trace perceptible differences in the popular taste, some of which have evidently resulted from the opening of the continent by the Peace of 1814. Whether, in more essential points, our national character have been improved by the effects of an habitual intercourse with foreign countries, is a matter not directly to our present subject. That it has been modified, however, there can be no doubt. It is impossible to meet English on the Continent, in these days, without seeing at once that the wall of national prejudice which, some years ago, formed a barrier to all mutual influences for good is lowered, and in process apparently of being broken down altogether, unless, unhappily, anything should arise to disturb our friendly relations with the Continent. Indeed, the fears of some persons run in an opposite direction, and there are not wanting evidences of an "Anglo-mania" on the one side, and a "Gallo-mania" on the other, which, in their extreme forms, are unnatural and undesirable. Here, however, we speak of these things merely in their bearing upon our present subject, and undoubtedly our national *taste* has undergone changes which indicate a change even in the national mind. We are outgrowing our predilection for *vulgar* amusements; some may even think, to the injury of our characteristic manliness. The opening of the Crystal Palace has been followed, at no long interval, by the decline of Greenwich Fair. The unctuous poles, the pigs with soapy tails, the sacks, and the horse-collars, are rapidly yielding, as objects of popular interest, to the refined attractions, internal and external, of the great Sydenham wonder.

A change of the public taste in the higher direction, which is conspicuously evident, is the greatly-increased

popularity of *music* as a means of recreation. This, indeed, is a striking phenomenon in favour of the impressibility of national character. No taste can be less artificial than is the sympathy to which music addresses itself; and besides being less easily acquired, it is also less easily pretended than other tastes, such, for instance, as that for works of art. People, it may be observed, are generally less inclined to avow the want of a taste for pictures, than the absence of the musical faculty. This is because love of the fine arts is felt to be an accomplishment, love of music a *gift*. Besides, music, to those who do not like it, is a simple annoyance; thus a person who has no natural fondness for it, is compelled to make the confession of his deficiency in self-defence. It is otherwise with works of art. They present different grounds of attraction to different tastes. There is such a thing as liking them more or less; but music is, for the most part, either an intense pleasure, or an intolerable nuisance. Hence the steps, or rather strides, which the love of music has made in this country, during the last twenty or thirty years, are real evidence even of a considerable modification in the national character. The supply indicates a demand, and the demand proves a *bona fide* appetite and appreciation.

In one respect it proves even more. This increased taste points quite as much in the direction of sacred, as of secular, music. Handel's *Messiah*, and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, are never offered to the public in an attractive form without receiving the response of positively overflowing audiences. This is a fact from which we are disposed to infer, that public taste, even in this country, is no such stubborn thing as it is often thought, but that it admits of being moulded, to a certain extent, by circumstances, and even at will. It does not precede and direct the amusements supplied to it so simply and so decidedly as not to be itself also, coincidentally, the result of the very satisfactions supplied to it. Its appetite for gratification increases with the very food on which it thrives; so that, it would be hard to discriminate which is cause, and which effect. This is peculiarly the case with the love of music. That taste which, of all others is pronounced to be the most natural and capricious, seems in a very remarkable way to be growing into the English mind. It is commonly, and so far as our observation extends, truly, remarked that the rising generation of

England are far more musically disposed than their predecessors. People of three score years old say that there is a marked difference in this respect, between the children of the present and those of the former age. The boys in the streets are now constantly heard whistling or humming the popular airs of operas, with an accuracy and taste which evidently prove that "ears" are on the rise. The demand for music, and its supply, are certainly growing up together. Now, when it is considered how very useful and serviceable an auxiliary in popular recreation music is, this fact is not without its interest as a stimulant to the hopes of those who look forward to a great reform in that department of our social administration.

The fact is interesting in another point of view. Are there not influences yet more salutary than those of music itself, which might possibly find their way back to the minds and hearts of the English people, since we learn from this instance, that "tastes" are not necessarily extinct because they are dormant, or uncreatable because non-existent? Nay, are there not indications of no obscure kind, that these more important influences, when they are forthcoming, even in a most imperfect form, are met by a response, nay, perhaps even anticipated by an instinct, and aided by a sympathy? If in this connection we mention the name of the Rev. Mr. Spurgeon, and thus seem to imply that the spiritual food supplied by that very distinguished preacher to the public appetite, is of the nature of a "Popular Recreation," we can assure him very sincerely that we mean no disrespect, as indeed the sequel of our observations will prove. We know nothing of Mr. Spurgeon, and have never been present at any of his public addresses; and we desire to take no side in the conflicting criticisms of which he is the object. But, be his errors in doctrine, or his defects in taste, what they may, (and we are not the persons to underrate either,) his extraordinary success as a candidate for public favour, is at any rate a *phenomenon* which theorists upon the subject of popular recreation certainly ought not to disregard. What is the explanation of Mr. Spurgeon's popularity? At any rate it is a most surprising fact, and really worth a little speculation in any attempt to fathom the æsthetical character and tendencies of the present English people. Here is the drama developing itself into every conceivable shape, in order to meet every known variety of the public taste; tragedy,

comedy, farce, pantomime, melodrame, all expanding their treasures of popular interest in the most unbounded profusion ; music of every style, and every grade of excellence, laying herself out in a hundred places every night to captivate the knowing or subdue the million ; the Crystal Palace, with its matchless charms of natural beauty and artistic embellishment ; the Polytechnic, the Panoramas, the Zoological, Madame Tussaud, Albert Smith, all vying with each other ; some striving to popularize science, others to dramatize history, others to supersede travelling, by epitomizing its results, and concentrating its discoveries ; and yet "the" attraction of the day is neither the drama, nor the concert, nor the picture gallery, nor the crystal palace, nor even Mont Blanc, (great as is the popularity of all,) but a young preacher, of anything (unless his photograph much misrepresents him,) but engaging appearance, who, without the adjuncts of ceremonial, music, or even any of the customary appendages of his position, contrives time after time to fill, by his unaided powers, the largest buildings in the metropolis with audiences compared with which the ordinary concourses of the theatre, or the concert room, shrink into comparative insignificance !

Now, after making every reasonable allowance for such explanation of this phenomenon as strip it of any great religious interest, we must still feel that it indicates on the part of the English people a yearning which admits of being turned to some good account. It may be said, indeed, that the extensive following of Mr. Spurgeon is a mere fashion or *furore* of the day, like that which night after night fills a theatre during the performance of some favourite *prima donna*, or accomplished actor. But this account would not explain how the "rage" was first created, or how it has come to select a preacher of no extraordinary education as the object of its enthusiasm. Or it may be said (with a good deal more truth,) that Sunday recreations are prized in proportion to their scarcity, and it is hinted that Mr. Spurgeon might easily thin his congregation by putting on a charge of sixpence or a shilling a head upon his admirers. But we are informed, on the contrary, by persons in the secret, that he finds an enormous demand even for five shilling tickets. After allowing, then, all which can reasonably be asked on the score of fashion, cheapness, want of competition, and the personal charms of the preacher, we adhere to the opinion

that the fact is remarkable, of the greatest popular attraction of the day being an exhibition of a religious, or quasi-religious character.

The conclusion we wish to draw from the appearances of the time, (including especially Mr. Spurgeon's extraordinary popularity,) is, that either the English taste is on the change, or that the English popular character has a certain vein of sympathy underlying its surface, which has not yet been thoroughly explored. Facts in short lead us to believe that the English people are impressible by certain influences of the highest order in the department of moral education, and of absolutely indefinite value in their bearing upon its future destinies—music and religion.

The attentive observation of such facts, which, like the straws, indicating the quarter from which the wind blows, have results most disproportionate to their intrinsic importance, is absolutely necessary towards forming a judgment upon theories of popular recreation. Too much stress, is apt to be laid in this, as in far more important subjects, upon the supposed inflexible attributes of our national character. Englishmen are popularly thought to be created upon a certain type, which, instead of itself being open to impression from circumstance, is taken as the standard according to which they are to be dealt with in all that concerns their moral and spiritual improvement. What is more common than to hear it said, "Such and such things may do very well abroad, but they will not go down in England." For instance: "Englishmen are essentially untheological. They take broad and unsystematic views of religious questions; they dislike above all things, technicality and hair-splitting." Or again, "Englishmen are naturally opposed to mystery, they are a straightforward, common-sense people. They detest Irish or Italian superstitions. If you desire to make them read the *Lives of the Saints*, for instance, you must 'cook,' you must 'doctor' the foreign article. What these biographies contain may be, and no doubt is, all very true, but it is unsuited to a matter-of-fact people like the English." The same principle is applied to questions of architecture, ceremonial, and other subjects less vitally affecting the true interests of a Christian people.

In our humble judgment all this reasoning, besides being (in some cases at least,) highly mischievous, proceeds upon a complete mistake. That man, certainly,

would be a very short-sighted legislator, whether for the material or the spiritual interests of a people who, in dealing with them, should overlook differences of national character which will continue to exist after all the modifications of circumstance. But, to suppose that Englishmen are created after one pattern, or that our national character is not open to almost indefinite changes, and constantly undergoing them, is certainly to put theory in the place of facts and experience. The national character is liable to change, because it has actually changed. What change can be greater than that from Catholic to Protestant? There was a time when England yielded to none of the nations of the Continent in the susceptibility of innocent and healthy pleasure; "merrie" was her customary epithet *par excellence*. We have lying before us at this moment the history of the Shows and Pageants, and "Miracle Plays" to which England was once singularly addicted, and of which the ghosts are yet, or were recently to be seen, at Shrewsbury, Lichfield, Coventry, and we doubt not many other of our provincial towns with which we happen to be less acquainted. These popular exhibitions are described as having been frequented by multitudes of every rank, from the king and queen down to the humblest of their subjects. They contained, it is true, many coarse features utterly inconsistent with the ideas of the present age. Yet it may well be doubted whether our advancement in real delicacy of moral feeling has been in proportion to our progress in civilization and social refinement. Old chroniclers speak of the morals of those ancient times in language which no candid historian could apply to the present generation; and nothing can be more unfair than to estimate the character and effect of popular representations of a former time by the standard of the more fastidious, yet not therefore necessarily higher, morality of later ages.

But the point of our argument upon which these records bear is that of the shifting phenomena of our national character. If the popular judgment of the present national mind be correct, the change which it has undergone in the course of centuries is assuredly nothing short of a revolution. The extraordinary attractiveness of the ancient modes of popular recreation indicates, beyond all question, a phase of character the most opposite which is even conceivable to that which is commonly attributed to the Eng-

land of the present day. For the very last description which an historian would give of our national taste in the nineteenth century, is that it betokens the susceptibility of simple amusement, and the love of the marvellous, which belong to children; and yet this is pre-eminently the account which meets the facts of the præ-Reformation era. Some well-known incident of the Holy Scriptures, such as the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Finding of Moses, or one of the "Joyful Mysteries" of the New Testament, would then draw multitudes to a provincial town from all parts of the island, and prove an attraction even to royalty itself.

We anticipate the reply. It will be said that the whole difference turns upon the question of civilization; that the love of the marvellous, and the childlike susceptibility of simple pleasure, which were characteristic of mediæval England, have taken their flight for ever from our shores, and are now found only in the benighted and semi-barbarous regions of earth. But this is a point which, as Catholics, we cannot concede in theory, and which, as men of the world, we do not recognize in fact. In the first place, to call the Romans, or Neapolitans of the present day (among whom these tastes actually and extensively prevail,) *uncivilized* peoples, is simply absurd, at a moment when England itself is coveting their taste, and emulating their success, in the Fine Arts. This consideration alone shifts the question from the ground of mental cultivation to that of national character. And here is where we are disposed to question the conclusion which supposes the English mind so fixed and wooden, as to be unimpressible by extrinsic influences. What a most remarkable fact, for instance, is the hold which the spirit of St. Philip Neri has taken upon this same English mind! What is the one Catholic institution in London which disputes even with the most successful forms of Protestant attraction, the sway of the popular affections? Beyond all question it is the Oratory, whether as manifested in its centre, at Brompton, or as diffused in its spirit elsewhere. We are not here entering into the question of controversy, but merely stating a matter of undeniable fact. At the London Oratory, all which the English are theoretically supposed to prefer is subordinated to what they are represented as disliking, even to abhorrence. The bias of all, whether architecture, ceremonial, or the spirit of which these are but the outward form, is characteristically and unmistakeably Roman; nay, an objector

would say (though we do not adopt the word,) *Italian*. The religion of *awe*, (of which Gothic forms are the most exact and magnificent expression,) is there replaced by the religion of joy and love; "enthusiasm" rather than "solemnity," (according to the usual idea of that term,) would be the word used to denote the spirit of the religious worship; while the "supernatural," which is sometimes treated as England's abomination, is habitually either assumed as the basis of teaching, or symbolized in the visible exhibition of the religious idea. The whole thing is pronounced by the captious Protestant, or the pompous Anglican, to be "childish," "methodistical," "profane," "lax," and as the climax and epitome of all, entirely "un-English." But if they will not accept our hypothesis, that there are laws of influence more powerful even than national character, they must be requested to furnish some solution of the problem, which will harmonize these undoubted facts with their own theory. For ourselves we must confess that such facts completely baffle us, and we are rather throwing them out for consideration than citing them in support of any fixed view of our own. We really have no fixed view. We see, on the one hand, that there is such a thing as a distinct national character, and that it survives all circumstantial changes. Yet the phenomena we have just described almost lead us to rub our eyes, as if either those phenomena or the conclusions they contradict, must be a dream. Can it be that Rome has the wand of a magician, or rather the rod of a prophet, which is destined to transform and unify, even national natures? This is a "view," at all events, however, conjectural.

What, then, is the case? Is it that the English taste is wholly revolutionized, or is it not rather that there are elements in that taste which are as yet but imperfectly understood? We are inclined to the latter of these opinions. We have already given some reasons for thinking that there are deeper sympathies in the English mind and heart than are dreamed of in the philosophy of modern statesmen, and especially that there are latent instincts which point as to satisfactions of a higher order, so among the rest to a more elevating character of popular recreation. Why, for instance, should not the almost boundless resources of the drama be turned to a more profitable account? The success of our religious oratorios is surely a fact which

might be profitably used. We never attend the performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* without feeling its wonderful capacities of dramatic effect. Even as it stands, it is a far more edifying performance than many a Protestant sermon. What then would it not be with the addition of scenic accompaniments? Imagine the effect of the chorus of the Priests of Baal if sung in character, with the appropriate dresses and situations! You would have an altar in the background, with the Prophet by its side in the suitable costume. Ranging from him to the front of the stage, on one side, would be the priests and people of God, and opposite, the priests and adherents of the idol worship. The prophet would call upon the impious crew, in the magnificent words of taunting irony which the Scriptures attribute to him, and which the great composer has invested with the most expressive music. The priests would respond in chorus, and call louder and louder upon their unheeding god, as the prophet from time to time reiterated his provoking appeal. At length the fire would descend from heaven upon the ready sacrifice of God's people, and the barbaric howl of the baffled priests would give way to the jubilant thanksgiving chorus of the favoured suppliants. What Christian child that witnessed such a representation as this could ever forget that portion of its Bible history? By such exhibitions even Protestants themselves might be won over to the principle of the sacred drama, and the most touching and instructive passages in ecclesiastical history, to say nothing of some of the less mysterious portions of the New Testament, (such, for instance, as the subject of Mendelssohn's *St. Paul*,) might be worked into the popular mind by the salutary beguilements of a most innocent and beautiful recreation,

— deceptaque non capiatur,
Sed potius tali tactu recreata valescat.*

As it stands, the theatre is a difficulty in the way of those who desire to make popular recreations a vehicle of moral improvement. We are far from being on the side

* We cannot but notice in this connexion the Provost of Northampton's very beautiful and skilful dramatic adaptation of Dr. Newman's tale of *Callista*. A similar adaptation of *Fabiola* was reviewed in our July Number last year.

of those who would rigorously exclude it, even as it is, from the number of innocent amusements. We can see nothing about it which brings it under the proscribed category of *necessary* "occasions of sin;" on the contrary, we have good reason for believing that, in particular cases, of no very rare occurrence, it may even be an occasion of virtue. The tendency of the actual stage is in the direction of improvement as far as relates to the description of the pieces represented. The personal character of many of our more popular actresses, and even actors, has been above the average of correctness; and as to the immoral accidents of our theatres, they form part of a system of legislative connivance at vice against which it is hopeless to protest, and which is unhappily too universal to be cured (as regards the mass of the population) by the mere proscription of one particular class of dangerous opportunities. Yet no person can truly say that the question of the Christian legality of play-going in England is free from its difficulties, while every moralist, we suppose, would admit it to be matter of just regret that the art which has produced such treasures, both of intellectual power and moral instructiveness, as *Athalie* or *Macbeth*, should have so far fallen from its high rank among instruments of popular recreation as to be pronounced only less than an undeniable evil.

If among various means of enlightened popular amusement we have hitherto said but little of pictures, it is not that we undervalue their importance in refining taste, elevating sentiment, and even teaching morality and religion. No one indeed would think of contending that the substitution of a more elegant and refined, for a coarser and more homely order of amusements is *necessarily* an introduction of a more, in place of a less, moral standard of taste and principle. The true remedy against the abuse of all which ministers to recreative pleasure lies deeper than in the character and circumstances of such pleasure, which does not of course lose its possible dangers by changing its external form. The picture, and still more the statue, gallery have their temptations for one class of minds, as the race-course, or the fair, or the theatre, for others. But we should cordially hail the time when our natural taste should be so far improved as to find its satisfaction in the beautiful and ennobling productions of continental art; more especially if presented to the English eye with a con-

scientious, no less than an erudite and discriminative, judgment upon the merits of the works selected. It is a most happy coincidence that in painting (unlike statuary) religious and artistic excellences are united in nearly all the greatest master-pieces. The most perfect specimens of the pictorial art are those which the illustration of the Christian religion, in some of its chief persons, or incidents, is the object; and it is difficult to estimate the moral, as well as æsthetical, advantages which might result from familiarising the mind of the English public with subjects of this kind, appealing at once to their religious sympathies and to their love of the beautiful. The name of HERBERT alone is enough to suggest what can be effected in this way by genius devoted to its highest, but only adequate end. Yet on the whole, the day appears to be distant at which the pictorial art, in its most perfect application, is likely to produce any great impression upon our countrymen. There is, as far as we can observe, a want of popular interest in this matter which looks ill for the speedy advance of the taste; while, to speak plainly, there is an apparent absence of depth, experience, and union, in the counsels to the issue of which the proposed experiment of a National Gallery is committed, which intimate that the man is yet to arise who shall elevate the national character, and direct the national taste, in this particular department of Popular Recreation.* Upon our theory of demand and supply, acting and reacting upon each other in matters of public taste, it is not difficult to account for the little progress which the love of the beautiful in painting has hitherto made amongst us, especially when compared with the kindred subject of Music.

It is thus, that, to whichever quarter of the social horizon

* We hope that the Lectures recently delivered by Cardinal Wiseman at the Marylebone Institution, on the formation of a National Gallery, are destined to meet the public eye in a printed form. We had ourselves the pleasure of hearing the first of them; and we can only say of it, that it appeared to betoken an amount of knowledge on the subject which would alone lead one to suppose that the eminent Lecturer had never made any thing but the Fine Arts his proper study. We came to a conclusion which we suspect was pretty extensively shared by our fellow-auditors of the Lecture, and which we thus embody in words: Why is not Cardinal Wiseman on the National Committee of Taste?

we turn, we meet with the most impressive testimonies to the loss which England has sustained in giving up the Catholic religion as a national institution. The Catholic Church is, in truth, the one solution of every problem of the day, the one specific against all our dominant evils. Practical legislation is paralysed for want of it. England's harp, which might yield so sweet a strain, is mute because there is no Æolian breath to elicit its divine harmonies. Legislation is stagnant, and legislators fold their hands in baffled indolence, or waste their words in the discussion of interminable questions, or the handling of absolutely insoluble problems, because they will not be directed, we say not by the dictates of authority, but by the lessons of all past experience. And the same cause which leaves the poor without compassion, the young without training, public morality without enlightened guidance, domestic happiness without its appointed safeguards; consigning the highest interests of the nation, both temporal and eternal, to the random influences of a mere tentative, not to say empirical policy, instead of subjecting them to the time-approved conclusions of a sound political science; this same cause, the ungrateful rejection of the Church of God, presents the real obstacle to all attempts in the direction of improving the character of our national recreations.

It is the Catholic religion which would secure all the constituents of such popular diversions as we have been attempting to describe. Catholicity would first form and then favour according to its very first principle, the bent of the national humour, and even condescend to it in every way and degree short of sinful compliances. At that point it would pause, and address itself to the regulation, with a gentle and affectionate hand, of those amusements which the needs of a people demanded, or the current of their feelings might invite. Above all, it would break down that fatal barrier which Protestantism has raised between the spiritual and the secular, whereby all that is dull, gloomy and prosaic, is relegated to the side of religion; all that is cheerful and fascinating left to the clear possession of the world. This separation it is which lies at the root of all the irreligion of the day. What wonder that the people (and a right noble-hearted people it is) should escape, the first moment that their "Sabbath" brings its welcome relief, from the almost intolerable burden of the religious Sunday in England or Scotland, and rush headlong into

dissipation, worldly if not sinful, as the appropriated mode of keeping it? Upon what view of human nature can you, or ought you, to expect that the man of business who has been up to his ears in parchments and accounts during the week, will stay in town to endure the scarcely bearable burden of a religious service, composed of rhetorical addresses to the Almighty, heartless psalm-singing, and, perhaps, a controversial sermon? And to say the truth, this is the great reason why we feel ourselves unable to throw ourselves heart and soul into the anti-Sabbatarian movement. A Sabbath of superstitious restraint is undoubtedly an evil, and a great one; but a Sabbath of mere dissipation is another; and between these alternatives there is absolutely no middle passage except a Catholic Sunday. The Catholic who goes to his "duties" on the Saturday night, and hears mass early on the Sunday morning has not only fulfilled the first and great obligation of the day, but is fortified against the dangers of its appropriate recreations to an extent which admits of his entering into them, not only with greater security against danger, but with a far better chance of real enjoyment.


Moreover, the due observance of the various Holy Days prescribed by the Church would tend, not only to break in more effectually upon the power of the world, but would be the best corrective of the Sabbatical prejudice, by assimilating the observance of the different days through which the Church has distributed that religious rest and consecration of our time to God, for the principle of which, (as distinct from its practical modifications,) the Decalogue is her warrant. But upon this subject we forbear to do more than refer the reader to the pages of the *Dublin Review* at a former period of its history.*

But the greatest, perhaps, of all the services which the Catholic Church renders to the people among whom it prevails, is in clearing their ideas of the due relation between their religious and social duties. The element of love, divine and human, is that which it introduces into every practical subject; this is the warm tint which invests every object in its cheering and attractive glow. The Catholic goes to his church and feels that he is not turning

* "On National Holy Days," *Dublin Review*, for May 1843, reprinted in Cardinal Wiseman's Essays, vol. 1.


his back upon the fair things of creation, but only entering upon the use of them under a new aspect and in a different relation; in their bearing, that is, upon their great Author. He carries this impression back into the world, and sees all with another pair of eyes; or rather, (to revert to our illustration,) through a tinted glass. This surely is the idea of Christian *regeneration* in its fullest sense; the renewal of the inner man, and the renewal of the outer world. What God has joined, heresy has severed; hence the only idea which serious-minded heretics have of the external world is that of a great dreary district, not only unconsecrated, but banned; or at least if they attempt to "sanctify" it, as they say, it is by introducing the only quality which they associate with religion—servile fear. How remarkably is this truth exemplified in the Sabbath controversy! While one party is for robbing God's day of every cheerful attribute; the other is for converting it into a day of simple worldliness. One would think that the Protestant Scriptures were wanting in the text "Gaudete in Domino."

When our Catholic readers kindly bear in mind that we are writing in the "Month of Mary," they will be the less surprised at the vein in which our thoughts are running. It was our privilege a few days back to witness a sight which vividly illustrated the union we are describing, of the religious with the beautiful. There was nothing elaborate, scarcely anything premeditated about it; no studied publicity, no ceremonial pomp, no fuss, no costliness. But all this makes it only the more plain how natural the union of the elements in question is felt by those who take things as they come, and do not measure them by "views" or "theories." There is a Catholic church in the outskirts of the metropolis to which is attached rather a spacious plot of ground formerly used as a cemetery, sufficient to admit the deploying of a large procession. On the occasion to which we allude, the Catholic school-children of the parish, to the number of four hundred, having been first catechised in the doctrines and duties of their religion, were marshalled in processional order and proceeded round the church and subsequently the open enclosure, headed by the clergy and numerous youthful assistants in ecclesiastical dress, the Images of our Blessed Lady being borne by the members of the Confraternity devoted to her. A portion of the children were attired in white, others in



gay fancy costumes ; a number of banners with the insignia of Our Lady floated in the gentle breeze of the lovely May weather ; some children carried the crucifix and other emblems of our Lord's Passion, others strewed flowers ; and in this fashion (numbering with the ecclesiastics and followers nearly seven hundred persons) they made the circuit of the enclosure, entirely filling it and chanting the praises of God's Mother and their own, at the full stretch of their shrill voices. The ground is surrounded by houses, the windows of which were entirely filled with Protestants, many of whom brought their children "to see the pretty sight." The very numbers in the procession were alone sufficient to command respect, independently of the evident reality of the whole thing. Vice and irreligion themselves must have been shamed into silence, if not converted into sympathy, by the sight of such a number of innocent faces warmed into a glow of festive joy, such as art could not give, nor hypocrisy feign. Will those Protestant children with whose earliest impressions this scene will be connected, soon, or easily forget it ? Will it not survive the inroads of time, neutralize the arguments of controversy, perhaps even counteract the fascinations of sin ? Will they be satisfied to be told that all these little ones were the slaves of priestcraft and the victims of superstition, all this manifestation of evidently serious, yet purely religious joy, a mockery and an offence to God ? We opine not.

Here, then, is a specimen of Christian "Popular Recreation," of the purely ecclesiastical kind. In this example religion is the predominating element. Yet even when it does not predominate, it might still elevate and purify. The description we have just given proves how far from true is the popular idea, that to sanctify joy is to lessen it, or that to gladden religion is to weaken its practical effect. Now of all ways in which the Catholic religion prevails to secure this great object of wedding, in an eternal union, the beautiful with the pure, and the joyous with the ascetical, the prominence given to the honour of the Blessed Virgin is perhaps the most obvious and effectual. Divested of the idea of the Blessed Mother of God, or in so far as this idea is depressed, and hampered by controversial limitations, Christianity is sure to wear a gloomy and repulsive aspect. But viewed through the medium of MARY all is lit up with the sunny glow of divine love. In




her every instinct of human affection is satisfied, every imagination of created beauty much more than realized. Mary is the "*speculum justitiæ*," in whom the beauty of the Divine perfections is reflected upon a tangible surface; the "*causa nostræ lætitiæ*," as she was the chosen instrument of approximating God to man, and man to God, and as she is the embodiment and acme in a simply created form of every amiable quality of which a mere creature, albeit of faultless mould, is actually susceptible. When England recovers the idea of the Blessed Virgin, then, (and not till then), will it be the holy and joyous nation of the olden and golden time. When her people once more feed upon the idea of the Mother of God, so radiant with joy, so awful in sanctity, then, and not till then, will they be able to taste earth's pleasures without contracting earth's pollution. Sin and sorrow will remain, but the power of the one will be subdued, and the sting of the other unbarbed, when England's children shall be taught to invoke, with the first accents of infantine affection, that heavenly Mother who is at once the "refuge of sinners," the "comforter of the afflicted," and the "help of all Christians." Then will be fulfilled, (so far as the necessary drawbacks of this world will allow), the Psalmist's beautiful picture of a truly prosperous nation. "*Quorum filii sicut novelle plantationis in juventute suâ; filiæ eorum compositæ, circumornatæ ut similitudo templi. Promptuaria eorum plena, eructantia ex hoc in illud. Oves eorum fœtosæ, abundantes in egressibus suis; boves eorum crassæ; non est ruina maceriæ, neque transitus, neque clamor in plateis eorum. Beatum dixerunt populum, cui hæc sunt; beatus populus, cujus Dominus, Deus est.*"*

* Ps. cxliii, 12-15.

ART. II.—*The Spanish Conquest in America, and its relations to the History of Slavery and the Government of Colonies.* By Arthur Helps. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Parker and Son, 1857.

“WHOEVER,” says Mr. Macaulay, “wishes to be well acquainted with the morbid anatomy of governments, whoever wishes to know how great states may be made feeble and wretched, should study the history of Spain. The empire of Philip the Second was undoubtedly one of the most powerful and splendid that ever existed in the world. In Europe he ruled Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands on both sides of the Rhine, Franche Comté, Rousillon, the Milanese, and the two Sicilies. Tuscany, Parma, and the other small states of Italy, were as completely dependent on him as the Nizam and Rajah of Berar now are on the East India Company. In Asia the king of Spain was master of the Philippines, and of all those rich settlements which the Portuguese had made on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, in the Peninsula of Malacca, and in the Spice Islands of the eastern archipelago. In America his dominions extended on each side of the equator into the temperate zone. There is reason to believe that his annual revenue amounted, in the season of his greatest power, to a sum near ten times as large as that which England yielded to Elizabeth. He had a standing army of fifty thousand excellent troops at a time when England had not a single battalion in constant pay. His ordinary naval force consisted of a hundred and forty galleys. He held what no other prince in modern times has held, the dominion both of the land and of the sea. During the greater part of his reign he was supreme on both elements. His soldiers marched up to the capital of France, his ships menaced the shores of England.” Such was the Spain of Philip the Second, and we forbear in pity to describe the Spain of Isabella the Second. Suffice it to say, that in power, in dignity, in prosperity, in influence, she is of little more account than Hanover or Wirtemberg. We do not think that the decline of Spain is ascribable to any peculiar vice in the constitution of her ancient government, or that the Spanish monarchy, at one time certainly the greatest in the world, had within it



more active elements of dissolution than any other European power. It was indeed watched with the utmost jealousy and assailed with the most persevering enmity first by France, and afterwards by France and England together. Its dismemberment was a fixed resolve in the councils of both of these kingdoms, and Naples and the Low Countries were severed from the monarchy in consequence of that resolution. The Spanish empire in Europe was so great as to alarm the fears and attract the enmity of every strong and independent power, while it never possessed a man of sufficient genius to give character, and consistency, and unity to so many provinces. Charles the Fifth assuredly was not the man to do so, and his miserable policy in dealing with the Reformation was one of the not very remote causes of the downfall of Spain. When he indulged the reformers in disputations and conferences, and played fast and loose with sedition, spiritual and civil, in every state in Germany, he did so from no love or even with any conception of toleration. The idea of toleration was as little known to any religious party of the time as was that of the steam-engine, or the electric telegraph. All his "decrees ad interim," all his shuffling and temporising were the result of a policy hesitating, small, crooked, and selfish. He never faltered in his allegiance to Catholicity; at no period of his life was he one degree more friendly to the Reformation than when, on his death-bed, he commended the inquisition to the especial protection of his son. But he thought he might allow the fire to burn for his private purposes within a charmed circle, and quench it when he thought proper. Everyone is now agreed it was owing to him solely that the Reformation at length reached his own provinces; and it is equally certain that had it been suppressed, as it might have been, in Germany, it never could have travelled to England, and converted the old ally of Spain into her most relentless enemy—an enemy that, within the last fifty years, after a temporary alliance for her private purposes, did for the same purposes in the hour of peace and repose, steal behind and hamstring her unsuspecting ally. "I shall convulse the new world," said the English minister, "in order to restore the balance of the old;" he did so, and in the course of a few months Spain had lost her entire empire upon the American continent; and that empire itself was shattered into fragments, each battling with the other, and

each divided against itself, the most distressing spectacle of bloodshed and misrule that the world presents.

Another cause, however, was concerned in the downfall of Spain. That very American Empire, which of itself ought to have made Spain the greatest nation in the world, was in many ways the cause of her decline. To one of those causes the History before us more particularly points. It professes to deal with the Spanish Conquest of America, considered in connection with the institution of Slavery, that institution which, after having contributed so much to the ruin of the Spanish power, is probably destined to work the ruin of a power much more formidable, more threatening, and more aggressive than was Spain at any period of her history. It will be necessary always to keep this consideration in view while reading Mr. Helps' book, as it has been written to aid the discussion of the question of modern or commercial slavery. The introductory pages comprise a full and curious abstract of the Portuguese discoveries along the coast of Africa, which include the earliest period of Negro Slavery. The history proper begins of course with the expedition of Columbus, and soon takes up the piteous story of the Indian population, the blind and relentless tyranny of the Spanish Colonists, and the efforts and sacrifices of Las Casas and his fellow labourers, for the redemption and protection of the sufferers. It is evident from Mr. Helps' pages, if other evidence there were none, that the zeal of Las Casas was no momentary spirit of benevolence—no isolated piece of Howardism, or Chisolmism, or Ashleyism. It was part of a system, it belonged to the traditional policy of the Church, as is acknowledged by all historians, freely by some and grudgingly by others. It was the same spirit which dictated and compelled the emancipation of the villeins in England, that with less success, but under circumstances widely different, attempted the deliverance of the Indian people from their bondage. Las Casas, invariably successful in Spain, and supported to its utmost strength by Rome, was nevertheless unable to carry out his views at such a distance from the central government, amongst men of the class to which the Spanish adventurers belonged. In nothing, as it seems to us, is this history more successful than in vindicating the Spanish government from much of the responsibility that might seem at first sight to attach to it. Never was court more open to

conviction, or more ready to decree reform, but never was court so badly served. Las Casas well knew, as Mr. Helps in one place remarks, that the servants of the Crown would place the royal order upon their heads with every mark of oriental respect, and then dismiss it from their minds for good. But no disaster, no discomfiture, no miscarriage in the very hour of success,—no disappointment however unlooked for, was sufficient to damp the energy of Las Casas, or to dry up his fertility in expedients. His connexion with the question of slavery brings him and his companions much more frequently before the reader in these volumes than in those of Robertson, or perhaps in any modern history of the period. In fact, throughout a large portion of the work he is the prominent, the commanding figure, and his labours form the substance of much of the entire history. Indeed, the narrative of Las Casas is, in most instances, the authority upon which Mr. Helps relies for many of the principal facts, and they are frequently given in his very words. This alone is an element of additional value in the work. It brings you into intimate acquaintance with the best and greatest man in the history of Spanish America, where so much is good and great, as well as wicked and mean, while it is also a guarantee for the authenticity of the book, and the right feeling and judgment of the author, upon matters which so much require the exercise of both these qualities.

Mr. Helps, it is apparent, deals with the subject in a spirit of perfect fairness, and it would be altogether too much to expect him to be free from prepossessions of any kind. No man can quite divest himself of these, or be always upon his guard against them. In the present instance, according to our view, where they do exist, they only serve to recommend the general candour of the writer. Indeed, it hardly seems possible for a man of good understanding and honest purpose, to acquire a complete knowledge of the materials out of which Mr. Helps has formed his history, without concluding in favour of the simplicity, truth, and earnestness, of a large proportion of the Spanish historians of America. Almost every page of the volumes before us testifies to the Author's intimate familiarity with all the contemporary authorities, and also to his knowledge of the Spanish character generally. The pages are not encumbered with foot notes, but neither do they furnish a dry list of references, which may or may not be accurate for

any opportunity the reader has of determining the fact. Nor on the other hand are we left an appendix, which must either be more bulky than the book itself, or contain only a few lengthy extracts upon matters of engrossing importance. We have rarely seen a better or closer chain of illustrative and authoritative extracts than that which binds together the otherwise somewhat scattered and irregular arrangement of the work. The extracts, just of a convenient length, are very numerous, accompany you throughout, and are full of purpose, application, and character. We think Mr. Helps has exercised a wise discretion in not translating them; several are Portuguese, and several Latin, but the bulk is Spanish, as might have been expected. Now, Spanish is a language which of all others it is almost impossible to translate without a large evaporation of strength, and an almost total loss of savour. And it must be borne in mind besides, that Mr. Helps has frequently embodied in the text the very words of his authorities, so that the general public loses not much, and the work gains a great deal by the course which the author has adopted.

The style of the history, although pleasing in itself, is not precisely according to our taste, because it does not seem to be of the historical order, and we feel bound to say, that although more learned, more trustworthy, and in every way more valuable than Robertson's *America*, "The Spanish Conquest" cannot as a classic compare with that history. Grave subjects are dealt with in a chatty fire-side style, not kept up, it is true, but noticeable more than occasionally, and with now and then a touch of jocularly that reminds one of a paper in household words. At other times whole pages run on after the manner of a review, no contemptible review either, but still not strictly in place, if indeed in place at all. In one instance he adopts a singular, and in a work of this kind we believe quite original way of giving expression to his own opinions regarding what ought to have been the impressions and dealings of the early discoverers of America with reference to the religion and habits of the natives. He supposes an imaginary ship with imaginary adventurers upon an imaginary voyage. He keeps the log, traces the course of the vessel, describes the ports at which she touches, the countries explored, the life, manner, and religion of the natives, with the impression made on the minds of the discoverers. He does all this

with the utmost gravity and with the usual marginal notes, and goes so far as to give the chart of the voyage in his map. We are by no means prepared to say that his views are as eccentric as his methods, but we cannot think that the latter are quite consistent with the dignity of history, which is, or ought to be, one of the most serious compositions in the world. There is also observable another feature which looks very peculiar, and perhaps a little affected. Most of the chapters open with a simile, or illustration, sometimes a little fanciful, sometimes common-place, but often very happy, and in perfect analogy to the contents of the chapter. In a review, or a speech, or a lecture, illustrations of this kind, occurring naturally and growing out of the subject, are extremely effective. But when we meet them in history, or in historical dissertations, so placed that the subject appears, perhaps, to be forced to conform to the analogy, the case is very different. There is, moreover, something like an ostentation of negligence in the style, that betrays the writer into absolute incorrectness, and makes him occasionally not quite intelligible. Neither do we consider his distribution of the subject quite happy, although it is by no means easy to suggest a proper arrangement for a history like that of Spanish America. You have to deal with a number of adventurers let loose at almost the same moment, or at short intervals, upon an immense and varied field of enterprise. You might call their adventures episodes, if there were anything like a main action from which they could be supposed to branch. They were for the most part completely independent, and unconnected, not only as undertakings, but in character and incident. The scene also shifts continually from America to Spain in a way that renders complete unity of plan a thing hardly to be expected; and were it not that Mr. Helps keeps continually in view the subject of slavery, to which the entire history has reference, the confusion would be much more considerable. After all, there is, perhaps, nothing on which criticism has less pretensions to be dogmatic, than the distribution of historical narrative. Some would have it digested through fixed periods of time, while others would complete the history of each event without regard to the number of years through which it runs; and a great deal may be said in favour of both views. For our own part we think that a little management will give not only the appearance, but the substance of order

to any arrangement approving itself to a man of ordinary judgment. Nothing can exceed the smoothness and regularity of Robertson's *America*, although at the same time we are willing to admit that the graces of style and beauty of arrangement are the principal, if not the only perfections of his work.

Perhaps nothing is more strongly brought out in the entire book than the independence and freedom of the Church under one of the most absolute monarchies in existence, or under the still more despotic rule of an entire population confederated in gainful crime, in fact, of a slave-holding community. In the southern States of the American Union, not one voice is raised in favour of the slave. Northern preachers make the attempt, but it is part of their stock-in-trade, and they do so, not because they are preachers, but because they are free soilers and abolitionists; it is an accident of their policy, not of their ministry. Widely different was the conduct of the monks in slave-holding St. Domingo. They congregate the chief slave-holders around the pulpit for the express purpose of hearing their gains declared unholy, and the wages of perdition. It is not the people of Ephesus merely, but the very silversmiths that are collected to hear their *Diana* blasphemed; and when the Dominican apostles are required to recant their impieties and appease the Goddess, they come forward to confess the one God and to preach in the forbidden name with an utter disregard of consequences. The account of the proceedings as given by Mr. Helps is very characteristic of the time and of the scene, as may readily be noticed. The facts of the narrative are taken from the pen of Las Casas himself, and may therefore be expected to be life-like. The spirit, the energy, the zeal, the resolution, the coolness, the quiet will, and the collected intrepidity of the Dominicans on that occasion have many parallels in their own history, and in that of the Church; such qualities, in fact, are common place, and pass without remark amongst those who know us, but it is pleasing to find them understood and appreciated in other quarters.

"The Dominican Monks of Hispaniola were about twelve or fifteen in number, living under the government of their Vicar Pedro de Cordova. Coming to a new country, they had deepened the severity of their rules so that it kept its own proportion with the general hardness of living throughout the colony. One of their

new rules was, that they would not ask for bread, wine, or oil, except in cases of sickness, and their habitual fare was most scanty and of the poorest description. Being fully intent upon the work they had undertaken, they would soon have comprehended, from their own observation, the extent of evil in the state of things about them; but their insight into the treatment of the Indians was rapidly enlarged, and their opinions confirmed by the acquisition of a new lay-brother. This was a man who had murdered his wife, an Indian woman, and then had fled to the woods, where he remained two years, but on the arrival of the Dominicans in the Island, he sought what refuge from his sin and sorrow could be found under the shadow of their order. This man recounted to his brethren the cruelties he had been witness of, and that narration brought them sooner to the determination they now adopted, which was to make a solemn protest against the ways of their countrymen with the Indians.

"The good Monks determined that their protest should express the general opinions of their body. Accordingly, they agreed amongst themselves upon a discourse to be preached before the inhabitants of St. Domingo, and signed their names to it. They further resolved that brother Antonio Montesinos should be the person to preach; a man, we are told, of great asperity in reprehending vice. In order to secure a fit audience on the occasion, the Monks took care to let the principal persons of St. Domingo know that some address of a remarkable kind, which concerned them much, was to be made to them, and their attendance was requested. The Sunday came. Father Antonio ascended the pulpit, and took for his text a portion of the Gospel of the day, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

"There is only a short account of the sermon, but we may be certain that it was an energetic discourse: for indeed when any body has anything to say, he can generally say it worthily. And here, instead of nice points of doctrine (over which, and not unreasonably, you can become eloquent, ingenious, wrathful, intense) was an evil uplifting itself before the eyes of all men, and respecting which neither preacher nor hearers could entrench themselves behind generalities. He told them that the sterile desert was a map of the state of their consciences; and then he told them with "very piercing and terrible words" (*palabras muy pungitivas y terribles*) that the voice pronounced that they were living in mortal sin, by reason of their tyranny to those innocent people the Indians. What authority was there for the imposition of this servitude? what just ground for these wars? How could the colonists rightly insist upon such cruel labours as they did from the Indians, neglecting all care of them, both in the things of heaven and those of earth? Such Spaniards, he declared, had no more chance of salvation than so many Moors or Turks.

"We shall but make a worthy ending to Father Antonio's sermon

if we imagine it to have concluded with words like those used by a very renowned Portuguese preacher on the same subject and a like occasion. 'But you will say to us, this people, this republic, this State cannot be supported without Indians. Who is to bring us a pitcher of water or a bundle of wood? Who is to plant our mandioc? Must our wives do it? Must our children do it? In the first place, as you will presently see, these are not the straits in which I would place you, but if necessity and conscience require it, then I reply, yes you and your wives and your children ought to do it. We ought to support ourselves with our own hands, for better is it to be supported by the sweat of one's own brow than by another's blood. O ye tribes of Maranham! What if these maniles were wrung! they would drop blood.

"If we can turn ourselves back in imagination to that period, and make ourselves present at such a discourse, we might almost hear during it, the occasional clang of arms as men turned eagerly about to one another and vowed that this must not go on any longer. They heard the sermon out, however, and went to dinner. After dinner, the principal persons conferred together for a short time, and then set out for the monastery to make a fierce remonstrance. When they had come to the monastery which, from its poor construction, might rather have been called a shed than a monastery, the Vicar Pedro de Cordova received them, and listened to their complaint. They insisted upon seeing the preacher himself, Father Antonio, declaring that he had preached delirious things, and that he must make reparation next Sunday. A long parley ensued, in the course of which Pedro de Cordova informed the Remonstrants that the sermon did not consist of the words of any one brother but of the whole Dominican Community. The angry deputation exclaimed that if Father Antonio did not unsay what he had said, the Monks had better get ready their goods in order to embark for Spain. 'Of a truth, my lord,' replied the Vicar, 'that will give us little trouble,' which was true enough, for (as Las Casas observes) all that the Monks possessed, their books, clothes, and vestments for the Mass, might have gone into two trunks. At last the colonists went away upon the understanding that the matter would be touched upon next Sunday, and as the remonstrants supposed an ample apology would be offered them.

"The next Sunday came; there was no occasion this time to invite anybody to attend, for all the congregation were anxious to come in the hope of being about to hear an apology to themselves from the pulpit. After Mass, Father Antonio was again seen to ascend the pulpit. He gave out the text from the 36th chapter of Job, the 3rd verse, '*Repetam Scientiam meam a principio et operatorem meum probabo bonum.*' Those of his audience who understood Latin, and were persons of any acuteness, perceived immediately what would be the drift of this sermon, and that it would be no less mischievous to them than the previous one. And so it proved. Father Antonio

only repeated his former statements, clenched his former arguments, and insisted upon his former conclusion. Moreover, he added that the Dominicans would not confess any man who made incursions amongst the Indians:—this the Colonists might publish, and they might write to whom they pleased. The congregation heard Father Antonio out, but this time they did not go to the monastery, but they determined to send a complaint to the King, and afterwards to despatch a Franciscan monk (monk against monk) to argue their case at Court. Hitherto the Colonists had already sent two agents to plead for having the Indians assigned to their *Encomenderos* for two or three lives, or even in perpetuity." —Vol. I., pp. 247-252.

The result of the embassy was pretty much the same as that of all similar proceedings on the part of those who interfered on behalf of the natives. The court usually admitted the justice of their appeal, condemned the cruelty and avarice of the colonists, appointed visitors and inspectors to redress the grievances of the Indians, and does in truth seem to have wished to interpose for their protection. But the interposition of the central government was rarely of any avail. The Council of the Indies sat under the pretence of administering the dead letter of various wise and provident regulations which had from time to time been drawn up to quiet the importunity of Las Casas, but which never went to the root of the evil, and for a considerable period members of the Council had a direct interest in the perpetuation of the slave system, inasmuch as many of them had themselves received allotments of slaves. The indefatigable Las Casas put an end to that scandal, but the Council was none the better disposed to put in force the existing restraints upon the cupidity of the settlers, much less to frame new laws for such a purpose. On the other hand, it was impossible for the King to give to his Indian empire the attention which its importance, rightly understood, would have required. He was obliged to entrust its administration to others, and as is often the case, was not wise, or at all events was not fortunate in his choice of servants. His European empire was quite enough to absorb all his individual labour, and his intellect, although not of a common order, was far from equal to the government of such a state at such a period. Under all these circumstances it is not surprising that so small a measure of success attended the efforts of Las Casas. The attempt recorded in the following extracts is one of the boldest in history.

We should have to wait a long time before the Hon. and Rev. John Doe, or the Venerable Richard Roe, with six more of her majesty's chaplains, would force their way into the India house, denounce the torture of the Hindoos, and call things by their proper names, without the slightest dread of offending ears polite by the mention of unpolite truths.

"It has been a common practice at courts to have certain set preachers. In the Spanish court at this time there were eight preachers to the king, and Las Casas bethought himself of laying his troubles, and the wrongs of the Indians before these ecclesiastics, and begging their favour and assistance. I will here give their names, as I think we ought not to grudge naming men who, although they come but once or twice before us, and speak but a few words in the great drama of history, do so in a way that ought to confer reputation upon them. First, then, there were the brothers Coronel, Maestro Luiz and Maestro Antonio, both very learned men, Doctors of the University of Paris. Then there was Miguel de Salamanca, also a doctor of the same university, and a Master in Theology, afterwards Bishop of Cuba; then Doctor De La Fuente, a celebrated man in the time of the late Cardinal Ximenes, of his university of Alcalá, then Brother Alonso de Leon, of the Franciscan Order, very learned in theology, Brother Dionysius, of the Order of St. Augustine, 'a great preacher, and very copious in eloquence.' The names of the other two Las Casas had forgotten.

"The King's preachers and Las Casas formed a junta of their own. They admitted one or two other *religiosos* into it, a brother of the Queen of Scotland being one of them. This last-mentioned noble Monk was one of those who had come over from Picardy in the year 1516 or 1517, and who had himself gained great experience of the proceedings of the Spaniards on the coast of Cumana. The bold Scot wished to propose to the junta a large question of the most searching and fundamental nature, namely, 'With what justice or right an entrance could be made into the Indies, after the manner which the Spaniards adopted in entering those countries.'

"Each day the junta thus constituted met at the monastery of Santa Catalina, and were, as the historian describes, a sort of antagonist council to that held daily on Indian affairs under the presidency of the Bishop of Burgos. They met at the same hour as the Indian Council, perhaps to evade observation, for I imagine their proceedings were kept quite secret.

"The conclusion this junta came to was, that they were obliged, by the divine law, to undertake to procure a remedy for the evils of the Indies, and they bound themselves to each other by oath that none of them were to be dismayed or to desist from the undertaking until it should be accomplished.

"They resolved to begin by 'the evangelical form of fraternal correction.' First, they were to go and admonish the Council of the Indies; if that had no effect, they would then admonish the Chancellor; if he were obdurate, they would admonish Monsieur Chièvres; and if none of these admonitions addressed to the officers of the crown were of any avail, they would finally go to the King and admonish him.

"If all these earthly powers turned a deaf ear to admonition, they, the brothers, would then preach publicly against all of these great men, not omitting to give his due share of blame to the King himself.

"This resolution drawn up in writing, they subscribed to, and they swore upon the cross and the Gospel to carry out their resolve.

* * * * *

"On a certain day entering the Council of the Indies suddenly, to the great astonishment of the Bishop of Burgos and the rest of the Council, the preachers requested leave to speak, and Brother Miguel de Salamanca, the eldest of them, made an earnest and explicit speech, in which he said that he and his brethren were aware of the cruelties and wrongs which had been committed in the Indies, by which the Christian religion was defamed, and that the Indies were being depopulated to the disgrace of the crown, 'for, as the Scripture says, 'in the multitude of the people consists the dignity and honour of the King.'* Then after saying that the preachers wondered how such things had happened in the Indies, considering the merits and prudence of the council, he added, that they knew not on whom to lay the blame, except upon the persons who had been charged with the government of those parts for many years. Then he alleged that the office of preachers in the court was such as to make it incumbent on them to impugn anything that might be contrary to the Divine Majesty; wherefore they had come to inquire how such evils had been permitted, without a remedy having been provided for them, and to see how some remedy might now be provided. Finally, declaring that divine reward would attend upon the Council if they did provide a remedy, and punishment if they did not, he concluded with an apology for the appearance in the Council-room of himself and the brothers.

"Up rose the Bishop of Burgos, and with all the majestic pride of an ancient priest, 'as if they had come in the times of the Gentiles to pull down the temple of Apollo,' thus replied, 'Great is your presumption and audacity, to come and correct the council of the king. Casas is at the bottom of this business. Who gave the

* In multitudine populi dignitas regis: et in paucitate plebis ignominia principis.—Lib. Prov. cap. xiv.

king's preachers authority to meddle in the matters of government, which the king transacts through his councils? The king does not give you bread for that, but for you to preach the Gospel to him.'

"Hereupon Doctor de la Fuente replied: 'In this business *Casas* is not concerned, but the *Casa* (house) of God, whose servants we are, and in whose defence we are bound, and are ready to lay down our lives. Does it appear to your Lordship to be presumption, that eight masters in theology, who might go and exhort a general council in things pertaining to the faith, and to the government of the universal Church, should come and exhort the King's Council? We have power to come and admonish the Councils of the King, in respect of what they may do wrong, for it is our office to be of the Council of the King. And for this we have come here, my Lords, namely, to exhort you, and to require that you amend the great errors and injustices that are committed in the Indies, to the perdition of so many souls, and with such offence to God. And unless you do amend these things, my Lords, we shall preach against you as against those who do not keep God's laws, and who do that which is not convenient for the service of the King. And this, my Lords, is to preach the Gospel and to fulfil it.'

"Doctor de la Fuente, of Alcalá, seems to have imbibed some of the force and directness of the great founder of his university, the late Cardinal Ximenes. The Council were astonished at the Doctor's bold words, and began to soften down a little. Don Garcia de Padilla, now taking up the controversy, said, 'This Council does its duty, and has made many very good provisions for the benefit of the Indies, which shall be shown to you, although your presumption does not deserve it, that you may see how great is your rashness and pride.'

"To this Dr. de la Fuente replied: 'My Lords, you have but to show us these provisions, and if they should be good and just, we shall admit them to be so; but if bad and unjust, we shall give to the Devil them and whoever would sustain and not amend them, and we do not believe that your Lordships will be amongst these persons.'

"Finally, after some other talk upon the part of the Council, and probably with a little more mildness on the other side, it was concluded that the preachers should come the next day and hear the provisions which had been made for the benefit of the Indies.

"Accordingly, they did come, and heard the numerous provisions read, which, from the earliest times of the Catholic Sovereigns downwards, had been made on the subject, but which unhappily had been carried into execution by persons of a very different temper of mind from that of the statesmen, philanthropists, and monarchs, who had been concerned in issuing the various ordinances. When the preachers had heard these official documents

read, they asked for time to deliver their opinions in writing. This opinion comes handed down to us, not by a speech put into their mouths by some imaginative historian, nor does it rest merely on the Clerigo's recollection, but when he wrote his history he had before him the copy of the preachers opinion in the handwriting of Brother Miguel, who was the Secretary of this Clerical junta.

"The document differs in some considerable respects from the opinions of Las Casas, which shows that the preachers exercised an independent judgment. They commence with a graceful and modest exordium, in which they recount the mode of their interference in this matter, praise the laws that had been read to them on their second attendance at the Council, but at the same time intimate their opinion of the insufficiency of these laws. Their Lordships, they add, are not to wonder if a remedy for the evil should come to them from without, 'from an alien hand,' seeing that Moses, highly favoured of God as he was, yet received counsel of an Idolator, touching the government of the Israelites; and that St. Peter had need of the eloquence of Apollos, and of consultation with the rest of the Apostolic body.

"Then they declare that, though far from arrogating to themselves, that they are the persons chosen by God to instruct the Council; yet that they are, as it were, the eyes of the Court, that while their Lordships are spiritually asleep 'in the depths of temporal business,' they, the preachers are, or, as they delicately phrase it, should be studying the law of God in order to expound it to the Court, and they add significantly, that if they had done their duty perhaps there would not be so much corruption in many things as there is.

"They then proceed to the business in hand, and admitting that the laws which were read to them were excellent laws provided there were to be such a thing as a *repartimiento*, and provided the laws in question could be executed, which they thought never could be, they come at once to the root of the matter and pronounce that the cause of all the evil in the Indies is the system of giving the Indians in *repartimiento*. It is contrary, they say, to worldly prudence, to the service of the King, to civil and canonical law, to the rules of moral philosophy, and to the laws of God and of His Church.

"While such a thing exists, they ask, can the evil of these colonies be repaired by any laws that can be made?

"They then go into proof upon all the points they have raised against the system of giving the Indians in *repartimiento*. Upon the first point, namely, of this practice being contrary to worldly prudence, they advance the following argument well worthy of attention. This system, they say, prevents the existence of a State, 'which according to all those who had written of it, consists in diversity of conditions and offices.' Who ever heard, they ask, of a great digging republic (*republica cavadora*) in which there are no soldiers,

philosophers, lawyers, official men, or other kind of labourers than those who dig?

"They afterwards go into the civil and political branch of the argument, and utterly contravene the notion that this system of *repartimientos* is consistent with freedom. What King who ever lived, they asked, compelled his people to work more than nine months of the year for him, or for others? Upon this branch of the argument they lay much stress, and they say, 'we hold (would to God that it may not be so) that this great sin (the system of *repartimientos* or *encomiendas*) will be the cause of the total destruction of the State of Spain if God does not alter it, or if we do not put an end to it ourselves.'

"The preachers then fairly demolished the supposition that visitors can correct abuses. Why, if those visitors were angels, and neither ate, nor slept, nor received gifts, they would not check abuses which the fears of the Indians themselves would always throw a cloak over; and who are those visitors? Persons looking upon the masters whose doings they come to inspect as men, perhaps as friends and benefactors, but upon the Indians as beasts.

"The preachers then enter upon most dangerous ground as we should conceive it, only that there was a great deal more freedom of speech in those days than we are apt to imagine. They contend that *repartimientos* are an injury to the King because they destroy his title; and they lay down the doctrine, that a King's title depends upon his rendering services to his people, or upon his being chosen by them. Now the establishment of those *repartimientos* is not a service to the Indian people, and therefore the King has no title to be their sovereign on account of the services rendered to them; no one can say that the Indians have chosen him for their sovereign; and, therefore, where is the King's title?"—vol. II. pp. 46-59.

The preachers then proceed to supply the remedy for the abuses they have denounced. Their proposal is to accustom the Indians gradually to civil life by forming them into small settlements, under a mild and equitable rule, and with proper guarantees against tyranny or other abuses of power. A moderate amount of work should be required of them at the mines, and after the payment of taxes, the produce of their farms should be their own. Mr. Helps is right in characterizing their project as "a remarkable state paper, sagacious, humane, and bold."

It is not our business to advocate the administration of secular government by churchmen. We certainly do believe, that as far as their own salvation is concerned, it would be promoted far more effectually by the government of their flocks than by the government of empires. Still

less are we concerned, at this moment, to defend the principle of an ecclesiastical state like that of Rome. Its reason of existence is altogether independent and abnormal, and it is to be defended under a particular law and peculiar equities; but it is one of the most contemptible fallacies of a saucy and shallow age to say, that churchmen, as such, are less qualified than others to take part in the administration of affairs. Some of them have done their own share of mischief, but, in general, their government has been characterized by as much genius and success as that of laymen. We look upon the foreign policy of Cardinal Richelieu as the most wickedly unchristian and uncatholic it is possible to conceive; we believe it to have contained the germs of the subsequent misfortunes of France; but looking into the vigour and intelligence of his internal administration, and to the effect which he was enabled to give to his own views; bearing in mind for the moment that to lower the House of Austria was the traditional policy of France, and not requiring of Richelieu to be more far seeing than any other statesman of the time; we affirm that he would not suffer by comparison with any layman of any period. Somewhat the same may be said of Mazarin, and a good deal more for Ximenes, but we think that the views of Las Casas and the King's preachers, and the results which, by these volumes, are shewn to have flowed from the adoption of a contrary policy, are proof sufficient that the statesmanship of churchmen and monks in the catholic period of Spanish history, was very superior to that of the most enlightened laymen of the age.

It is a remark of Montaigne that the sole triumph of some conceptions lies in the disaster which has ensued upon their realization not having been allowed. This is very fully illustrated by the history of Spanish America, and more particularly so if we read it by the light of our own experience in the history of British India. Upon the score of morality in general, and of good faith, right, and humanity in particular, we have no right to claim superiority over the Spaniards. The Spaniards have been more sanguinary, we have been more cruel, the Spaniards more violent, we more insidious, the Spaniards sacrificed life, we applied torture, the Spaniards killed their hen for the glut of the golden eggs, and we blinded the linnet for the improvement of its song. Our wisdom, less wise however

than that of Las Casas and the preachers, has been made manifest by our success, by a constant increase of dominion, by never-failing lacs of rupees, and by the provision of a field to absorb the surplus of ambition and activity that must always exist in a highly organized and populous community like ours. The want of some such issue for enterprise and talent is greatly felt in France for instance. Every secular profession is there overpacked, every career is in plethora, the dignity of each and all their rewards are lowered by infinite competition, and every channel that civilized society has provided for usefully distributing the talents of its members, is choked and impassable. All that would otherwise flow off and expose a beneficial activity upon the antipodes, is thrown back upon the country and subsides into present uselessness and future danger; for the waters, although apparently stagnant, are always rising, and will one day burst their barrier unless some provision be made to draw them off. Had we followed the example of the Spaniards, and killed off our Indians by the million, were the present rice fields abandoned to the alligator and the boa, and the cities of men laid fallow for a growth of jungle, what profit would our Indian Empire bring to us? Our cruelties, our perfidy, our exactions, were, and perhaps are, such as Burke and Sheridan have described, but we were too smart to butcher after the Spanish fashion. In England we believe religion never raised her voice in behalf of the miserable natives; but the fact is, at all events, that the native population has been preserved, and our Empire is what it is.

Let us therefore suppose that the millions who positively swarmed in the Mexican and Peruvian Empires, had been preserved in conformity with the advice of Las Casas and the preachers. They were a far more promising population than the natives of the Indian Empire, to whose conversion and civilization the diversity of castes presents so great an obstacle. The Indians of the two former Empires already possessed considerable mechanical skill; their military qualities were, to say the least, far from contemptible; their faith and simplicity were very great; they were susceptible of feelings of the strongest attachment to their benefactors; they had already a superstitious reverence for their princes; they readily adopted, and thoroughly understood the principles

of Christianity ; there was nothing to prevent their consolidation into a great, an enlightened, and a loyal empire, not through the tedious process of colonization, but by the influence of religion and civil polity, upon a large, an intelligent, and a willing population. Their natural increase, no longer kept under by their savage wars, and by the human sacrifices which formed the principal feature of the Mexican superstition, would not have been excessive, because the improved methods of agriculture applied to a soil of such wonderful fertility, would have maintained the proportion between demand and supply, and have left a large surplus for the purposes of commerce. It is hardly an extreme proposition to affirm that, under these circumstances, the entire of both the American Continents must have been included in the Spanish Empire, and would now have been covered by a Christian population, Indian and European, more numerous than that of China, and yielding a revenue greater than that of all the kingdoms of the earth together. Imagination can hardly compass the grandeur of the possibilities which the councils of Las Casas and the Preachers could have converted into reality. Nor on the other hand are we prepared to say that the present pitiable condition of a nation, which might be so great as Spain, is not the very chastisement which the Preachers foretold should overtake the people of Spain for their destruction of the Indies, and their rejection of the grandest opportunity ever presented to a Christian State. The English in North America had no such materials to work upon, and no such materials to work with, as the Spaniards in Mexico and South America. The North American Indians were fierce, untractable, and almost *feræ naturæ* as compared with the Mexicans, or Peruvians, and their kindred tribes. And had they been as plastic as wax, England was just in the most truculent period of her Protestantism, and could never have moulded them to anything. Again, in India Proper there was still less chance of successful dealing with the population from the peculiar character of their superstition, and from the complete but stunted growth of their civilization, while the instruments were as poor, and the inclination to use them as little as in the case of America. There can hardly be any doubt that the neglected opportunity was almost as great a crime in Spain as the positive wickedness of the Spanish government in America, and certainly the exist-

ing condition of Spain, and of the Spanish colonies, falls little short of that total destruction which the Preachers foretold as the punishment of their cruelty to the Indians. A life of intermittent fear is the only thing to which the condition of these countries, otherwise so favoured, can be compared. Ever in revolution, or on the verge of it, ever balancing between anarchy and despotism, never out of the hot or the cold fit, constantly declining in strength, respectability, wealth and population, the wreck of the Spanish Empire in America, and the remnant of it in Europe, do offer the most mournful spectacle presented by any living nation. Indeed, we think it is rather a confirmation of this view, that the Colonies, which were the chief criminals in the treatment of the Indians, suffer more severely than the Mother Country, whose guilt was certainly far less. In Spain there is occasionally something like a promise of order and stability, but hardly anywhere is such a thing to be seen in the South American Republics. We hope it may not be so, but the prophecy of the Preachers seems likely to be fulfilled in the total extinction and absorption of the Spanish States by the great freebooting republic of the North.

Mr. Helps, in the course of his history, goes at considerable length into the proceedings of the Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans,—the principal missionary bodies in action at the period to which his work reaches. The facts prove beyond cavil that the conversion of the entire Continent would have been not only possible, but easy, had the infatuation of the Colonists been less obstinate. Whenever a momentary respite was granted to the natives, and a fair field to the missionaries, their success was complete. The Author gives one striking instance of this, in the conversion and subjugation of a fierce and resolute province, by four Friars. The passage is somewhat lengthy, but we are unwilling to curtail it.

“After the manner of pious men in those times, Las Casas and his monks did not fail to commence their undertaking, by having recourse to the most fervent prayers, severe fasts, and other mortifications. These lasted several days. They then turned to the secular part of their enterprise, using all the skill that the most accomplished statesmen or men of the world could have brought to bear upon it. The first thing they did was to translate into verse, in the Quiché language, the great doctrines of the Church. In these verses they described the creation of the world, the fall of

man, his banishment from Paradise, and the mediation prepared for him; then the life of Christ, His passion, His death, His resurrection, His ascension; then His future return to judge all men, the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the good. They divided the work, which was very extensive, into *coplas*, after the Castilian fashion. We might well wish for many reasons that this laudable work remained to us, but I am not aware of there being any traces of its existence.

"The good fathers then began to study how they should introduce their poems to the notice of the Indians of Tuzulutlan, and availing themselves of a happy thought for this purpose, they called to their aid four Indian merchants, who were in the habit of going with merchandise four times a-year into this province, called the 'Land of War.' The monks with great care taught these four men to repeat the couplets which they had composed. The pupils entered entirely into the views of their instructors. Indeed, they took such pains in learning their lessons, (and with the fine sense for musical intonation which the Indians generally possessed) repeated those verses so well that there was nothing left to desire. The composition and the teaching occupied three months, and was not completed until the middle of August, 1537. Las Casas communicated his undertaking to Domingo de Bertansos, now the head of the Dominican Order in New Spain, who was delighted to give his sanction and his blessing to the good work. The monks and the merchants, however, were not satisfied until they had brought their labours to much greater perfection, until, indeed, they had set these verses to music, so that they might be accompanied by the Indian instruments, taking care, however, to give the voice parts a higher place in the scale than that of the deep-toned instruments of the natives. No doubt this music was a great improvement upon anything the Indians had ever heard in the way of sweet sounds.

"The enterprize was now ready to be carried into action, to be transplanted from the schools into the world. It was resolved that the merchants should commence their journey into the Land of War, carrying with them not only their own merchandise, but being furnished by Las Casas with the usual smallwares to please the aborigines, such as scissors, knives, looking glasses, and bells. The pupils and the teachers parted, the merchants making their accustomed journey into the provinces of Quiché and Zacapula, their destination being a certain *pueblo* of a great Cacique of those parts, a wise and warlike chief, who had many great alliances.* * * *

"The merchants were received, as was the custom in a country without inns, into the palace of the Cacique, where they met with a better reception than usual, being able to make him presents of their new things from Castille. They then set up their tent and began to sell their goods as they were wont to do, their customers thronging about them to see the Spanish novelties. When the sale

was over for that day, the chief men among the Indians remained with the Cacique to do him honour. In the evening the merchants asked for a '*teplanastle*,' an instrument of music, which we may suppose to have been the same as the Mexican *teponaztli*, or drum. They then produced some timbrels and bells which they had brought with them, and began to sing the verses which they had learned by heart, accompanying themselves on the musical instruments. The effect produced was very great. The sudden change of character not often made, from a merchant to a priest, at once arrested the attention of the assemblage. Then, if the music was beyond anything these Indians had heard, the words were still more extraordinary; for the good fathers had not hesitated to put into their verses the questionable assertion that idols were demons, and the certain fact that human sacrifices were abominable. The main body of the audience was delighted, and pronounced these messengers to be ambassadors from new gods.

"The Cacique, with the caution of a man in authority, suspended his judgment until he heard more of the matter. The next day, and for seven succeeding days the sermon in song was repeated. In public and in private the person who insisted most on this repetition was the Cacique; and he expressed a wish to fathom the matter and to know the origin and the meaning of these things. The prudent merchants replied that they only sung what they had heard; that it was not their business to explain their reasons, for that office belonged to certain *padres* who instructed the people. 'And who are *padres*?' asked the chief. In answer to this the merchant painted pictures of the Dominican monks in their robes of black and white, and with their tonsured heads. The merchants then described the lives of these *padres*, how they did not eat meat, and how they did not desire gold or feathers or cocoa; that they were not married, and had no communication with women; that night and day they sang the praises of God, and that they knelt before very beautiful images. Such were the persons the merchants said who could and would explain these couplets; they were such good people, and so ready to teach, that if the Cacique were to send for them they would most willingly come.

"The Indian chief resolved to see and hear these marvellous men in black and white with their hair in the form of a garland, who were so different from other men, and for this purpose, when the merchants returned he sent in company with them a brother of his, a young man twenty-two years of age, who was to invite the Dominicans to visit his brother's country, and to carry them presents. The cautious Cacique instructed his brother to look well to the ways of these *padres*, to observe whether they had gold and silver like other Christians, and whether there were women in their houses. These instructions having been given and his brother having taken his departure, the Cacique made large offerings of incense and great sacrifices to his idols for the success of the embassy.

"On the arrival of this company at Santiago, Las Casas and the Dominican monks received the young Indian chief with every demonstration of welcome, and it need hardly be said with what joy they heard from the merchants who accompanied him of the success of their mission.

"While the Indian prince was occupied in visiting the town of Santiago, the monks debated amongst themselves what course they should pursue in reference to the invitation which they had received from the Cacique. Their choice fell upon Father Luis Cancér, who was probably the most skilled of all the four in the language that was best likely to be understood in Tuzulutlan. Meanwhile the Cacique's brother and his attendants made their observations upon the mode of life of the monks, who gratified him and them by little presents. It was now time to return, and the whole party, consisting of Luis Cancér, the Cacique's brother, his Indians, and the four merchants of Guatemala, set off from Santiago on their way to the Cacique's country. Luis Cancér carried with him a present for the Cacique in fabrics of Castille, and also some crosses and images. The reason for carrying these latter is that the Cacique might read in these what he might forget in the sermons which would be preached to him. The journey of Father Luis was a continued triumph. Everywhere the difference was noticed between his dress, customs, and manners, and those of the Spaniards who had already been seen in Tuzulutlan. When he came into the Cacique's territory he was received under triumphal arches, and the ways were made clean before him as if he had been another Montezuma traversing his kingdom. At the entrance of the Cacique's own town, the chief himself came out to meet Father Luis, and bending before him cast down his eyes shewing him the same marks of reverence that he would have shewn to the priests of that country. More substantial and abiding honours soon followed. At the Cacique's orders a church was built, and in it the Father said mass in the presence of the chief, who was especially delighted with the cleanliness of the sacramental garments, for the priests of his own country, like those of Mexico, affected filth and darkness, the fitting companions of a religion of terror.

"Meanwhile Father Luis continued to explain the Christian creed, having always a most attentive and favourable hearer in the Cacique. The good monk had taken the precaution to bring with him the written agreement signed by the governor, and he explained to the chief the favourable conditions that it contained for the welfare of the Indians. The merchants were witnesses who might be appealed to for the meaning of the document, and that they were faithful to the monks, indeed, a sort of lay-brotherhood, may be inferred from the fact of their continuing to chaunt every evening the verses which had won for them at first the title of ambassadors from new Gods. The Cacique's brother gave a favourable report of what he had seen at Santiago, and

the result of all these influences on the mind of the Indian chieftain was such that he determined to embrace the Christian faith. No sooner had he become a proselyte than with all the zeal and energy belonging to that character, he began to preach the new doctrine to his own vassals, he was the first to pull down and burn his idols, and many of his chiefs, in imitation of their master, became Iconoclasts."—vol. III. pp. 341 350.

We do no more than justice to Mr. Helps when we say, that he has rendered good service to the cause of truth and humanity by the history of Spanish America. He has for the first time brought clearly before the English public the merits and the sacrifices of men whom that public has been in the habit of connecting with no other ideas than those of venison and sack, alternating with the auto da fe, and with chamber practice of torture in the vaults of the Inquisition. He has also shewn the action of the Church generally upon the question of modern slavery, and proved, as we think, very convincingly, that slavery draws with it its own punishment. He has only had occasion to touch incidentally upon the question of negro slavery, if we except a chapter or two in the first volume, where he deals with the Portuguese discoveries in Africa. We do not believe for our own part that the American public can ever be reached by argument, or softened by compassion, upon this subject; and we make no account whatever of the abolitionism of the North, which we consider to be prompted by geographical and political considerations merely, in the absence of any motive of religion or humanity. The social problem will work itself out, not interrupted by any disturbing influence from Europe. In the present state of American society religion has no voice whatever in the matter. Throughout the Slave States, the system finds no more earnest or practical supporters than the ministers of the Protestant denominations; and in the North their patronage of the slave is valued at its exact worth, and no more. The slaves are under the protection of God but not under that of religion. No Las Casas can ever plead for them; he would get a baptism of tar and be ridden upon a rail if he made the attempt. You can no more hope to influence American slavery by tracts or essays than to quench Cotopaxi with a garden can. The social and the physical volcano will each play its part upon America, do its allotted measure of havoc, and burn out in process of time. But studies and labours such as those of Mr.

Helps can never be barren of profit to ourselves at home. Whatever dissipates prejudice and vindicates truth, ought to be precious in the eyes of society. We are happy to recognize in the public mind the existence of a very general desire to come at the essence of facts. There is an undoubted demand for genuine history. Where such is provided, increase of appetite will be sure to grow by what it feeds on. Mr. Helps, we trust, has only interrupted his labours. Great events and pregnant lessons have undoubtedly been crowded into the few years over which the history is spread; but enterprizes of charity and philanthropy still more daring, successes yet more startling, reverses yet more sad, remain to be recorded by the historian of Spanish America. The rise and fall of the Jesuit settlements in Paraguay, and the subsequent effect of the general suppression of these missions on the continent of America, are almost quite unknown to the English public, and we have little doubt that if brought to light by an historian of such good faith and discernment as Mr. Helps, they cannot fail of producing the happiest results upon the minds of all who are accessible to reason and conviction.

ART. III.—1. *Caroli Passaglia e. Soc. Jesu, &c. De Ecclesia Christi Commentariorum Libri quinque.* Ratisbon: 1853-1857. Vols. I. and II.

2. *The Church of the Bible: or Scripture Testimonies to Catholic Doctrines and Catholic Principles, collected and considered, in a Series of Popular Discourses, addressed chiefly to non-Catholics.* By Frederick Oakeley, M. A., Priest of the Diocese of Westminster. London: Charles Dolman, 1857.

WE have placed together two works which come before us with very different pretensions. The first is a learned and elaborate theological commentary upon the Church, or rather, we should say, it is two volumes of a treatise which, when completed, will constitute the most able scriptural and dogmatic commentary on the Church, hitherto published. It enters with much minuteness, and

with considerable ability, into questions of biblical criticism; and as Professor Passaglia is a critic of great fairness, as well as great erudition, his work will thus supply the defects of preceding treatises on the same subject. While it possesses this additional advantage, that instead of wearying the reader by stating innumerable objections and difficulties, it simply lays down broad general principles, which, when once apprehended, can be applied, as necessary, to particular cases. A work like this, entering, as it does, with such accurate care into the scriptural proof of the Catholic Church, is of much value in a protestant country like England. It will be found to supply the most abundant materials for catechisings, lectures, sermons, and sound controversial discussions. Some may, perhaps, be deterred from attempting the perusal of this commentary by the form in which it is published, and by the style in which it is written; but we can assure them that these are very slight difficulties, and that they will be more than amply repaid by the profound ideas and the just principles to be gleaned from these volumes. As to the particular style of the Latin, it is more ornate and more elaborate than in ordinary theological works; but while we ourselves have a natural preference for the easier and simpler style of Bellarmine or Suarez, we think it very small, indeed, to object against a great professor, that his Latin is composed with elaborate care; and yet this is all to which the objection, as we have sometimes heard it stated, really comes. It is true that Professor Passaglia's Latin is elaborately written, and is interspersed with too many Greek words, giving it, now and then, an air of pedantry, which is as alien as possible to his own real character. But this is, after all, a very slight defect, and we can assure our more timid readers that they will find his Latin to be neither very difficult nor unpleasing.*

* We should recommend this treatise (when completed) to be popularised and published in an English form. There is no one so well qualified to undertake this task as Mr. Allies, who might make it a companion to his excellent volume on St. Peter. We do not mean that Mr. Allies should simply translate Professor Passaglia's work. This would not be so desirable or useful. But taking the work before us as a foundation, he might favour us with one which should contain the ideas and principles here laid down, enriched by the result of his own learning and study.

Mr. Oakeley's volume seems to us to be exactly what it professes to be—a series of popular lectures, shewing the connection between the Bible and the Church, and which are calculated to be of considerable benefit to the class of persons for whom they are intended. They are popular lectures, in contradistinction to a formal theological treatise; but it is easy to perceive, from the care with which they are written, from the line of many of the arguments, and from the whole tone of the volume, that they are directed to minds of a higher class than those of the very poor—to men of thought and refinement, who are familiar with the letter of Scripture, and have some acquaintance with the controversies of the day. We anticipate for these lectures a wide circulation, and recommend them with the utmost sincerity. They bear evidence of having cost their author considerable thought; and although in a volume consisting of sixteen discourses, it is not to be expected that every lecture should be written with equal power, yet many of them will be found conclusive in their argument, while they are all full of interest and instruction. The spirit too, in which they are written, deserves particular commendation. If our tractarian friends sometimes find fault with the supposed “bitterness” of converts, they certainly can bring no charge of this kind against Mr. Oakeley's Lectures, which breathe a tenderness and gentleness of tone in addressing those whom he calls “non-Catholics,” that is in the highest degree praiseworthy, if it do not pass its just limits. But here we must confess to entertaining a suspicion that, in his desire to be fair and charitable towards his “non-Catholic” audience, Mr. Oakeley has approached very close to the extreme of these limits. It may arise from a fault of our own less-charitable disposition; but, in perusing these lectures, we seemed to ourselves to detect now and then a sort of apologetic tone used in defence of the Church and her doctrines, leaving upon our minds a confused suspicion that the presumption, at first sight, was against the Church and in favour of the protestants. But there is really no one who feels more deeply than Mr. Oakeley, that of all the institutions in the world, the Catholic Church stands the least in need of an apology. According to all just principles of reason and of law, it has every thing on its side. It has prescription, antiquity, and “possession” in its favour; and instead of defending

itself, the *onus probandi* lies upon those who have deserted its banner, and who ought always to be called upon to shew cause why they should not confess their fault, and seek reconciliation with the Church. This is a vantage ground which belongs, of right, to a Catholic in every controversy; and it would be mistaken kindness, as well as an error in judgment, ever to cede it to the adversary.

We must hazard another criticism upon Mr. Oakeley's introductory Lecture, which, if made without hesitation, is at all events made without any strong reliance upon the soundness of our own judgment. We confess, that in addressing protestants, we should have taken a different line about the Bible from that adopted by the Author before us. Although Mr. Oakeley states his own view with the caution natural to a careful theologian, he still puts it forward as conceivable and in accordance with fact, that the Scriptures as now collected into a volume, may be *intended* to serve the purpose of leading the learner up to his true authoritative and final teacher; and hence, the title of his lecture, the *Providential* use of the Bible to non-Catholics. He also, in the course of the lecture, in addressing his protestant audience, uses the expressions, "your own Scriptures," and "your Bible." Now we would take the liberty of saying, with the greatest respect for Mr. Oakeley's judgment, and with a high opinion of his general theological accuracy, that there appears to us to be a real distinction between what is directly *providential*, and what is merely *permissive*. It often happens that good may come out of evil, but the evil itself is never directly ordained by Divine Providence. It is, on the contrary, a violation of the Will of that Providence, and in opposition to what it really intended. In like manner, we can conceive good to result accidentally from the protestant use of the Bible; but we should still be reluctant to admit that this use of the Bible was in any direct and formal sense *providential*. Nor could we ever consent to allow the Scriptures to be so appropriated by the protestants as to be rightly called their own Scriptures and their Bible. The truth is, that in no sense are they their own Scriptures. They no more belong to them, than do the *Te Deum*, the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the hymns and collects which they have taken from the Office-books of the Catholic Church. In strict theological truth, it must be said, that those who are alien to the Church;

have *purloined* the Scriptures, as well as many of the doctrines and ceremonies which appertain, by divine right, to the Church alone; and as no act of theft can, in its nature, be the direct object of a providential arrangement, so the protestant world can never establish its right to hold, disseminate, or read the Scriptures. The Catholic Church is indeed unable to prevent them from doing so. It may, moreover, endeavour to turn this reading to their spiritual benefit; still it does not in the abstract admit their right; and therefore it can only *accidentally* happen, that good to the soul, and reconciliation with the Church can eventuate from the protestant perusal of the Bible. Mr. Oakeley will probably think this opinion too severe and rigid, and should it be proved so we shall be happy to retract it; but it must be remembered that this is the line adopted by Tertullian in his book on the prescriptions; and if it be a true position, it ought never to be abandoned.

We have united the treatise of Dr. Passaglia with the Lectures of Mr. Oakeley, because they each contain many great merits of their own: they are both occupied with the text of the Sacred Scriptures; and they have each supplied us with the thoughts upon the nature and fortunes of the Church, for which we now solicit our readers' attention.

Among such protestants as profess to believe in the existence of any visible Christian Body at all, the Church is usually defined to be a Society, which is divine, indeed, so far as it was called into being by the will of God, but which is human in every other respect;—in its organization, its institutions, its powers, and its properties. Another School, influenced by a higher tone of feeling, and imbued with sympathies and longings, strongly disposing it towards the Catholic religion, would regard the Church of Christ as a Society, which is *human* in its organic constitution, its national ramifications, and its outward conformation; but which is *divine*, in the fact of having been founded by a divine Person, in the end for which it was called into existence, and in the *external* assistance which it receives from time to time, whereby it is prevented from lapsing into error, and is enabled faithfully to fulfil its high and holy office. But both these definitions fall with harshness upon Catholic ears. The former is manifestly heretical, while the latter, to say the least, is false and inadequate. The Catholic conception

of the Church is something very much deeper and grander. The Church, as we Catholics regard it, is no merely human association, assisted by a divine help, coming to it altogether from without. It is not, for this reason, only a divine Society because it has had a divine founder; nor because the end was supernatural on account of which it has been called into being; its claims to "a participation of the divine nature" stand upon a higher ground. Viewed in its ontological entity, the Church of Christ is a Body, in which the human and the divine coalesce and form, as it were, one Person, in the same way as the human and the divine natures in Christ are united in the One divine Person of the Son of God; and in the same way as the soul and the body in man are the properties of one and the same living person. It is this conception of the Catholic Church which distinguishes it from the ancient Synagogue of the Jews, as well as from all societies whose origin is simply human. The Jewish Church had its foundation in that Divine Providence which chose a particular nation to be the recipients of His special heavenly graces, and to be the guardians of the true religion. It was, moreover, protected and defended by the power of God; and, in many remarkable ways, it received extraneous assistance from heaven, given in order to preserve it as an uncorrupted witness to the Truth. But the Synagogue of the Jews never laid claim to the prerogatives and the privileges that are the birthright of the Catholic Church, which she has ever asserted as her own, and which have been distinctly secured to her by the promises contained in the Sacred Scriptures. The reason is plain. It is because the Synagogue was merely a temporary institution, while the Church was designed to endure for ever. The former was the shadow, and the latter was the substance. The former was "the schoolmaster to bring men to Christ," and the latter is herself the Spouse of Jesus, enjoying with Him the most close, intimate, and indissoluble union, so that there is really no further analogy or resemblance between the external polity of the Mosaic dispensation, and the Christian Church, than such as must always exist between a faint and inadequate type, and the person or thing obscurely indicated and shadowed forth. But if we would discover the full and adequate "Exemplar" of the Church—the image to which it perfectly corresponds—the form after which it is constituted,—

we must lift up our minds to contemplate the Incarnation of the Son of God. Between the Christian Church and its Incarnate Saviour, there does, indeed, exist a very wonderful and a very full analogy. To use the words of one who has thought deeply upon these interesting questions,*—the ultimate reason of the Visibility of the Church is to be found in the Incarnation of Christ. Had the Son of the Most High descended into the heart of man without assuming the form of a Servant, without taking human nature into His Divine Person, He would then have founded a church invisible and altogether interior. But because He was made flesh, and manifested Himself in an exterior and human fashion, He Himself as man living, teaching, and dying among men and for men, He has thus shown that the Divine Wisdom has chosen to make use of outward and visible means for the restoration and reparation of the world; and by this choice He has likewise shown that such outward and sensible means are those which are best adapted to the wants as well as to the capacities of our weak nature. Hence, as Christ began the work of human regeneration by His own Personal Presence upon earth in His visible human nature, so He continues this same mighty and momentous work through the instrumentality of a Visible Church, which is consequently the correlative of His incarnation,—a mystical, permanent incarnation of an already incarnate Saviour. In a word, it is Jesus Christ Himself, who constituting Himself the life, the soul, the Head of His members, in and through one body, is carrying on the salvation of mankind by means and instruments which the very attributes of His own Divinity render necessarily and intrinsically indefectible and infallible. This is alike the doctrine of Scripture and of the Fathers. In Scripture we find the faithful called “the Body of Christ,”—“the Church which is His Body, the fulness of Him who is filled all in all,”†—“the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ”—“one body,” of whom Christ is “the Head, from whom the whole body maketh increase into the building up of itself in charity.” Nothing can be stronger, or more entirely to the point, than the language used by St. Paul in his First

* Mœhler Symbolism, p. 2, chap. v.

† Ephesians, i. 22, 23; ii. 16, 21; iv. 4, 16.

Epistle to the Corinthians; "For," he says, "as the body is one and hath many members; and all the members of the body being many yet are one body, *so also is Christ*."* That is, so also Christ is one body. In the same way as the many limbs and divisions of the human frame make up together one and only one body, so Christ is many, and yet only one. But how? He proceeds to give us the reason. "For in one spirit were we all baptized into one body, and in one spirit we have all been made to drink. Now you are the body of Christ, and members of members." Hence, if we would employ scriptural language in order to apprehend the real nature of the Visible Church, we would speak of it and describe it not only as the body of Christ but as *Christ Himself*, "*so also is Christ*." The Church is Christ, continuing His Incarnate Presence through His Mystical Body. The Church is Christ, and because it is Christ it cannot err, nor fail, nor cease to be dear to God, and to be faithful to God. In a word, the powers and prerogatives of the Church have their real foundation in that union of the Head with its members, which, according to the sublime language of St. Paul, constitutes or makes up the body of Christ, and Christ Himself. So thought and so spoke St. Augustine, perhaps the greatest mind and intellect that has ever served in the cause of the Catholic Church, next to St. Paul and to St. Chrysostom. Those of our readers who may happen to remember the sermons of Augustine on the Psalms and on St. John, or his treatises against the Donatists, will recollect how repeatedly he speaks of the members with their divine head as constituting altogether one whole Christ—*totus Christus*. The Church in his idea is invested with a certain living personality. The members without the Head are nothing, and the Head is never disjoined from the members; both together make up one living and energising body, and this body is *totus Christus*. Hence he

* 1 Cor. xii. 12, 27.

† Audi Apostolum hoc ipsum evidentius exprementem, sicut enim corpus unum est, et membra habet multa, omnia autem membra corporis cum sint multa, unum est corpus, sic et Christus. Loquens de membris Christi, hoc est de fidelibus, non ait, sic et membra Christi, sed totum hoc quod dixit Christum appellavit.—S. Aug. in Ps. 30. En. 2.

sometimes calls upon his audience to rejoice and give thanks to God, not only because they were made Christians, but because they were made Christ. "Br thren," he says, "understand ye the grace of God our Head? Be filled with admiration, rejoice, we are made *Christ*. For if He is the Head and we are the members, He and we make up the whole Man."*

This profound conception of the Catholic Church will be found to pervade the treatise of Professor Passaglia,† and we have endeavoured to set it before our readers as clearly and as briefly as we could, since it is necessary to the object which we have at present in view. For let this sublime idea of the Christian society be once fully and adequately apprehended, and it will be easy to follow the very remarkable parallels which exist between our Saviour as He appeared upon earth, and the characteristics and fortunes of the Catholic Church. We would ask our readers' patience and attention while we attempt to draw out some of these parallels. They will be found to have a solid foundation in fact. They are in themselves calculated to deepen our sense of the supernatural character and divine attributes of that great society to which the Providence of God has affiliated us; while they will not, we trust, be wholly without influence upon the minds of those who are beyond its pale. For the parallels themselves are such as in all fairness and consistency can only be applied to the Church which is in communion with Rome; and consequently the conclusion is inevitable, that it is this

* S. Aug. in Joan. cap. 5. Tract 21. St. Augustine goes on to say, *Plenitudo ergo Christi, caput et membra. Quid est caput et membra? Christus et ecclesia. Arrogaremus enim nobis hoc superbè, nisi ipse dignaretur hoc promittere, qui per Apostolum eundem dicit, vos autem estis Corpus Christi et membra.....* The following is too beautiful to be omitted. *Noluit se separare, sed dignatus est adglutinari. Longe a nobis erat, et multum longe; quid tam longe quam conditum et conditor? quid tam longe quam Deus et homo? quid tam longe, quam justitia et iniquitas? quid tam longe, quam æternitas et mortalitas? Ecce quam longe erat Verbum in principio Deus apud Deum, per quem facta sunt omnia. Quomodo ergo factus est prope, ut esset quod nos, et nos in illo? Verbum caro factum est et habitavit si illo.*

† See cap. 5, 39, 43, &c.

communion alone which can substantiate its claim to be the Catholic Church.

We must ask our readers to lay aside for the moment their Christian feelings, habits, and prepossessions, to become in imagination Israelites of the olden time, and to sojourn with us for a season now in Bethlehem, now in Nazareth, and finally in Jerusalem. We will suppose ourselves to have obtained admission into the house of a certain respectable inhabitant of Nazareth, and having been invited to take our place along with the other guests around his table, we will sit with breathless attention, listening to an unusually interesting narrative of matters affecting Jesus Christ and His parents, and which happened to come under the especial notice of our imaginary host. "My family and myself," commences our host, "chanced to be among the number of those whom the decree of Cæsar Augustus brought to the same inn with Joseph and Mary, but being in more prosperous circumstances than they, we were of course enabled to secure better and more convenient accommodation. I well remember the night on which the child Jesus was born. It was a cold December night. The stars were shining brightly in the heavens; the moon had begun to wane. The winter had set in with unusual severity, and the continued going to and fro of newly-arrived travellers, caused an amount of discomfort and inconvenience, such as we had rarely experienced. As if to make the confusion still greater, and to add another element to the universal disorder, a poor woman was confined in the stable of the inn. The report spread quickly enough through the house; but what from the necessity of looking after one's luggage, the claims of hunger, which after a long tedious journey loudly demanded satisfaction, and from the fact that the woman was supposed to be a person of no consequence, inasmuch as she was poor, and was lodged in an outhouse of the inn, the event scarcely created a momentary sensation; it called forth perhaps a smile, an expression of pity, an angry grumble, a hasty imprecation, and then no more was thought about it, each man being sufficiently absorbed in taking care of his own wants and interests. Some shepherds, it is true, came in at midnight to visit these poor people, but they attracted no observation, as we naturally inferred that they were relatives who had come to look after her wants. Early on the following

morning, as myself and others passed through the shed to give provender to our beasts of burden, our eyes rested for a moment upon the woman and her child. The little infant was a fine boy. It was impossible to mistake the strong and healthy colour of his ruddy cheeks; but one could not help feeling surprise at the hard lot which had condemned a young person, so tender, so modest, so gentle, so highly-bred, and, as far as we could see, so exquisitely beautiful as its mother, to give birth to her first-born son in a place only fit for horses and cattle.

“The scene changes, and we are established in business at Nazareth. Some years have passed since the enrolment at Bethlehem, and the occurrences of that eventful night had nearly escaped our recollection. To our surprise the same family re-appear at Nazareth. There is the old man and the young wife, and their little boy. We could not be mistaken about their identity. That mother had no compeer among the daughters of Israel, and there was a simplicity and a beauty about that Child which reflected the unearthly loveliness of its youthful parent. The old man opened a carpenter’s shop, in the business of which he was frequently assisted by his son. Those three lived in perfect seclusion and retirement. Although kind and courteous to all around them, they sought no acquaintances, and courted no observation. Yet we had frequent opportunities of meeting with them, sometimes being led by business to the workshop of Joseph, and sometimes passing them by, as in the evening they sat before the door of their humble cottage, taking their homely repast. Yet they always seemed to be the same quiet, unobtrusive, harmless people, apparently wrapped up in each other’s conversation.

“As time went on, from different causes we lost sight of this singular family; until one day upon entering with some of my children a synagogue in Nazareth, who should stand up to preach to the people, and teach, but the child of the beautiful Jewish matron, now grown into a man, and bearing upon his noble brow the unmistakeable lineaments of his mother’s features. As all our family belonged to the strictest sect of the Pharisees, we confess to have been scandalized at this exhibition. Who was this that thus presumed to teach and preach? Why we remember Him a little boy working in his father’s shop, and now He comes forward in a new

character, and is evidently aiming at overturning the traditions of our Fathers. Whence hath this Man this wisdom and these miracles? Is He not the carpenter's Son? Is not His Mother Mary, and are not His brothers, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And His sisters, are they not all with us? Whence then hath this Man all these things? And they were scandalized in His regard.* Yet He continued to teach though men were scandalized by His doing so. His teaching, moreover, sounded strange and novel, and we knew not whither it tended. But there was no mistaking His voice nor His words; the report of Him and His fame spread abroad throughout the whole region; and wherever He appeared in public, crowds of the common people eagerly and enthusiastically gathered around Him."

This actual earthly life of our Blessed Saviour, which we have endeavoured to portray in some such manner as it must have presented itself to the eyes of those who lived at the same time, and in the same city, is called by theologians, His *human or sensible visibility*.† He was in all respects a man, like unto ourselves. He passed through the different stages of human life, infancy, childhood, and manhood. He ate, drank, slept, worked, conversed, was instructed, and taught. The practical men of that day, if they were men of good natural dispositions, may have admired His singular and heavenly beauty; while they may also have been attracted to Him by the modest loveliness of His holy character. But there was no outward mark or sign about Him, which compelled men to see that this Man was also God;—that He who had lain in the womb, had been an infant, a child, and a young man, was the very same whose goings forth have been from all eternity. On the contrary, to the merely practical man, the idea would have seemed preposterous; just as it seems now-a-days preposterous to the Socinian, and (although they do not, perhaps, admit it even to themselves) to the greater portion of the Protestant world. The thought either would never have crossed the minds of such men, or if it did, it would be instantly banished as absurd. The more forward

* Matthew xiii. 54, 55.

† Passaglia, cap. 5.

‡ Luke ii. 46.

among them laughed at the very notion, whenever our Lord Himself said anything that could be brought to bear upon it. "Thou art not yet forty years old, and hast Thou seen Abraham?" It was something, they thought, worse than an infatuation to ask them to believe contrary to the evidence of their senses, that one whose days were passed in the midst of them, the years of whose short life they could so easily count up, had nevertheless been before Abraham was. But although they were obliged to reject with scorn this supernatural idea of Christ, they admitted, and indeed their rejection of the supernatural was founded upon this admission—the reality of His human and sensible visibility. "The Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us." And the ordinary mass of those who were brought in contact with Him, saw and confessed the humanity in which He was enshrined, and saw and confessed this alone.

It has never been God's way in His dealings with free creatures to force sublime truths upon their conviction by a sort of iron mechanism. "The just shall live by faith;" and men are led on to the faith by the grace which excites them to reflect upon, to weigh and to ponder all those circumstances and all those matters that have in reality the strongest demands upon their most serious consideration. Thus, when our Saviour walked upon the earth, He did not overwhelm any one with His heavenly glory; yet He so manifested His Divine Nature, that the apostle could say with truth, "We saw His glory, the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father."^{*} The human nature of our Saviour was the channel through which His Divine Nature was also made visible unto men; but it was not made evident to every kind and sort of person—to the sceptic, the impure, the careless, the man of money, or the hard man of the world. It was made visible to those who took the trouble to watch, to observe, and to think seriously. To such persons it became as evident as the light of the sun, that "God was manifested in the flesh." "We have believed"—are the words of St. Peter,—“and have known that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.” “This more recondite visibility, which in contradistinction to the sensible and human, is called by theologians the intellec-

* John i. 14.

lual and divine, was manifested in a great variety of ways.* It was made evident by the notes of prophecy which met in Jesus, and pointed Him out as the Christ, the Saviour of the world. It was made evident by the angelic voice which declared to Mary, that the Holy One who should be born of her was the Son of God. It was made evident by the angelic song, which declared to the shepherds, as representing the human family, that "unto you is born a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." It was manifested by the Voice of the Almighty Father Himself, who twice during Our Lord's Life on earth, proclaimed from heaven, that "this is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." It was moreover manifested by those signs and wonders—those miracles of love and mercy, to which Christ Himself so constantly appealed as being in themselves most conclusive evidences of His Divine Nature and His Divine Mission. It was also made evident by that wonderfully attractive teaching which drew to Him so many thousands of the people, which exercised upon them a fascination so remarkable and so powerful, as to cause them to sit for hours at His feet, forgetful of the cravings of appetite and heedless of the ordinary cares of life; which had such music in its very words as to soothe and tranquillise all who yielded themselves up to its holy influence; nay, which was even able to send back to their masters the rough soldiers who had been commissioned to take Jesus as He was teaching in the temple, with the confession, that they were not able to execute their commission, because "never man spake like this Man." Lastly, it was made evident by the daily life of our Saviour, which breathed in its every thought, word, and act, a holiness altogether divine—a holiness to which nothing could be added, and from which nothing could be taken.

In these and in other ways, the Divine, no less than the Human Nature of Our Blessed Saviour was made visible; but this visibility was intellectual, not sensible, revealing itself to those, and to those alone, who took pains to think, to watch, to reflect, and to correspond with the incitements and motions of the grace of God.

The outward organization of the Catholic Church is the parallel which it presents to the human or sensible visi-

* Passaglia, cap. 5, p. 124, 125.

bility of the Son of God. There is no sane person who would deny that there exists in the world a society or body corporate, known as the Catholic Church, or the Church of Rome. This Society numbers amongst its members a large majority of professing Christians. It is the most conspicuous, the most powerful, and the best organised religious body in existence. Before its rise mankind never saw anything similar to it; and although, during the course of its eventful career, many attempts have been made to rival, or to surpass it; no one can deny that all these attempts have been made in vain. It stands alone in the world, with respect to the unity of its government, the compactness of its organization, and the wonderful hold which it possesses over the hearts and consciences of its members. Its greatest enemies do not venture to call in question either its existence as a religious Society, or the compactness and unity which gives it such marvellous power and strength. In other words, they admit that visibility of the Church, which the theologians call human and sensible. But they limit their admission to the human and sensible only. As to the notion that behind that which is obvious and palpable to the senses, there is something super-human and divine—it is one which they could not bring themselves to entertain. The standard of what is called common sense is thought to be infallible; and there is a large body of men who fancy that they can unravel all the mystery of the Catholic Church by judging it according to what they suppose to be this standard. We do not now speak of those wild fanatics whose religious existence appears to be mainly sustained by the most bitter denunciations of the Church of Rome. We allude to greater men—to minds of a higher cast—to men like Ranke or Macaulay, whose hatred of the Catholic Church, its dogmas, its institutions, and its spirit, although as profoundly rooted as that of the most violent ultra-Protestant, is nevertheless founded upon too intellectual a basis, to allow them to deny both its real power, and its real grandeur. Men, like these, sometimes surprise us by their apparent candour and liberality. They resemble enemies, who conscious of their own superiority, can afford to treat their opponents with the utmost generosity, and are proud of doing so. Far from vilifying the Church, they will speak of it in terms almost approaching to admiration. Never, they will tell you, was there a polity so wonderful

as that of Rome. It is the most perfect system of spiritual government that the world has ever beheld. It is an edifice erected and put together with so much care and skill, that it would be impossible to alter the position of a single stone, without injuring the symmetry and harmony of the whole. Everything is in its place, is doing its proper work, is contributing to its appointed end. Silently and steadily this great society of the Roman Church is effecting its own objects ; and from working out these objects neither fears nor promises can turn it aside for a moment. It is a system which shows no symptoms of decay. Great cities like London may grow old and pass away, but when they are no more the old man at the Vatican will still be ruling from his solitary throne the consciences of millions of his fellow creatures. They will also admit that notwithstanding the progress of intellect and knowledge, the Catholic Church has more universal sway over the minds of men, and is more cheerfully obeyed at the present day than, perhaps, at any former period in her history. Nor does it exercise this sway over the weak, the ignorant, and the superstitious only. It has attractions powerful enough to secure the allegiance of the mightiest intellects of the age. Where will you find a body of men, for example, more able, more subtle, more intellectual, more profoundly versed in knowledge of mankind, than the Jesuits, and yet every one knows that they are the flower and the strength of the Catholic Church. Nay, this is one of those marvellous facts in connection with the Church of Rome—its applicability to all classes and to all descriptions of men—to the poor, to the rich, to the superstitious, and to the subtlest understanding. Moreover, it has in this, as in many other respects, the advantage over Protestantism, that whenever the two systems have been brought into contact, the Catholic religion has always won the day. Yet while making such admissions as these, and forming for themselves so ideal and so romantic a portrait of the Church, the class of mind to which we have alluded have their own way of unravelling the apparent mystery. You would naturally anticipate that after having admitted so much they would be ready to concede more ; but to your surprise, they suddenly draw off, and with a significant expression of countenance give you to understand that they have managed to get behind the scenes. They see clearly how it all is. It is quite a mistake to suppose anything

super-human, anything supernatural in the Catholic Church. It is simply a very sagacious constitution of human policy. By a judicious use of such stereotyped expressions as "ambitious pontiffs," "italian subtlety," "the tactics of Rome," "the dark designs of priestcraft," and "the love of power," they explain in a way most satisfactory to their own minds, as well as to the minds of the Protestant public in general, all that might otherwise be deemed mysterious, super-human, and divine in the Catholic religion—in the unity of its purpose, the grandeur of its claims, and the durability of its existence. Moreover, there is often just enough of truth in these theories to give them a degree of plausibility. The Catholic Church, as a matter of fact, *has* its human side, and is externally worked by human means, and by human instruments. It is a great kingdom; and like other kingdoms has its ordinary routine of official business. It has its courts of law, its embassies, its elections; and, as in these things, the human element necessarily occupies a prominent place, a certain colour of plausibility is thereby really given to the opinion which would regard the Church as a human polity, and nothing more. Common sense, or what is usually thought so, here comes in, and exercises its dominion over "practical men." They see the absurdity of connecting anything super-human with a system which in its outward organization follows all the details of a merely temporal kingdom; and they are not going to suffer themselves to be the victims of superstition or of priestcraft, "the tools of a crafty priesthood." They will not submit their judgments to the guidance of others; but exercising what they conceive to be the inherent birthright of men, they have formed their own opinion with respect to the Catholic Church—an opinion which leads them to admire the ability with which it has been framed, but to reject, as absurd, its claims to a supernatural character. Thus, just as the practical men in our Lord's day were not to be persuaded into the belief that the carpenter's Son, whom in His place they were ready to admire and esteem, was the Messiah, the Saviour of the world, the Son of God, and God Himself; so the practical men of our own day are ready enough to admit the wonderful unity, and the sagacious policy of the Catholic Church; but they are too wise and too knowing to be caught by what they stigmatise as its cunning pretensions to that which is more than human.

Yet, if there be ought that is divine upon the earth, it is the Catholic Church. It bears upon its outward visibility innumerable marks of that Divine Presence, which, from within, gives it life and vigour; and these marks are such as almost forcibly to arrest the attention of all who do not positively refuse to see before them. It must be a divine principle which can unite together in the same faith and the same discipline, so enormous a multitude of the human family as that which constitutes the Catholic Church, among whom are to be found every natural element of discord and division,—the jealousies of nations, the antipathies of race, and the prejudices of caste. That singleness of purpose, too, which is so conspicuous in the Roman Church, and which has gained for it, from its enemies, the praise or the blame of being the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, “unchangeable and unchanged,”—what is this but an attribute of Him, of whom the Holy Ghost saith the same thing? In all times, and under all circumstances, the Church of Rome has manifested this same singleness of purpose. It has been shown in the zeal and ardour with which her missionaries have always endeavoured to plant the Cross of Christ in the uttermost parts of the earth, to reclaim the barbarian, soften the Indian, baptize the abandoned Chinese infants,—forsaking all that is naturally dear to men, and cheerfully, yea, boldly risking life itself for the chance of saving a single soul. It is shown in the firmness with which she is ready at all times to defend and protect the dogmas of the faith. History cannot point to a single accredited instance, in which she ever tampered with the sacred deposit, either by permitting it to be denied with impunity, by consenting to regard it as an open question, by giving up one particle of any of her definitions, or by holding communion for a hour with those whom she had rejected and anathematized as heretical. Her deadliest foes will not accuse her of sacrificing to expediency her own statements of doctrine. There have been times in her history when she could have secured the favour of the world, gained an increase of temporal consequence, secured herself from persecution, and replenished her treasury with gold, had she consented to modify her dogmatic statements, and to allow Arian and Nestorian, Erastian and Jansenist, to call themselves her sons and children, and to continue within her communion. But she has never, during the long course

of nineteen centuries, swerved from the principle from which she at the beginning started. Her language to-day is the same as it was a thousand years ago. She proclaims herself now, as then, the only teacher come from God. She determines, freely and boldly, what men are bound to believe, and what to reject. She calls on the whole world to receive her as their spiritual guide and teacher, and she denounces all as heretics, as aliens to the kingdom of God, as men placed by her anathemas in the same category with "the heathen and publican,"* who deliberately repudiate her claims and reject her authority. In this awful sameness and singleness of purpose, we discern an infallible mark of the *theological*, or divine visibility of the Church.† A human institution would inevitably change with the vicissitudes of the times, with the variations of opinion, or with the different characters of the great minds that happened to be its rulers and directors. But the Roman Church changes neither in its object, its principles, nor its mode of action; although its supreme pastors succeed each other in too rapid a succession, although its prelates are seldom called to their high posts of government until they have passed the meridian of human life, and after having laboured for a short time, then pass on to their rest, and leave their posts to be occupied by others; although, in a word, all around, and all within the Church, is ever undergoing a constant and incessant change and revolution,—the Church herself, nevertheless, remains calm, tranquil, and unmoved. The clouds may obscure for a moment the glory of her external appearance; the storms of persecution may now and then fiercely burst over her, and seem by their violence as though they would actually overwhelm and destroy her; but the clouds pass away—the storm is lulled—the thunder ceases to roar—the sun shines out again bright and gay, and Rome is seen to have recovered all her elasticity and all her strength. The world beholds with astonishment that she is not only *where* she was before, but with respect to identity and consistency, exactly *as* she was before. Surely this perpetual youth, this marvellous tenacity, this unconquerable perseverance of the Church, unparalleled as it is by anything similar in the world, can only be the fulfil-

* Matt. xviii. 17.
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† Passaglia, cap. 5, p. 123.

ment of the promise, "Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam," and they are consequently so many unmistakeable manifestations of its divine or theological visibility.

Most persons will admit that there is something peculiar in the religious character formed by the teaching and training of the Catholic Church. The Church of Rome is the only communion on earth in which Christian heroism, in its highest forms, is valued, honoured, and put in practice. The separated Churches of the East have their convents, monasteries, and religious brotherhoods; but, since their fatal separation from the centre of unity, they have produced no saints, and their religious life has subsided into a cold and stiff stagnation. It is otherwise with the Church of Rome. Not only are her associations for the cultivation of the higher departments of the ascetic life more numerous and more fruitful than those of the Oriental schismatical Churches, but as a general rule, they are full of zeal, of energy, and of vigour; they propagate the spirit of their founders through a numerous spiritual progeny; they keep before men the sublimest standards of Christian heroism, and they teach them that such standards ought not to be beyond their aim, and are not necessarily beyond their reach. It is, indeed, in the heroes of the Catholic Church that we can trace the most remarkable manifestations of its divine origin and divine spirit. It is only under the gentle nurture of Rome, that such men as Francis of Assissi, Ignatius of Loyola, and St. Francis Xavier could have been formed. They are the genuine growth of the Catholic Church, born in her communion, educated in her doctrines, penetrated with her spirit, devoted to her cause; and yet they are a trio which, in a pre-eminent degree, reflect upon the world, and reproduce in it the tenderness, the gentleness, the spirit of charity, the love of suffering, the poverty, the humility, the wisdom, the discernment, the elevation of soul, and the zeal and the self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ. If the Catholic Church could indicate no other symptoms of its interior divinity, the fact of having produced and trained these great saints, would be more than sufficient to establish her supernatural character. These saints have had their compeers within the Church, while among the members of their own orders they have had many who, with more or less completeness, have approached their own

degree of Christian perfection ; but beyond the Roman Church there are none who can be put into comparison with them. No sect separated from Rome has any saints. The counsels of evangelical perfection are professed, and to some extent practised, in the great communions of the East ; but these communions are like the branches of a tree which lie lifeless on the ground, in consequence of their abscission from the main trunk. Among the Protestant bodies there are neither counsels of perfection, nor any encouragement to practise them. Whatever attempts have been made among them to rise superior to the ordinary standard of the day, have invariably terminated in a melancholy failure. Wesley and Whitfield might have been something, had their lot been cast in the Catholic Communion ; but as it was, they were like delicate plants upon a desolate moor, which the cold east wind destroys ere they can bring their flowers into bloom. In the Anglican Church the highest type of sanctity represents the practical virtues of a quiet, social, married life ; a life in which the family affections occupy the most prominent place, where moderation and good breeding regulate the use to be made of the world and its wealth, where the love of God will never break out into any strong acts of zeal or of enthusiasm, and where there is little fear of meeting with any violent defence of doctrine or principle. This sort of life has, it is true, its good and its pleasing side. The refined and quiet religious demeanour of an Anglican gentleman, or clergyman, educated at Eton or Oxford, moral in his conduct, beneficent to the poor, a kind husband, an affectionate father, and a good neighbour, presents us with a most favourable and attractive type of the civilized man ; but it hardly comes up to the formal idea of Christianity, while, if contrasted with the standard set before the world, we do not say by such men as St. Francis Xavier, and St. Ignatius of Loyola, but by the Catholic priesthood in general, it is impossible not to be struck with the incongruity of the contrast. The former speaks of the earth, of the world, of the present life ; it keeps within considerable restraint, and at a considerable distance, all supernatural thoughts and aspirations ; but the latter resembles the breaking in upon men of the unseen world. It is, if one may so call it, the visible Incarnation of the grace of God ; it is Christ, continuing His own life in the Persons of His Saints ; it is,

consequently, a most infallible manifestation and proof of the interior divinity of the Catholic Church.

Were we engaged upon a formal treatise in theology, it might be well to enter more fully into those notes of the Church which foreshadow its supernatural and divine nature. But what has been said already is abundantly sufficient to show the reality of the parallel that exists between the twofold visibility of the Incarnate Son of God on the one hand, and the human and theological visibility of the Church on the other. As in the case of Christ, so it is in the case of the Church. The Divine Nature and Personality of Christ was made manifest through the instrumentality of His Human Nature, and yet it was not so made manifest as to compel the assent and belief of those who chose to disbelieve. There were men in our Lord's time who resisted all the accumulated evidence of His miracles, His teaching, and His Life; and because they thought that "no good thing could come out of Nazareth," refused to receive Him as their Saviour and their God. In like manner, the manifestation of the Divine origin, character, and attributes of the Church is as clear indeed and as evident as any reasonable being can require. Yet it does not force people to see it or to accept it against their will. In order to be seen and appreciated, it requires a certain amount of good faith, earnestness, fairness of mind, thoughtfulness, and attention; where these are wanting, it remains concealed and unknown. Men may, if they please, see in the Church only that which is human, political, and earthly. They may dress up some wild phantom of their own imaginations, in the tawdry colours of idolatry and superstition, and call this the Catholic religion; or they may resist all the accumulated evidence in favour of the Divinity of the Church derivable from its notes of unity, sanctity, and the rest, refusing to believe in her claims and in her spiritual existence, because, forsooth, they have discovered some imaginary defect in her practice, or because they cannot believe that any good thing could come out of Nazareth. Still their unbelief, or their hardness of heart cannot alter the nature of things. The Church is the same, though their intellects be so darkened that they cannot discern the signs of the Divine Presence within her. That Presence is there, notwithstanding their unbelief; and daily and hourly it is putting forth a thousand proofs of its Power and Reality.

Alas ! it is not the Israelites only in whom the prophecy of Isaias is fulfilled which saith—by hearing you shall hear and shall not understand, and seeing you shall see and shall not perceive.

The analogy which exists between the divine and human visibility of Christ and the Church, as it appears in the world, is carried on into the heresies which have successively attacked the Son of God and the society of which He is the founder. It is rather difficult, indeed, to gather from Protestant theology any definite and consistent view of the nature of the Christian Church, yet so far as the Protestant opinions can be ascertained and classified, they may be stated as the following:—(1) The true Church is a society wholly invisible. In the secrets of God's predestination is hidden the number of His Elect. What appears in the world has but the outward semblance of a Church ! the real and true Church of the promises—the Church which can never fail, and with which Christ is ever united, is seen by God only, not by man. (2) According to another theory, the Christian Church is a mere human institution ; there is nothing in it that is any ways miraculous, supernatural, or divine ; its highest aim is to fit the natural man for the proper exercise of his rational, intellectual, and moral powers ; and to suppose that there is anything in its scope which is beyond the reach or the limits of reason is to fall into a miserable superstition. (3) A third class of Protestants admit, indeed, that the Church is outwardly human and is inwardly divine, that is, it is inwardly supported by the grace of God and by union with God. But this union with God, this interior life of grace, is only accidentally combined with the human visibility of the Church. Sometimes it is found united with it, sometimes it is separated from it. The union is not ontological, but hypothetical ; and there have been times when the divorce between the two has only been too evident ! Lastly, (4) there are those who, like the Donatists of old, have exaggerated the purity of the Church. It is even in its present condition upon earth, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing. It consists only of the saints ; the pure, the holy, and the just, alone constitute the true Church of Jesus Christ.

Such, we believe, are the principal heresies which have attacked the nature and attributes of the Catholic Church ; and they are paralleled in a very remarkable way by the

errors which have been at different times taught and preached respecting the Incarnation and Divinity of Christ.* As you will find those who altogether deny the visibility of the Church, protesting that the Church of the promises is wholly spiritual and invisible, so at the very first outstart of Christianity there arose the sect of the Docetæ, who denied the reality of our Saviour's human nature, maintaining that His Body was a phantom, that it had the semblance and not the substance of a human body, and that He Himself was wholly invisible. On the other hand, there arose another band of heretics, called the Ebionites, who, like the Socinians and Rationalists, denied the divinity of Christ, asserting that He was a mere man, just as a large and influential section of Protestantism regards the Church as merely a human institution. These heresies had scarcely been exterminated when the great schisms of Nestorius and Eutyches afflicted the Christian world. Nestorius maintained that there existed only a moral union between the Divine and human natures in Christ, while Eutyches confounded both these natures into one. And thus their respective heresies are analogous or parallel, the former to the opinion which admits an accidental and temporary union of the spiritual and the sensible in the Church; the latter, to the theory of the Puritans and Donatists, which confounds the visible and the invisible in one false and unreal spiritualism.

These coincidences between the Incarnation and the Church are, to say the least, in the highest degree interesting. We cannot believe them to be merely fortuitous or accidental; and if they are not accidental, they illustrate the great truth which forms the main subject of the present article,—that the Catholic Church is in a certain true sense, to use the words of Moehler, a permanent incarnation of Christ, continuing and repeating His own Life and His own fortunes upon the earth.

In Mr. Oakeley's useful volume we find a lecture on "The Church the Heir to the Reproach of Christ," and it is in the identity of this reproach that we discern another parallel between our Saviour and His Spouse.

"The peculiarity," says Mr. Oakeley, "of the Catholic religion among all objects of human criticism is, that it is in each several

* Passaglia, cap. 5.

instance that which the objector happens most of all things to dislike. It is a giant bugbear which has the faculty of transforming itself into a thousand shapes as reflected on the retinas of a thousand different eyes. It has one side of odiousness to the statesman, another to the civil governor, another to the man of business, another to the family man, another to the profligate, another to the rigorist; some dislike one of its doctrines, some another, while some object to all alike. There is also a large class of persons who have no definite idea about the Catholic religion at all, but abhor it merely because it is popular. It must be wrong, they say, or it could not be so generally hated."—p. 234.

The very same was felt with respect to our Blessed Saviour while He was upon earth. He was objected to, and was found fault with, upon different and even upon conflicting grounds. And it is most remarkable that the charges that were so freely, and with so little scruple, alleged against Him, are not only identical with those that are brought against the Catholic religion, but they are likewise founded upon the same principle, they spring from the same tone of mind, and they manifest the same absence of a practical belief in the supernatural. Mr. Oakeley has collected in his lecture on this subject many of these charges, and we recommend our readers to peruse for themselves the entire discourse. They will find it in the highest degree interesting, written with an unusual felicity of expression, and suggestive of many useful and instructive thoughts. For ourselves, in noticing some of these charges, we must follow the bent of our own mind, and instead of trenching upon the line of thought adopted by Mr. Oakeley, we should rather desire to make our remarks a sort of supplement to his more able lecture, by dwelling upon those points in the history of Christ, which appear to ourselves to be most remarkable in their identity with the charges made against the Church.

It was not unusual with Christ to take frequent occasions during the course of His public ministry, to teach and to exercise His divine power of forgiving sins. When St. Mary Magdalene, for example, anointed His feet with the precious ointment, and wiped them with the hair of her head, He said of her to the objecting Pharisees, "Many sins are forgiven her because she hath loved much;" and to herself He said, "thy sins are forgiven

thee.”* Earlier in His ministry, “they brought to Him one sick of the palsy, lying in a bed. And Jesus, seeing their faith, said to the man sick of the palsy, Be of good heart, son, thy sins are forgiven thee.”† In both these cases, the Pharisees and those who had heard His words, were scandalised at His assumption of a divine authority. “And they that sat at meat with Him,” writes St. Luke, “began to say within themselves, Who is this that forgiveth sins also?” In the other case we read that “behold some of the Scribes said within themselves, He blasphemeth:” or as it is recorded by St. Luke,‡ “the Scribes and the Pharisees began to think saying, Who is this who speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God alone? And Jesus seeing their thoughts, said, Why do you think evil in your hearts? Whether is easier to say, thy sins are forgiven thee, or to say, arise and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath *power on earth* to forgive sins.”

We have here an assumption on the part of our Saviour of the divine power of the forgiveness of sins. And in judging of this assumption, we must keep in the back ground our Christian convictions of His Divine Nature and Dignity. We must remember that He appeared among the Jews as “a Man come from God,” and that He was proving to them the truth of His mission by His miracles, His teaching, and His life. They regarded Him (and naturally enough before deeper conviction) merely as a man. By many He was regarded with suspicion. He claimed to be the Messiah, but there were several points in His history which excited doubts, apparently not unreasonable, as to the validity of His claim. He was born (it was commonly supposed) at Nazareth; and every body knew that no good thing had ever come out of Nazareth. He was the friend of publicans and sinners; He kept company with the lowest classes in the community; His own parent a carpenter; His associates fishermen; His followers a motley crowd of “the common people.” None of the Scribes or Pharisees believed in Him. The higher classes, with only a rare exception, kept aloof from Him; and the ministers of a religion

* Luke vii. 37-50.

† Matt. ix. 1-8.

‡ Luke v. 21.

acknowledged to be divine in its origin, almost to a man, rejected Him. All this suggested many misgivings and many difficulties to the cautious and respectable Jews of that day. Well then, as if to increase these difficulties, instead of trying to remove them by a charitable moderation and compromise of opinion, Christ comes forth before His perplexed and incredulous countrymen, and asserts His own absolute power of remitting sin. The Jewish mind was already in an attitude of incredulity, and it required very little to make this tendency to unbelief assume a definite and determined shape. Our Lord's own conduct soon decided their line. He forgave sin publicly and openly in His own Name, and by His own authority ; and at once Scribes and Pharisees, the highborn Israelite, and the devout worshippers in the Synagogue, were all equally and profoundly scandalised. The objection was evident. Here is a man just like ourselves, only we are not the companions of publicans and of fishermen, and His days are passed among them. Here is a young man, not more than thirty or thirty-one years of age, the Son of a carpenter, a Nazarite too of all people in the world, one whose family lives in the midst of us, and think of His presumption—why He claims power to forgive sins. Nay, we have heard Him with our own ears say to the sinner who poured the precious ointment on His feet, "thy sins be forgiven thee." Now no one but God can forgive sins, and yet here is a man who usurps this prerogative of the Most High. Surely if any thing were wanted to convince us of the falsehood of His claims, it would be such "blasphemy" as this. Thus, the exercise of this power to forgive sins, drove many a man farther back from Christianity: hundreds returned to their own houses filled with a righteous indignation, and firmly persuaded that they were pleasing God by rejecting Christ. We Christians know that this persuasion did not avail them before God. It did not justify them, nor 'render them guiltless of sin in turning a deaf ear to the Voice of Jesus Christ ; and it would be well if others would learn from their woful example to be afraid of a persuasion, however firm, which does not rest upon the foundation of the true faith.

If we now turn to the Catholic religion, we shall find that this very same difficulty, this same objection, occupies the foremost rank among the most influence in rendering the Cl

intellectual and moral feelings of a protestant people. There is no one doctrine of the Faith which is so abhorrent to protestant feelings, as the Power of the Keys. The claim which the Church makes for herself, and for her priests, of power and of authority to forgive sins, is a claim which comes before the general protestant mind as an unparalleled instance of a blasphemy that is almost ridiculous. Every city missionary, every village controversialist, every Scripture reader, and every dissenting minister makes the "Romish doctrine" of the priestly absolution the staple of his feeble attacks upon the Church. It comes before them as a thing that condemns itself. It is simply absurd, since none except the ignorant and the superstitious could believe that *a man* can forgive sins. The objection against the doctrine of the Church is not only the same objection which was urged by the Scribes and Pharisees against our Saviour; it also comes from the same root. They do not ask the Church to show them how she came to receive this power and authority. They make no inquiry into the credentials of her mission as the Ambassador and Vicegerent of Christ. Nay, as a catholic, you press upon them these credentials, and you offer freely to set before them the charter of the Church's authority. You remind them of Christ's words by which this power was conferred; words than which plainer and simpler, and less susceptible of two meanings, have never been spoken. You point to the admitted exercise of this power by men like themselves, the Holy Apostles of the Church, but your argument falls upon them without effect. Their minds are pre-occupied with an antecedent prejudice which shuts the door against reason, evidence, argument, and conviction; and that antecedent prejudice consists in the axiom, that *a man cannot forgive sin*. "This man blasphemeth," said the Pharisees, for "who can forgive sin but God alone?" The Catholic Church blasphemeth, say the protestants, for "who can forgive sin but God alone?" The former forgot to observe and see whether Christ was not God as well as Man: the latter forget that the Son of God actually bestowed this prerogative upon men, saying to them, "whosoever sins ye remit they shall be remitted unto them;"—and again, "whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven." They forget that

this power was put into practice by both Peter and Paul—men in all respects like ourselves, except in their heroic sanctity. And they forget that to make man the agent and instrument for the distribution among men of the Divine blessings and graces, is in the most perfect and entire accordance with the analogy of the Christian religion in other respects, as well as with the ordinary working of the Providence of God. The reason of this forgetfulness in the Pharisee and in the Protestant is the same. It is an inward spirit of unbelief which induces them to receive as an undoubted axiom, and in a false sense, the proposition that man cannot forgive sin. The Catholic would qualify this proposition, and say, man cannot forgive sin unless he be God as well as man, or unless he be acting in God's name, as God's instrument, and by commission from God. The Pharisee and the Protestant refuse to entertain or to admit the qualifications necessary to make their respective opinions consistent with truth and the faith. They allow themselves to be carried away by an unfounded and an irrational persuasion of mind; and having imbibed the same intellectual error, they consequently make common cause, giving utterance to the same reproach—the one against Christ, the other against His Church.

Having touched upon this spirit of antecedent incredulity, we may as well complete our view of it by the aid of another instance in point. We refer to the discourse on the Eucharist related by St. John,* and to the effects produced over a large number of our Saviour's hearers by the doctrines He there lays down. In this discourse, our Lord laid down in clear and unmistakeable language the catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, and the effect of His words upon the greater proportion of His audience was, if we may so say, electrical. They had followed Him to Capharnaum, attracted partly by that instinctive fascination which so often drew men after Him, and partly by the less praiseworthy motive of desiring to benefit by another miracle which might satisfy their wants and appetites. Christ however, had no sooner commenced this, mysterious discourse, than a feeling of uneasiness evidently seized upon those who were listening to Him—not very unlike the

* John vi.

sensation produced in an ultra-protestant congregation, when a tractarian curate is broaching doctrines which they consider to be "popish" in their tendency. This feeling of uneasiness, instead of passing away, soon broke out into open murmuring. Our Saviour had said "I am the living bread, which came down from heaven," and this was the first point which directly scandalised and offended the Jews. "And they said, Is not this Jesus the Son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then, saith He, I came down from heaven?" They were willing to listen to Him, and to believe Him, so long as He kept within the limits of reason, and did not outrage their understandings nor the evidence of their senses, by such assertions as that the Son of Joseph had come down from heaven. But they forgot this cause of scandal and of offence in one which provoked them still more. After having said that He is the bread that cometh down from heaven, our Lord proceeded to propound in the plainest and most express terms the doctrine of transubstantiation. He told them that His Flesh was in very truth food, and His Blood in very truth drink; and He added, that unless they partook of that food—unless they ate His Flesh and drank His Blood, they could have no life in them. His audience were unable to tolerate any longer such statements of doctrine. They broke out into loud and angry murmurings, and the whole assembly evidently became disordered and confused. He offended by this discourse not strangers merely, but friends also; several of those who had hitherto been regarded as His disciples henceforward kept themselves aloof from Him. What could they do? When a man put forward as a divine truth a doctrine contrary to the evidence of their senses, and abhorrent to their natural feelings, could there be any doubt as to the line of conduct which they ought to pursue? It was surely high time to draw back, and to stifle at once whatever feelings of sympathy or of attraction had hitherto inclined them towards Him. "The Jews therefore *strove* among themselves, saying, How can this man give us His flesh to eat?" "Many, therefore, of His disciples hearing it said, This saying is hard, and who can hear it?" "After this many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him. Then Jesus said to the twelve, Will ye also go away? And

Simon Peter answered and said, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of Eternal Life.”*

How often has this scene been enacted over again between the Catholic Church on the one hand, and her fallen children and the unbelievers on the other.

“I have known of many,” says Mr. Oakeley, “who have rebelled against the teaching of the Catholic Church in the instance of this great doctrine, just as the Jews did, and as the disciples were inclined to do, against the doctrine of our Lord. Nay, the teaching of the Catholic Church has again and again had to sustain the prejudice excited by the very same misconception of it which so displeased the Jewish hearers of our Lord.”—p. 169.

And the ground of the objection is the same, namely, *its impossibility*. It requires you to believe what no one can believe. How can these things be? is the sceptical inquiry both of Jews and Protestants; and the attitude of antecedent unbelief which could not only suggest, but persist in repeating this question, was the secret cause why the Jews rejected Christ, as it is the reason why the Protestants rebel against the Church.

But perhaps the most obvious point of coincidence between the life of Christ and the fortunes of His holy Church is to be found in the political suspicion and jealousy which has been the lot of both in the world. Christ had scarcely appeared upon the earth, when He became the object of fear and hatred to the powers of the world. The infants at Bethlehem were martyred, because Herod was afraid lest “the King of the Jews” should live to drive him from his throne. During the course of His public ministry our Saviour upon several occasions hid Himself, lest the people should excite a political disturbance, and take Him by force to make Him a King. He omitted no opportunity of impressing upon His disciples, that “His kingdom is not of this world.” He willingly and at once consented to pay tribute to the temporal authority of the day; and when the Pharisees attempted to ensnare Him into a political error, He defeated their object, and confounded their motive by the wisdom of His reply—“render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.” Yet in spite of the unobtrusive quietness of His own life, in spite of His studied

* John vi. 67-70.

abstinence from everything that could give the least grounds for alarm to the temporal authority, this suspicion and calumny pursued Him even unto death. It was upon a political charge that He was condemned to be crucified. The superscription upon the cross was intended to convey the meaning that He was crucified because He had professed Himself to be the King of the Jews.

"Our Lord [says Mr. Oakeley] was represented to have 'stirred up the people,' as if such had been the object of His teaching, and not merely the unavoidable effect of preaching God's Truth in a bad world. He was charged with undermining Cæsar's authority, with which He never interfered but when it clashed with the rights of God. He was specifically accused of having discountenanced the payment of the lawful tribute or taxes, whereas He had, on the contrary, sanctioned and recommended it. But this will always be the fate of true doctrine and true Christian practice, when subjected to the judgment of indiscriminating people, who take broad and superficial views of things, and 'make no allowance for those faint and delicate lines which separate good and evil from one another.'"—p. 257.

The same suspicion, and the same 'jealousy has followed the Catholic Church in all lands, and under all circumstances, from the day of Pentecost until now. This suspicion and jealousy has not been restricted to those powers which have openly repudiated the authority of the Church; unfortunately it has at all times obtained a footing, more or less prominent, according to accidental circumstances, even among such as profess to be its servants and children. It was the real ground of the opposition with which Christianity had to contend in the early stages of its existence. It was opposed because it interfered with national customs,—because it would not tolerate any religion except itself,—because it would not sacrifice to the genius of the emperors,—because, in a word, it was new and "outlandish." It was a constant source of trouble and anxiety to the Church in her dealings with Catholic nations during the middle ages. It was the cause of the severe ordeal through which our holy religion had to pass during the last century in France, in Portugal, in Spain, and in Austria. It was a most efficient agent in promoting the Protestant Reformation throughout Europe, and to this day it exercises over the English people an influence which is almost wholly beyond the reach of reason and of argument.

There are two features which require special notice in the spirit which regards the Catholic Church with political jealousy. First, it is restricted to the Church in communion with Rome, and next, it is founded upon a principle, which, if true, and if acted upon, would have crushed and stifled Christianity in its very cradle.

First, it is restricted to the Church in Communion with Rome. In a certain sense we suppose it is true that the mere politician and statesman has a prejudice against all religions, especially when they assume a hierarchical form. But, it is the Roman Church only which at once puts him, as it were, into an attitude of defence. An unfailing instinct tells him which is the real enemy of the world, and which is, therefore, the real representative of Christ. Politicians are not afraid of the Greek Church, or of any embodiment of Protestant principles. The Oriental Communions are those which come nearest in their organization and in their spirit to the Catholic Church. They are dogmatic in their teaching, ancient in their origin, authoritative in their government, magnificent in their ritual. They are, however, stagnant Churches. They have all the "*membra disiecta*" of a Church, apostolical succession, a true priesthood, sacraments, monasteries, convents, and yet they fail to excite in the statesman, or in the popular Protestant mind, any feelings of real jealousy or alarm. They resemble a man who cannot move his limbs, because they have been paralysed, or they are like to a marble statue, lovely in the fair proportions of its inanimate beauty, and which almost breathes a life that, alas, it does not really possess. The instinct of the world is not slow in detecting that, although these great communions have all the external appearance of real Churches, yet, that in reality, the life and the sting has been taken out of them. The moment they fell away from union with the See of Peter, their power of doing the world any real harm was destroyed. They passed over to the enemy's camp by the very act of their schism; and when they chose emperors and princes to be their supreme Ecclesiastical rulers, they ceased to belong any longer to Him, of whom alone the prince of this world is afraid. It is the same with the Protestant religious communities. There are many who despise the Anglican and other Protestant bodies—none who fear them. W on other hand there are many who fear F . t .

despise her. A remarkable instance in point may be adduced from the proceedings that took place during the memorable excitement caused by the latest "papal aggression." The Rulers of the Catholic Church made some changes in the internal administration of the Catholic Church in England, which had no more to do with anything political, than it had with the Emperor of China. Other religious bodies in England had, before this, made internal arrangements which were not very dissimilar in their way to those adopted by the Catholic Church. The Wesleyans, for example, "parcelled out" the country among their superintendents, and the Scottish Episcopal Church, a body hardly recognized by law, actually gave its bishops the titles of the ancient though defunct, Scottish Sees. Yet, so far were these religious bodies from exciting the jealousy of statesmen, and thus participating in the reproach of Christ, that the former was, and is free to do in England whatever it pleases, and the latter has been especially excluded from the pains and penalties that are directly and formally launched against the Church of Rome alone. We hardly know a stronger proof than this, in its way, of the reality of the spiritual claims of the Catholic Church. If it be wrong to "parcel out" the Queen's dominions into districts or dioceses, it is equally wrong when done by the Wesleyan or by the Catholic. And if it be an invasion of the Sovereign prerogative to assume titles from any of her towns or cities, the Scotch Episcopalian has been as much guilty of this political invasion as the English Catholic. But the instinct of the world assures us that, however true this may be in logic, practically there is a wide difference. The former is a poor isolated body, without strength or consistency, divided within itself, and which can well be left to the quiet enjoyment of empty titles. But the Catholic Religion is a living, powerful and energising Church. It has come into many a conflict with the world, and it may do so again. It has its own ends and objects in view. It has its ramifications all over the earth. It is compact and united under one Head. What can occasion no fear or alarm in a petty community like the Scottish Episcopalian Church may well be regarded as an aggression on the part of Rome. And hence, according to human policy, it is deemed just to repress the "ambition" of the one, though the act which manifests this ambition is nothing

more than what is constantly done in substance by the different Protestant communions in the land. Such has been the reasoning, and such the conclusions of statesmen, and of the political world in general. It is no part of our purpose at present to point out its fallacy or absurdity. We only bring it forward here in order to illustrate our own position, which is, that the Church of Rome alone bears the mark and the reproach of Christ, as in other respects, so also in the political antagonism which it alone excites in the world.

Mr. Oakeley has noticed this point in language more apposite than any which we could employ.

“ Indeed, is not the universal and uniform unpopularity of the Catholic Church in every age of its history, and every place of its exhibition, a most remarkable evidence of its identity with the Gospel? Can you point to any single religion, except the Catholic, which has so consistently preserved this great note of Gospel truth? Is it not certain that all *popular* religious systems have a grand *prima facie* note against them; a fact to get over and explain away, when they try to make themselves out as the legitimate successors of that Gospel which was to be hated of all men for its Founder’s sake?* That Gospel, as it was exhibited in the days of the Apostles, evidently corresponded with this description of its character; but what, I ask, has become of the ‘reproach of the cross,’ as time has proceeded, except under the banner of the Catholic Church? The Catholic Church, indeed, has varied in external prosperity. She has received, at times, a certain sort and measure of encouragement from the world, and this fact has partially disguised from public view the ‘marks of the nails,’ the tokens of her allegiance to a crucified Master, which she has incessantly carried about her. But look at her in her history; in her sustained protests against sin and ungodliness; in her tremendous conflicts with the Civil Power; in her inflexible demeanour towards heretics; in her ‘unchanging and unchangeable’ principles; in her Religious Orders; and, while you are reminded of the fact, you will recognize the cause of her interminable and internecine war with the world. Survey her in this country at the present moment. Here she is, eighteen hundred years old, yet with all the characteristics of her infant life apparent in her very exterior. What is the one religion in England which has been consistently hated by the world, ever since it received an independent position, and could be contemplated as an external fact? What is that religion of which, in the midst of our advanced civilization, the ministers are pointed at with

* St. Matt. xxiv. 9.

the finger of scorn in those very streets where the immoralities they denounce stalk about without protest? What body of men in this country is it whose motives, as a body, are habitually suspected, whose good faith questioned, whose name 'put out as evil?' 'Wonder not, brethren, if the world hate you.'* For even then Christians had begun to find the truth of their Lord's prediction, and to need the encouragement by which He accompanied it. 'If the world hate you, know ye that it hath hated Me before you. If you had been of the world, the world would love its own : but because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. Remember My word that I said to you : the servant is not greater than his master. If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you. If they have kept My word, they will keep yours also. But all these things they will do unto you for My name's sake, because they know not Him that sent Me.'†—p. 262-265.

But, again, this spirit of political jealousy is founded upon a principle which, if true, and if acted upon, would have crushed Christianity at its birth. We do not, indeed, suppose that any religiously-minded Protestant would admit to himself that he formally recognised the principle to which we allude; but many people almost unconsciously act upon principles, which if put into plain language, and nakedly brought before them, they would indignantly disown. The principle to which we refer to is this, that Christianity, or, to use an expression more familiar to Protestantism, the Gospel ought not to be propagated in any country without the license and sanction of the civil authority. It is scarcely necessary to observe that if this principle be once admitted, Christ, the Apostles, and the Church alike, become obnoxious to censure;—Christ, because He both preached Himself and sent His Apostles to preach without their sanction and authority; the Apostles, because they were constantly intruding into other men's dominions, and the Church in all ages, because she has consistently walked in the steps of her Founder and His disciples. It is upon this principle that the opposition to the introduction of the Hierarchy into England really rested. It is upon this principle that the Anglican Oath of Supremacy is founded, which, in the most general language, declares that no power whatever, spiritual or temporal, external to the country, has, or ought to have, any

* 1 St. John, iii. 13.

† Ib. xv. 18—21.

authority or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within it. This is certainly a sweeping proposition, and abstracting altogether from the question as to whether it states a fact, or what is manifestly not the fact, if we regard it theoretically and admit it to be true, we must acknowledge that it is as applicable to every other country in the world as to England. For all civil powers rest upon the same basis. They are the "Powers that be;" and the powers that be are ordained of God, and ought to be obeyed within their own sphere, for conscience sake. The temporal power in one country enjoys the same inherent rights as the temporal power in another. Those powers which existed ages and centuries back had the very same inherent prerogatives which now, by the same divine right, appertain to their modern successors. If, therefore, no spiritual power ought to have any pre-eminence or authority in the regions belonging to independent temporal sovereigns, the apostolic power at Jerusalem could not rightly or lawfully have extended itself beyond the holy City. At least, it ought first to have asked permission from the Roman Emperor, and since it pushed itself forward even into the remote corners of Britain, without either asking or obtaining that permission, it was guilty of an ambitious aggression upon the rights of the civil power to which you will find no parallel except in the proceedings of the Church of Rome. In fact, let the principle we have noticed be conceded, and all Christianity becomes an aggression upon the temporal authority. But if, on the other hand, you admit that the Apostles were not exceeding their own authority, nor intruding within the just domain of the civil power, when they went forth and preached the Gospel in all lands; you must give the Roman Church the privilege and the benefit of the same admission,—the cases are precisely parallel. For you cannot say that the fact of a country professing a certain form of Christianity, in any way alters the prerogatives of the true Church; since a false form of Christianity is as pernicious to the soul as no form at all. Nor did Christ make this exception and say, "My true Church and my true religion shall not be founded nor preached in any land where there may exist a schism from the Church, an erroneous, a corrupt, and a pseudo-Christianity." This would be evidently absurd, and therefore you must admit, either that what is called the aggressive spirit of

the Roman Church is the continuation and perpetual existence of that missionary spirit which, from Christ Himself, was communicated to the Apostles, and through them has animated the apostolic ministry of the Catholic Church; or you must maintain the monstrous principle we have noticed: and even then, you shew the wonderful and striking parallel that exists between the Roman Church, on the one hand, and Christ with His Apostles on the other, for, in virtue of this principle, you are compelled to condemn them all *equally*.

But the parallelism between Christ and His Church, or to speak more in accordance with the true Catholic conception of the Christian Society, the evidences of Christ still living in and through the Church, would be incomplete, if the harmony between the two was not borne out by their mutual correspondence with the spirit and the letter of the Scripture. Our Saviour has said of the books of the Old Testament, "they are they which testify of Me." In the New Testament, the Gospels are simply the records of His holy life and miracles, while the rest of the sacred volume bears constant witness to His teaching and His truth. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that the Sacred Scriptures reflect, in every page, the mind and will of Christ. But do they likewise reflect the character of the Catholic Church? As Christ is clearly stamped in His holy image upon every page of the Sacred Volume, can the same be said with truth of the Catholic Church? If it could not, it would certainly shew a very grave defect in the argument we have hitherto pursued; and a defect too which we should be obliged to confess ourselves unable to get over. But we are very confident that the Image of the holy Church, like the Image of its Divine Head, is most clearly and lucidly reflected in the Sacred Scriptures. They testify of her as of Jesus Christ, and the testimony shews that Jesus and herself are One. Of course nothing is more universally impressed upon the protestant mind, than the opposition which they suppose to exist between the Church and the Bible. Catholics, they say, are afraid of the Bible, because it is against them, and the priests prohibit the reading of the Bible, because it would convince the people of the errors of "popery." But such foolish talking as this, however it may go down with the popular mind, has really no foundation to rest upon.

The more we study the Scriptures, the more are we amazed at its Catholic tone and spirit. The Scriptures not only contain the principal dogmas of our religion in so many plain words, words which protestants are forced to explain away; but still more, as Mr. Oakeley has well observed, they contain "that peculiar *idea* of religion on the whole, which the Catholic Church alone realizes and puts in practice." The different nominally Christian sects take isolated parts or texts of Scripture, bring them into an unnatural prominence, interpret them with a most uncritical rigorism, and throw into the shade all the rest of the inspired writings. There can be no doubt that the promise to St. Peter, or the words conveying the power of absolution to the Apostles, or the promise to the Church of continued miraculous powers, or the intimation of her infallibility, or the words of the institution of the Eucharist, are not merely difficulties, but thorns in the sides of all protestant communions. It is the Catholic Church alone which takes the Scripture as it is, without cutting away one portion of it, and explaining away the rest. It applies the same principles of criticism to the whole. It adopts without reserve, every one of its statements of doctrine in their literal sense; and it boldly declares that the Scriptures, like their Divine Author, testify to her office, her authority and her prerogatives.

We feel sure that no one will rise from a perusal of Mr. Oakeley's Lectures on this subject without feeling this same conviction. They touch on a great many points in which the Scriptures, in a most expressive manner, bear testimony to the *ἡθός* of the Catholic Church. Take, for example, the Second Lecture on the Cross of Christ. After quoting several passages from St. Paul's Epistles, in which allusion is made to the Cross of Christ, amongst others, the remarkable words from Galatians, iii. 1, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that you should not obey the truth, *before whose eyes* Jesus Christ has been set forth *crucified among you*?"—Mr. Oakeley proceeds to make what appears to us to be an exceedingly apposite and conclusive inference.

"Put yourselves," he says, "now in the position of a person approaching the study of the Bible, on the one hand, with education and intelligence enough to form a fair notion of its meaning; on the other, without bias in favour of any particular school of religious teaching, and follow me while I describe, *seriatim*, what

impressions such a reader would, as I think, be apt to receive from the passages just quoted. In the first place, he would not doubt that the verity expressed by the phrase, 'Cross of Christ,' must be one of the most primary importance in the religion of the Gospel. A second glance at the passages would further convince him that such verity must not merely be of supreme importance, but characteristic of the Gospel; its grand point of difference from Heathenism, Judaism, and Mahometanism on the one hand, and from all counterfeits of itself on the other. A further survey of the texts would lead him (would it not?) to pronounce that the Cross of Christ is more than even characteristic of the Gospel; in short, that it is a kind of epitome of it, an abbreviated mode of expressing all that is contained under the Gospel idea. And something more still, namely, that it is a highly figurative, expressive, and as we may say, pictorial mode of epitomizing the Gospel; in other words, that the Cross of Christ is the *symbol* of the Gospel, bearing to it the same kind of relation which a word bears to the idea it denotes, a picture or statue to its original, so that the bare recital of the term is calculated to inflame the imagination, and fill the mind of a Christian with all that is contained under the thoughts of his profession, that is, of course, as far as that thought admits of being analyzed, or the human mind is capable of grasping its import. This mode of teaching by figures, as every one knows, is very distinctive of the Sacred Scriptures. The discourses of our Blessed Lord furnish numerous instances of it, not merely when it is drawn out into the form of a parable or regular narrative, but where it is interwoven with the substance of general teaching. Such expressions as 'I am the Door;' 'I am the true Vine;' 'I am the good Shepherd;' 'I am the light of the World,' will at once occur to the mind in illustration. This method of teaching by images has great advantages over more prosaic modes of instruction, among which may be mentioned, that it saves a great amount of time, attaining the end in view far more expeditiously, as well as far more effectually, than laboured description, or oratorical paraphrase. The imagination is a most important ally where we desire to impress truth, or arouse to action, as is abundantly proved by the practice of the world. If a clever writer desires to express summarily on his title-page the subject of a work intended to compare Christianity with Mahometanism, he calls it 'The Cross and the Crescent,' and thus not merely embodies its leading idea, but embodies it in a striking and animated form."—p. 27-29.

After making some further remarks, Mr. Oakeley goes on to show how beautifully and how completely the Catholic religion, in its teaching and in its practice, corresponds with the way in which Scripture notices and dwells upon "the Cross."

"The sign of the Cross distinguishes our Churches in their exterior appearance, and continually meets the eye in their internal arrangements. Crosses surmount all our altars, and are worked upon our priestly vestments. Catholics form the Sign of the Cross upon their person each time they come into a Church, begin and end their meals, or enter upon any serious or important work, whether sacred or secular. With this sign does the priest, again and again, mark the infant or adult in the administration of holy baptism; with this does the bishop in the sacrament of confirmation fortify the youthful soldier of Christ about to enter upon his great and perilous campaign; with this does bishop or priest impart his benediction. Each act of blessing in the holy Mass is performed by means of the Sign of the Cross, and with the same memorial of the Passion of our Lord does the priest communicate the faithful in the Holy Eucharist. It is in the form of the Cross that he absolves the penitent, and anoints the sick. This blessed and most efficacious sign the Church instructs us to love with tenderest affection, and to treat with supremest honour, guarding as sacred as possible against any even unintentional disrespect towards it. No wonder, then, that the heretics have proposed the material cross as a test of the faith, and Catholics found in it an occasion of martyrdom.

"But the Catholic Church has many ways of 'preaching the Cross,' besides enjoining the customary use of its sign. First, there is the crucifix, which not only, like the bare cross, brings to mind the great mystery of redemption, but places its fact and circumstances prominently and constantly before the eye. What, again, is holy Mass, but the daily commemoration, representation, and application of the Sacrifice of the Cross of Christ? . . . I wish you particularly to consider these facts of the Catholic Church as bearing upon the last of the Scripture passages which I quoted in order at the beginning. Jesus Christ, says St. Paul to the Galatians, has been set forth *before your eyes*. In the Protestant version it runs, '*evidently set forth*,' which makes the passage still more emphatic. And a Protestant commentator observes upon the expression, 'the word rendered,' set forth, 'was used to denote *things written on tablets and hung up to public view*.' Do you really think that *preaching*, however eloquent and impressive, can possibly satisfy the natural import of this most remarkable phrase? Nay, does not even a heathen poet supply you with the vindication of the Church's method of teaching the doctrine of the Cross, where he says, in praise of actual as compared with verbal representation,

" 'The ear doth slowly to the mind supply
Those truths which flash like lightning through the eye.' "—
p. 33-35.

' A remarkable instance of this correspondence between the teaching of the Bible and the Church, may be noticed

in the use of the word "heresy," and in the aspect of the Christian religion, which the word at once suggests to our minds, but which is manifestly at variance with the spirit and tone of all forms of Protestantism.

"They speak, over and over again, of the Christian Faith as something fixed, definite, and objective. I will quote, in order, the principal of the passages in which the character of doctrinal Christianity is thus described, and leave them in your hands without comment; and in the firm conviction, that, as candid enquirers, you can but take one view of them; namely, that they imply an authoritative disclosure, a fixed doctrine, a body of revealed truth; in other words, a Creed; and such a creed as rests, not upon the variable opinions of man, but upon the basis of an infallible authority. To the Ephesians St. Paul speaks of 'meeting in the unity of the faith;'^{*} and of 'one faith,' as no less the characteristic of Christians, than 'one Lord,' or 'one baptism.'[†] The Philippians he warns to labour together with one mind for 'the faith of the Gospel.'[‡] To Timothy he speaks of a man 'denying the faith and being worse than an infidel.'[§] Again, of times in which men shall 'depart from the faith.'^{||} To the same, of 'erring from the faith.'[¶] To Titus, of 'the common faith.'^{**} St. Jude exhorts Christians to 'contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.'^{††} Yet more frequent with the Apostles is the phrase, 'the truth,' as expressive of the same thing. 'The truth of Christ;' the 'truth as it is in Jesus;' the 'truth of the Gospel;' or 'the way of the truth.' The 'truth' (by eminence), is set forth as the object of pursuit to those who have not attained it;^{‡‡} of obedience, gratitude, and zeal, to those who possess it,—and this in passages far too numerous to quote in full.^{§§} But one text there is, peculiarly important among the rest. St. Paul, writing to Timothy warns him how to comport himself in the house of God, meaning thereby, not the material building, but, as he goes on to explain himself, 'the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.'^{|||}

* Eph. iv. 14, 15. † Eph. iv. 4, 6. ‡ Phil. i. 27.

§ 1 Tim. v. 8. || Ib. iv. 1. ¶ Ib. vi. 10, 21.

** Tit. i. 4. †† Jude, 3.

‡‡ 2 Cor. xi. 10.

§§ Ib. iii. 8; Gal. ii. 14; iv. 1; v. 7; Eph. iv. 15, 21; 2 Thess. ii. 10, 13; 1 Tim. ii. 4; iv. 3; vi. 5; 2 Tim. ii. 18, 25; iii. 7, 8; iv. 4; Tit. i. 14; Heb. x. 26; St. James, iii. 14; v. 19, 25; 2 Pet. ii. 2; 1 St. John, i. 6; ii. 21; 2 St. John, i. 35; 1 St. John, iii.

||| 1 Tim. iii. 15.

"The meaning of these phrases, 'the Faith,' or 'the Truth,' is still more clearly brought out by another word used in the New Testament to denote at once a disposition of mind, and a condition of character, opposite, respectively, to the temper which the Apostles inculcate in the passages just quoted, and to the position which they assume to be that of all good Christians. The word in question is Heresy. This, as you are probably aware, is a scriptural, as well as an ecclesiastical, term. It occurs both in its abstract and concrete forms, in several places of the New Testament. The Greek word from which it is derived, is, in your version, sometimes translated 'sect,' and sometimes 'heresy;' it is applied to the doctrine of the Pharisees* and Sadducees,† and to certain false systems of teaching, or corruptions of the Gospel.‡

"Now this same word 'heresy' embraces the whole of the present controversy, as one may say, in a nut-shell; and goes far, I may add, to settle it. I will go through its various significations, under the guidance of a Scripture lexicographer of great authority with Protestants, Professor Schleusner. 'Heresy,'§ he says, 'is a word which has no invidious meaning in itself, and signifies 'choice,' or option, between two alternatives.' 'The word,' he proceeds, 'in its next sense, means 'a sect, or body of persons who *choose for themselves*, embrace, and follow, the doctrine of some teacher, or some particular mode of life in preference to others;' and this, he adds, 'either in a good or a bad sense.' There are instances of choice within the limits of an established system, which we should express by the word 'school,' or 'party.' The sects of the Jewish Church were of this kind; or the 'parties' in the English Establishment. Where St. Paul refers to 'heresies' among the Corinthian Christians, he evidently alludes to parties of a dangerous tendency, yet still within the limits of the Faith; for he applies the term 'schisms' to the divisions occasioned by them.||

"And now, thirdly, our lexicographer brings us to a far worse instance of the exercise of 'choice' in religion. 'There are also false prophets among you,' says St. Peter, 'even as there shall be among you lying teachers, who shall bring in *sects* [or heresies] of *perdition*.'¶ The original word for 'sects' is still the same *hæresis*. Thus does our lexicographer bring this word from its innocent meaning of 'choice, or option, between two alternatives,' to the sense in which it denotes a state of mind, or fact of religious position, which carries a condemnation in the very word used to denote

* Acts, v. 17; xv. 5.

† Acts, xxvi. 5.

‡ 1 Cor. xi. 19; Gal. v. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 1; Tit. iii. 10.

§ *αἵρεσις*.

|| 1 Cor. xi. 19.

¶ 2 St. Pet. ii. 1.

it. 'Heresy,' and 'heretic,' say what men will, are words of evil sound, which even I should be sorry to deal about at random; and which you, my non-Catholic hearers, would not like to be directed against yourselves. But what is this 'Heresy,' as we have traced the meaning of the term up from its etymology? It is the act of *exercising a choice* about our religion; or, in other words, the disposition of mind which induces persons to give scope to their liberty of judgment in matters beyond its province; or, the state of religious opinion which results from exercising such choice or using such liberty in an unlicensed way. And now, I will ask you, in what phrase, think you, would the writers of the New Testament have expressed the 'liberty of private judgment' in matters of faith? I think we must allow, beyond all question, that the word which would have come into their minds would have been the same ill-sounding, invidious term, Heresy. I confess, my hearers, painful as the inference may be to both of us, that if Protestantism be the religion of private judgment, 'heresy' must be its Scriptural denomination.

"Indeed, manifold as are the differences between the religion of the Bible, and that which, under whatever variety of external form the majority of our countrymen profess, there is, perhaps, no single point in which this diversity is more apparent than in the estimate of religious error. Not only is this Scriptural word, heresy, banished from the vocabulary of every religious body in this country, except the Catholic (unless, indeed, as a description of the Catholic religion itself), but any kind of severity against doctrinal error, of whatever magnitude, is popularly branded under the odious names of 'bigotry,' or 'intolerance.' The Scriptural and Roman Catholic term, heresy, is replaced, in modern phraseology, by a most inadequate substitute, 'dissent,'—a word which, it will be observed, implies that very right to differ from established doctrine, which heresy, in its proper meaning, condemns."—pp. 284-288.

Sufficient evidence has now been advanced to convince every thoughtful and candid mind, that not only are the prominent characteristics of the Catholic Church so many remarkable and complete parallels to similar characteristics in the life of our Saviour, but further, that the Church itself is, in very truth, Christ continuing His own existence upon the earth, and keeping up His daily personal intercourse with us by means of a perpetual mystic Incarnation. We are convinced that any idea or description of the Christian Church which falls short of this grand conception is inadequate or false; and it is among the many excellencies of Professor Passaglia's treatise, that it is entirely founded upon this idea. Let a man take in fully

the idea that the Church is, in Augustine's language, *totus Christus*, and he has the true key to the source of all its power and prerogatives. Unity, Infallibility, Perpetuity, Illumination, the Power of distributing Grace, Authority to remit and retain Sins,—all these are reserved to the Church by special promises, the words of which are not susceptible of any other definite signification. But they likewise belong to the Church in virtue of its very being. They appertain to the Church because it is the mystic incarnation of Christ. They belong to it, because, with Jesus Christ, it is *totus Christus*, and it is impossible that Christ could exist except as in the Unity of One Person, incapable of error, the fountain of Wisdom, and the Supreme Dispenser of Grace and Pardon. We should recommend our younger readers never to rest contented with establishing or defending the prerogatives of the Church by mere arguments derived solely from external sources. They must go deeper into the question. They must look upon the Church in her inherent nature and constitution. They must never be satisfied until they can grasp in all the fulness of its truth and grandeur, the conception of the Church as the *totus Christus* of Augustine; and when they have mastered this one profound idea, they have discovered the root, from which spring all its powers, gifts, and attributes; nay, they have also found the most complete confutation of all the heresies and errors that can possibly affect its nature and its prerogatives. Once admit this idea and it follows that there can be no branch Churches separated from the living Head, and from the other members of the same Body, for, as the Apostle says, "*is Christ divided?*" There can be no reformation of doctrine, for since Christ cannot err, His doctrine cannot become corrupt. The Church in one age cannot teach anything contrary to what it taught in another; for, since Christ cannot change, His truth also cannot vary. In a word, by the apprehension of this Catholic view of the Church, a standard and an elevation is attained which enables you to see the falsehood of many a plausible theory of Catholic unity, without ever descending to notice its peculiar arguments or pretensions. The reader, for example, will find that Professor Passaglia has treated the Puseyite theories of the Church in this way. Throughout the whole of his elaborate volumes these peculiar views have not once been alluded to. Yet, this silence does

not proceed from any ignorance of the opinions in question. No one in fact is more thoroughly familiar with all that can be urged by the Anglican party in their own favour, than Professor Passaglia, who has been frequently brought into contact with members of this party, both in England and at Rome; and many of whose warmest friends and most attached pupils were once unfortunately indoctrinated with those theories. But they are not noticed in his work, because the ground on which alone they could stand, has been completely cut away from under them. Principles are laid down and propositions are defended, which render it unnecessary to descend into the minutiae of a controversy so small, and in reality so utterly untenable. It is easy for those who are outside the Church to form for themselves some pleasant theory, which may appear to them to have many claims upon their acceptance; but to say the simple truth, without any wish to offend, such theories present themselves to the real Catholic mind very much in the light of the nursery tales by which children are amused and kept quiet. It is seldom, indeed, that those who are external to the Church, however well disposed, are able to take in the Catholic idea of the Church of Christ. The Church is a far grander, more noble, more divine Society, than ought that they have ever conceived. It is no puny institution, which had no sooner started into existence than it was split up into a thousand different divisions; and now broken, torn asunder, corrupted, and enfeebled, drags on a crippled and maimed existence. Nay, It is a Human-Divine Society in every way worthy of the Blessed Trinity, the Cause of its existence, and of Jesus Christ its life and its Spouse. It is the Mighty Witness in the world on the side of truth and justice, and against the powers of evil. It is the gracious and benignant teacher of mankind in all that can elevate the soul to God, and that can secure for it the noble destiny for which it was created. It is the Shrine, the Temple, the Tabernacle of the Holy Ghost, who is the gentle Spirit that animates, and the unerring Guide that directs it. It is "the Body of Christ," "the Spouse of Christ,"—it is Christ Himself, again made visible to men. It is the one object on earth which concentrates upon itself the infinite love, and care, and providence of Almighty God. It is a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid; and yet it is wonderful that there should be those who

have no eyes to behold the heavenly beauty of its divine personality, and no ears to be charmed with the ineffable fascination of its calm, tranquil, holy, and sublime teaching. O wonderful that the city of God should be upon earth, and yet that men should regard it unmoved—that they should coolly criticise it, as if it were the common work of human hands, and that they should lack the greatness of soul which is able to appreciate its majesty and its beauty. "Coming to you from the very time of the Apostles, spreading out into all lands, triumphing over a thousand revolutions, so majestic, so imperturbable, so bold, so saintly, so sublime, so beautiful,—O ye sons of men, can ye doubt that She is the divine messenger for whom ye seek? O long sought after, tardily found, desire of the eyes, joy of the heart, the truth after many shadows, the fullness after many foretastes, the home after many storms, come to her, poor wanderers, for she it is, and she alone, who can unfold the meaning of your being, and the secret of your destiny—She alone can open to you the gate of heaven, and put you on your way."*

ART. IV.—*Report of the Committee of the Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics. Read at the Seventh Annual Meeting, May 2, 1856. With a List of Subscribers, &c. London: Hatchards, 1856.*

THE word "*Souperism*" is now pretty well naturalized into the Irish controversial vocabulary, and, however grating to English ears, has undoubtedly some advantages over our own more courteous phraseology as applied to the subject which has given occasion to it. The term "*Souperism*" has this advantage over its English synonyme "*proselytism*," that it expresses, and that with a vividness characteristic of the land of its birth, the peculiar kind of spiritual aggression which it is meant to denote.

* Newman's Discourses to Mixed Congregations, p. 297.

Under the image of that grateful beverage which is so extensively employed by the zealots of reformation as a means of attacking the conscience through the medium of the hungry appetite, is described a certain class of temporal attractives which are sedulously employed by our modern evangelists for the purpose of introducing into the sister island the very singular form of Christianity to which they are addicted. Soup, while it expresses the principal of these inducements, also represents the whole class under a vigorous and striking metaphor. Were we to give an accurate enumeration of the other constituents of this class, we should have to ring the changes upon bread, butter, potatoes, pigs, fine clothes, and all else which is engaging to the heart of the Irishman, to say nothing of "places" varying in profit according to the value of the capture, from the humble rank of housemaid or errand-boy, to the more dignified elevation of school teacher or scripture reader. Such is "Souperism;" and when we remember how proverbially and historically powerful the "mess of pottage" has always proved as a temptation to part with man's highest "birthright," we may fear that there is something which looks like fatality in the choice of this particular form of temptation as an equivalent to the blessings for which it is offered in exchange.*

The actual success which has attended the great proselytizing movement in Ireland, is one of those matters on which it has seemed almost impossible to arrive at even a portion of truth amid the jar of conflicting testimonies. It is not merely Catholics and Protestants who give us, as might seem natural, very different accounts of the effect of these attempts. Even Catholics themselves vary

* We were delighted to observe a very able and spirited article in the *Union* on the Report here under review, and beg to acknowledge our obligations to it. Not the least promising token in that article is the bold adoption of the word "Souperism" to express the detestable system which it exposes. This is one of the many evidences which the *Union* gives of a desire to throw itself heart and soul, into the spirit of Catholics. It forms an agreeable contrast to that eclectic, fastidious, and patronizing tone of compliment of which we are sometimes the objects, or rather victims, at the hands even of friendly critics.

materially from one another in their evidence on the subject ; some telling us that the efforts of proselytizing zeal have succeeded in making considerable inroads upon the faith of Ireland—others maintaining, with equal confidence, that the success of the movement is most absurdly exaggerated. There may be reason also to think that these several judgments have been, in some measure, unconsciously coloured by the natural bias of the witnesses, of whom one portion is disposed to measure facts by a strong antecedent prejudice in favour of the inflexibility of Irish faith ; another, to give ready credence to stories which fall in with previous impressions of Irish fickleness and venality. In the great uncertainty created by this war of testimonies, though with a strong personal inclination to believe (antecedently to irrefragable evidence) everything which is good of the Catholic poor of Ireland, we caught with avidity at a document bearing a statistical character, and emanating from the stronghold of "*Souperism*" itself. We were of course prepared to take *cum grano*, the testimony of the parties concerned in this movement, and especially as knowing that "*cooking*" is an accident as inseparable from "*Reports*" as from the soup whose successes they chronicle. Of a statement framed for the very purpose of eliciting the applause of a public meeting, satisfying subscribers, and inviting subscriptions, it would be quixotic to suppose that its natural tendency is to the *unfavourable* side. Who does not know how easy it is, and how necessary, (and that, too, without anything like dishonest falsification of facts) to set matters in an advantageous light, and to withdraw into the back-ground all which can check hope and cloud encouragement ? And, to do the present Report but justice, it must be admitted to possess this feature in common with other Reports ; it betrays a manifest, and yet not an exaggerated desire, of subserving the interests of the Society to which it belongs ; a natural and perfectly legitimate vein of promise and hope ; an inclination to gild the bitter pill and sweeten the nauseous draught ; to press topics of consolation, and mitigate the force of unwelcome disclosures. Yet, after every allowance of this kind, the most obtuse intellect cannot fail to perceive that the materials of congratulation are felt to be exceedingly scanty, and that a most praiseworthy reliance upon Providence everywhere takes the place of that solid substratum of hope which

would guarantee the grounds, though it might possibly diminish the merit, of this exalted and sometimes rather extravagant confidence. There is something (as we shall hope to show by quotations) almost touching in the strain of pensive melancholy which ever and anon discloses itself amid the tinkling of cymbals and the beating of drums; it reminds us of the wailing of the wind instruments at a military funeral; indeed the general tone of this very curious Report is that, far more of men accompanying a corpse with honour to the tomb, than of those who are heralding the glories of a victory.

The earliest note of discouragement meets us in the very first page.

"The ordinary, and what, in dependence upon God, may be called the reliable, income of the Society, has decreased in the past year in a measure which gives just grounds for the fear that it may become necessary seriously to diminish the efficacy of the Missionary operations."—p. 7.

The Report consists principally of returns made by the various agents of the Society, of the fruit of their labours in different districts. We shall proceed to notice some of the conclusions, interesting to the Catholic public, which are warranted by these records of Protestant missionary experience, verifying them as we proceed by quotations.

The first impression favoured by the Report is, that modern Protestantism has added an entirely new weapon of spiritual influence to those which it found ready made to its hand; we allude to the circulation of handbills and the posting of placards. The distribution of the Scriptures themselves appears to have yielded as a principal method of evangelizing the world to this new theory of the power of posters and the fruit of fly-leaves. The extent to which this peculiar form of controversial warfare is actually practised in Ireland will, as we anticipate, be a surprise to the uninitiated reader. But what is yet more remarkable than the immensity of the supply of this new kind of evangelical literature is, the extraordinary importance evidently attached to it by its promoters. Indeed, the statistics of this Missionary Society turn far more on the distribution of handbills than upon the diffusion of bibles, while actual conversions enter but most rarely into the items of the account.

The return, for instance, from King's and Queen's County states, that "The circulation of handbills and placards has been carried on very extensively throughout the whole district. Hundreds of respectable Roman Catholics receive handbills by post, and they are very rarely returned." (Query, are they worth the return postage?) "Numbers are scattered on the roads, and are seldom torn or defaced; and at the public fairs, thousands are willingly taken, and there is *much reason to believe* are attentively read. The number of handbills distributed during the year amounted to 28,175, and of placards 1100. Besides this, there were circulated 500 controversial tracts." The writer innocently observes, "Who can estimate the blessed effects which may result from so much seed being scattered over this part of the whitening fields of Ireland?" (p. 33.)

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The Lough Corrib agent writes in the same strain.

"*Upon the whole, my impression of the past, and my hopes of the future are not calculated to produce discouragement. The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.*" (p. 55.)

The Castlekerke agent writes—

"I can conscientiously say that, *though none have openly joined us* during the year, still I believe there are numbers who have imbibed much of the truth, and who are far more favourably impressed respecting us than they were twelve months ago." (p. 56.)

From Ballycounrea we hear of "discouragements and sad disappointments." (p. 60.) From Moyrus of "many disappointments." (p. 61.) From Ballinakill, of "trials and anxieties." From Killery, of "difficulties." (p. 64.) From West Sligo, of "manifold short comings." (p. 73.) In fine, the Louth Missionary candidly acknowledges that the efforts of the Society up to that time "had not produced those conspicuous and striking results which some are prone to hope for as the only evidence of Missionary success;" however, that he is still satisfied that "a large amount of good had been done in this *arduous and disheartening* field of labour, and that God will, in His own time, give them the fruit of an abundant and prosperous harvest." (p. 85.)

We think it will be generally admitted that these quotations attest rather the humility of the writers than the success of the work. It is indeed evident that, with every desire to make the best of a bad case, the Report of the Society for promoting missions among the Irish, has to chronicle annually a most miserable failure. It is indeed a sad reflection, that such really excellent persons, as

we know to be some of those whose names appear on the subscription list, should be deluded into spending their money upon so palpable a "sham." It appears by the balance sheet of the Society, that no less a sum than £40,000 is annually subscribed towards this speculation, unprofitable as it is unholy. All we can say is, that if in this Report, the contributors are able to recognize the fruit of their outlay, we rather, in the words of the ancient orator, "congratulate them upon their simplicity than emulate their wisdom."

In one point of view, the testimony of this Report ought to be peculiarly satisfactory to Catholics. It bears the most unequivocal witness to the zeal and vigilance of the priesthood. We hear with real satisfaction that at Dublin "the most determined efforts are made to lessen the numbers attending [proselytizing] schools." As an instance, we are told that a respectable-looking female (who turned out to be the priest's schoolmistress) was found intercepting the children, and endeavouring to take them away.

"No later than yesterday," it is added, "your missionary witnessed an effort of a similar description. Two men were stationed outside the door of the Townsend Street Sunday School, where they remained, until a priest, who acted to all appearance as their superintendent, came past, and then all three marched off together. Throughout the day they had been engaged in visiting the houses of such persons as usually attend that school, endeavouring to dissuade them from going to it."—p. 28.

The following picture is really most refreshing, and bears unquestionable marks of truth.

"Here," (says the Cork reporter,) "I may refer to the antagonist forces that we have to encounter. There are not here, as in many other districts, open violence and priestly denunciations. The streets are quiet, the alleys silent, the priests most bland. But deep, and dark, and deadly are the workings of the system; more dangerous, because more secret. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul collects annually an average sum of £2000, wisely distributed among the wavering members of the Church; the tread of the Sister of Charity steals through every lane, and her lips pour poison (!) into the ears of every convert in every hospital. A Roman Catholic Young Mens' Association supplies lectures, books, and teachers, for a nominal fee, and keeps in compact organization, and strictest union, all the upper and middling ranks of the Roman Catholic population. The confessional is worked incessantly, which accounts

for a sudden change often found by the readers in the feelings of families towards the Word of God, otherwise inexplicable. The press in the interest of Rome, conducted with surpassing ability, seizes upon every advantage, either to exalt its Church, or depreciate and damage the Established, and all its societies. The priests, though not turbulent, are neither unwary nor inactive; and the monks ply most industriously the work of education (secular); and it is reported with great success, by the Commissioners of Endowed Schools lately in Cork. There are National and Jesuit Schools in every quarter of the town; and a strong political combination of Romanists against everything bearing the name, or in the slightest degree favouring Protestantism. This reminds us of the inadequate machinery at our command, and the pressing wants of the Mission.”—pp. 39, 40.

The Report contains other evidence of the same satisfactory character.

Of course we do not mean for a moment to imply that the whole of this Report is couched in the same desponding language. We have quoted these passages to prove what we think must be the impression of every reader that its general tone is far from encouraging, and this, notwithstanding all the temptations which present themselves in the construction of any such document, to the most favourable exhibition and the most sanguine interpretation of facts.

But a still better criterion of the small success which has attended the operations of the Society will be found in the actual statistics of conversion, which we shall accordingly proceed to collect and set before the reader. Yet even this evidence must not be taken without a certain qualification. The question still remains unanswered by anything in this Report, What are the recognized *tests* of a “Conversion?” We have strong reason for thinking that in the Protestant estimate they are extremely inadequate to the subject on which they are employed; in short, that many a so-called “conversion,” which goes to swell the statistics of these proselytizing societies would be found, upon closer examination, to be some act or other which involves indeed a very grievous sin against faith, but which amounts at the worst to something far below positive apostasy. Some indeed of the criteria of missionary success given in the Report are insufficient to the extent of being simply ludicrous. We find the most confident hopes built upon such facts as that of a Catholic attending a controversial lecture or sermon, courteously receiving the visit of a mis-

sionary, accepting a bible, reading a handbill or placard, &c., &c. Sorry, indeed, are we to hear of Catholics giving any kind of countenance or quarter to persons who come to them as wolves in sheep's clothing, and against whom the apostle of charity himself, St. John the Evangelist, would have bidden them to close their doors, and withhold from them even the customary salutation of courtesy. But justice and truth alike demand of us to make a broad distinction between acts of this nature and that fatal and final sin which separates a Catholic from the blessings and the hopes of church-communion. Even such an act as that of attendance at the Protestant service, though a still more serious dereliction of duty in the same line, is of course no infallible token even of a wavering, still less of a shipwrecked faith. Many a poor Irish Catholic, goaded on to acts against conscience by the cravings of hunger, or, what to many would be a still more trying temptation, the cries of famishing children, is led to adopt some practice of outward conformity to an heretical sect, which is perfectly independent of any deliberate consent of the will to disbelief of his religion. Again, the Catholic Irish especially are disposed, both by nature and habit, to draw subtle distinctions between the character of different acts, very dangerous indeed to conscience, yet perhaps, in the judgment of charity, of a nature to exempt them from formal sin. The instance we are about to give is not meant as an illustration of the latter portion of this remark, but it bears intimately upon the former. An Irishman who had, alas, completed (at least for the time) his act of apostasy, by receiving the Protestant communion, was reproached by the priest, to whom he subsequently made recantation of his error, with the enormity of such a sin. "Sure," was the reply, "and it was a sin; but then I thought it could do me no harm, for I knew it was only bread and wine, and no Sacrament at all, at all." The peculiarly limited requirements of a Protestant "conversion" are greatly in our favour. No Catholic in his senses would think of calling that Protestant a "convert" who should be seen frequenting, even for years, a Catholic church, or be a diligent reader of Catholic controversial books. The reception of the Sacraments, of course, is the turning-point with us. But our antagonists set their standard of conversion far lower than this; and did *we* adopt *their* rule, what accounts might not

not proceed from any ignorance of the opinions in question. No one in fact is more thoroughly familiar with all that can be urged by the Anglican party in their own favour, than Professor Passaglia, who has been frequently brought into contact with members of this party, both in England and at Rome; and many of whose warmest friends and most attached pupils were once unfortunately indoctrinated with those theories. But they are not noticed in his work, because the ground on which alone they could stand, has been completely cut away from under them. Principles are laid down and propositions are defended, which render it unnecessary to descend into the minutiae of a controversy so small, and in reality so utterly untenable. It is easy for those who are outside the Church to form for themselves some pleasant theory, which may appear to them to have many claims upon their acceptance; but to say the simple truth, without any wish to offend, such theories present themselves to the real Catholic mind very much in the light of the nursery tales by which children are amused and kept quiet. It is seldom, indeed, that those who are external to the Church, however well disposed, are able to take in the Catholic idea of the Church of Christ. The Church is a far grander, more noble, more divine Society, than ought that they have ever conceived. It is no puny institution, which had no sooner started into existence than it was split up into a thousand different divisions; and now broken, torn asunder, corrupted, and enfeebled, drags on a crippled and maimed existence. Nay, It is a Human-Divine Society in every way worthy of the Blessed Trinity, the Cause of its existence, and of Jesus Christ its life and its Spouse. It is the Mighty Witness in the world on the side of truth and justice, and against the powers of evil. It is the gracious and benignant teacher of mankind in all that can elevate the soul to God, and that can secure for it the noble destiny for which it was created. It is the Shrine, the Temple, the Tabernacle of the Holy Ghost, who is the gentle Spirit that animates, and the unerring Guide that directs it. It is "the Body of Christ," "the Spouse of Christ,"—it is Christ Himself, again made visible to men. It is the one object on earth which concentrates upon itself the infinite love, and care, and providence of Almighty God. It is a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid; and yet it is wonderful that there should be those who

have no eyes to behold the heavenly beauty of its divine personality, and no ears to be charmed with the ineffable fascination of its calm, tranquil, holy, and sublime teaching. O wonderful that the city of God should be upon earth, and yet that men should regard it unmoved—that they should coolly criticise it, as if it were the common work of human hands, and that they should lack the greatness of soul which is able to appreciate its majesty and its beauty. "Coming to you from the very time of the Apostles, spreading out into all lands, triumphing over a thousand revolutions, so majestic, so imperturbable, so bold, so saintly, so sublime, so beautiful,—O ye sons of men, can ye doubt that She is the divine messenger for whom ye seek? O long sought after, tardily found, desire of the eyes, joy of the heart, the truth after many shadows, the fullness after many foretastes, the home after many storms, come to her, poor wanderers, for she it is, and she alone, who can unfold the meaning of your being, and the secret of your destiny—She alone can open to you the gate of heaven, and put you on your way."*

ART. IV.—*Report of the Committee of the Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics. Read at the Seventh Annual Meeting, May 2, 1856. With a List of Subscribers, &c. London: Hatchards, 1856.*

THE word "*Souperism*" is now pretty well naturalized into the Irish controversial vocabulary, and, however grating to English ears, has undoubtedly some advantages over our own more courteous phraseology as applied to the subject which has given occasion to it. The term "*Souperism*" has this advantage over its English synonyme "*proselytism*," that it expresses, and that with a vividness characteristic of the land of its birth, the peculiar kind of spiritual aggression which it is meant to denote.

* Newman's Discourses to Mixed Congregations, p. 297.

Under the image of that grateful beverage which is so extensively employed by the zealots of reformation as a means of attacking the conscience through the medium of the hungry appetite, is described a certain class of temporal attractives which are sedulously employed by our modern evangelists for the purpose of introducing into the sister island the very singular form of Christianity to which they are addicted. Soup, while it expresses the principal of these inducements, also represents the whole class under a vigorous and striking metaphor. Were we to give an accurate enumeration of the other constituents of this class, we should have to ring the changes upon bread, butter, potatoes, pigs, fine clothes, and all else which is engaging to the heart of the Irishman, to say nothing of "places" varying in profit according to the value of the capture, from the humble rank of housemaid or errand-boy, to the more dignified elevation of school teacher or scripture reader. Such is "Souperism;" and when we remember how proverbially and historically powerful the "mess of pottage" has always proved as a temptation to part with man's highest "birthright," we may fear that there is something which looks like fatality in the choice of this particular form of temptation as an equivalent to the blessings for which it is offered in exchange.*

The actual success which has attended the great proselytizing movement in Ireland, is one of those matters on which it has seemed almost impossible to arrive at even a portion of truth amid the jar of conflicting testimonies. It is not merely Catholics and Protestants who give us, as might seem natural, very different accounts of the effect of these attempts. Even Catholics themselves vary

* We were delighted to observe a very able and spirited article in the *Union* on the Report here under review, and beg to acknowledge our obligations to it. Not the least promising token in that article is the bold adoption of the word "Souperism" to express the detestable system which it exposes. This is one of the many evidences which the *Union* gives of a desire to throw itself heart and soul, into the spirit of Catholics. It forms an agreeable contrast to that eclectic, fastidious, and patronizing tone of compliment of which we are sometimes the objects, or rather victims, at the hands even of friendly critics.

materially from one another in their evidence on the subject; some telling us that the efforts of proselytizing zeal have succeeded in making considerable inroads upon the faith of Ireland—others maintaining, with equal confidence, that the success of the movement is most absurdly exaggerated. There may be reason also to think that these several judgments have been, in some measure, unconsciously coloured by the natural bias of the witnesses, of whom one portion is disposed to measure facts by a strong antecedent prejudice in favour of the inflexibility of Irish faith; another, to give ready credence to stories which fall in with previous impressions of Irish fickleness and venality. In the great uncertainty created by this war of testimonies, though with a strong personal inclination to believe (antecedently to irrefragable evidence) everything which is good of the Catholic poor of Ireland, we caught with avidity at a document bearing a statistical character, and emanating from the stronghold of "Souperism" itself. We were of course prepared to take *cum grano*, the testimony of the parties concerned in this movement, and especially as knowing that "cooking" is an accident as inseparable from "Reports" as from the soup whose successes they chronicle. Of a statement framed for the very purpose of eliciting the applause of a public meeting, satisfying subscribers, and inviting subscriptions, it would be quixotic to suppose that its natural tendency is to the *unfavourable* side. Who does not know how easy it is, and how necessary, (and that, too, without anything like dishonest falsification of facts) to set matters in an advantageous light, and to withdraw into the back-ground all which can check hope and cloud encouragement? And, to do the present Report but justice, it must be admitted to possess this feature in common with other Reports; it betrays a manifest, and yet not an exaggerated desire, of subserving the interests of the Society to which it belongs; a natural and perfectly legitimate vein of promise and hope; an inclination to gild the bitter pill and sweeten the nauseous draught; to press topics of consolation, and mitigate the force of unwelcome disclosures. Yet, after every allowance of this kind, the most obtuse intellect cannot fail to perceive that the materials of congratulation are felt to be exceedingly scanty, and that a most praiseworthy reliance upon Providence everywhere takes the place of that solid substratum of hope which

would guarantee the grounds, though it might possibly diminish the merit, of this exalted and sometimes rather extravagant confidence. There is something (as we shall hope to show by quotations) almost touching in the strain of pensive melancholy which ever and anon discloses itself amid the tinkling of cymbals and the beating of drums; it reminds us of the wailing of the wind instruments at a military funeral; indeed the general tone of this very curious Report is that, far more of men accompanying a corpse with honour to the tomb, than of those who are heralding the glories of a victory.

The earliest note of discouragement meets us in the very first page.

“The ordinary, and what, in dependence upon God, may be called the reliable, income of the Society, has decreased in the past year in a measure which gives just grounds for the fear that it may become necessary seriously to diminish the efficacy of the Missionary operations.”—p. 7.

The Report consists principally of returns made by the various agents of the Society, of the fruit of their labours in different districts. We shall proceed to notice some of the conclusions, interesting to the Catholic public, which are warranted by these records of Protestant missionary experience, verifying them as we proceed by quotations.

The first impression favoured by the Report is, that modern Protestantism has added an entirely new weapon of spiritual influence to those which it found ready made to its hand; we allude to the circulation of handbills and the posting of placards. The distribution of the Scriptures themselves appears to have yielded as a principal method of evangelizing the world to this new theory of the power of posters and the fruit of fly-leaves. The extent to which this peculiar form of controversial warfare is actually practised in Ireland will, as we anticipate, be a surprise to the uninitiated reader. But what is yet more remarkable than the immensity of the supply of this new kind of evangelical literature is, the extraordinary importance evidently attached to it by its promoters. Indeed, the statistics of this Missionary Society turn far more on the distribution of handbills than upon the diffusion of bibles, while actual conversions enter but most rarely into the items of the account.

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“In bringing the Gospel torch amidst the darkness of Romanism, *we have fearful odds to contend against. The whole Protestant population does not exceed at most 500, while Rome has 23,900. She has ten priests, besides Sisters of Mercy and Christian Brothers, almost without number, who have schools in every quarter. Well may we exclaim, What, are we among so many! Nevertheless, let us take courage.*” (p. 50.)

The Lough Corrib agent writes in the same strain.

“*Upon the whole, my impression of the past, and my hopes of the future are not calculated to produce discouragement. The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.*” (p. 55.)

The Castlekerke agent writes—

“I can conscientiously say that, *though none have openly joined us* during the year, still I believe there are numbers who have imbibed much of the truth, and who are far more favourably impressed respecting us than they were twelve months ago.” (p. 56.)

From Ballyconrea we hear of “discouragements and sad disappointments.” (p. 60.) From Moyrus of “many disappointments.” (p. 61.) From Ballinakill, of “trials and anxieties.” From Killery, of “difficulties.” (p. 64.) From West Sligo, of “manifold short comings.” (p. 73.) In fine, the Louth Missionary candidly acknowledges that the efforts of the Society up to that time “had not produced those conspicuous and striking results which some are prone to hope for as the only evidence of Missionary success;” however, that he is still satisfied that “a large amount of good had been done in this *arduous and disheartening* field of labour, and that God will, in His own time, give them the fruit of an abundant and prosperous harvest.” (p. 85.)

We think it will be generally admitted that these quotations attest rather the humility of the writers than the success of the work. It is indeed evident that, with every desire to make the best of a bad case, the Report of the Society for promoting missions among the Irish, has to chronicle annually a most miserable failure. It is indeed a sad reflection, that such really excellent persons, as

we know to be some of those whose names appear on the subscription list, should be deluded into spending their money upon so palpable a "sham." It appears by the balance sheet of the Society, that no less a sum than £40,000 is annually subscribed towards this speculation, unprofitable as it is unholy. All we can say is, that if in this Report, the contributors are able to recognize the fruit of their outlay, we rather, in the words of the ancient orator, "congratulate them upon their simplicity than emulate their wisdom."

In one point of view, the testimony of this Report ought to be peculiarly satisfactory to Catholics. It bears the most unequivocal witness to the zeal and vigilance of the priesthood. We hear with real satisfaction that at Dublin "the most determined efforts are made to lessen the numbers attending [proselytizing] schools." As an instance, we are told that a respectable-looking female (who turned out to be the priest's schoolmistress) was found intercepting the children, and endeavouring to take them away.

"No later than yesterday," it is added, "your missionary witnessed an effort of a similar description. Two men were stationed outside the door of the Townsend Street Sunday School, where they remained, until a priest, who acted to all appearance as their superintendent, came past, and then all three marched off together. Throughout the day they had been engaged in visiting the houses of such persons as usually attend that school, endeavouring to dissuade them from going to it."—p. 28.

The following picture is really most refreshing, and bears unquestionable marks of truth.

"Here," (says the Cork reporter,) "I may refer to the antagonist forces that we have to encounter. There are not here, as in many other districts, open violence and priestly denunciations. The streets are quiet, the alleys silent, the priests most bland. But deep, and dark, and deadly are the workings of the system; more dangerous, because more secret. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul collects annually an average sum of £2000, wisely distributed among the wavering members of the Church; the tread of the Sister of Charity steals through every lane, and her lips pour poison (!) into the ears of every convert in every hospital. A Roman Catholic Young Mens' Association supplies lectures, books, and teachers, for a nominal fee, and keeps in compact organization, and strictest union, all the upper and middling ranks of the Roman Catholic population. The confessional is worked incessantly, which accounts

the religious life was found by the readers in the feelings of
tenderness, which we find in and otherwise inexplicable. The
author's interest in India, conducted with surpassing ability,
and his determination never to quit its Church, or depreci-
ate its efforts, or to neglect and all its societies. The priests,
nuns, and monks are neither idling nor inactive; and the
missionary work, by the work of education (secular); and
the religious, by the work of the Commissioners of Endowed
Schools, and the National and Jesuit Schools in
every district, and a strong political combination of
Christianity, and the name, or in the slightest
degree, of Protestantism. This reminds us of the inadequate
machinery of the command, and the pressing wants of the Mis-
sion. — pp. 39, 40.

The Report contains other evidence of the same satisfactory character.

Of course we do not mean for a moment to imply that the whole of this Report is couched in the same desponding language. We have quoted these passages to prove what we think must be the impression of every reader that its general tone is far from encouraging, and this, notwithstanding all the temptations which present themselves in the construction of any such document, to the most favourable exhibition and the most sanguine interpretation of facts.

But a still better criterion of the small success which has attended the operations of the Society will be found in the actual statistics of conversion, which we shall accordingly proceed to collect and set before the reader. Yet even this evidence must not be taken without a certain qualification. The question still remains unanswered by anything in this Report, What are the recognized *tests* of a "Conversion?" We have strong reason for thinking that in the Protestant estimate they are extremely inadequate to the subject on which they are employed; in short, that many a so-called "conversion," which goes to swell the statistics of these proselytizing societies would be found, upon closer examination, to be some act or other which involves indeed a very grievous sin against faith, but which amounts at the worst to something far below positive apostasy. Some indeed of the criteria of missionary success given

report are insufficient to the extent of being simply
misleading. We find the most confident hopes built upon
facts that of a Catholic attending a controversial
meeting, courteously receiving the visit of a mis-

sionary, accepting a bible, reading a handbill or placard, &c., &c. Sorry, indeed, are we to hear of Catholics giving any kind of countenance or quarter to persons who come to them as wolves in sheep's clothing, and against whom the apostle of charity himself, St. John the Evangelist, would have bidden them to close their doors, and withhold from them even the customary salutation of courtesy. But justice and truth alike demand of us to make a broad distinction between acts of this nature and that fatal and final sin which separates a Catholic from the blessings and the hopes of church-communion. Even such an act as that of attendance at the Protestant service, though a still more serious dereliction of duty in the same line, is of course no infallible token even of a wavering, still less of a shipwrecked faith. Many a poor Irish Catholic, goaded on to acts against conscience by the cravings of hunger, or, what to many would be a still more trying temptation, the cries of famishing children, is led to adopt some practice of outward conformity to an heretical sect, which is perfectly independent of any deliberate consent of the will to disbelief of his religion. Again, the Catholic Irish especially are disposed, both by nature and habit, to draw subtle distinctions between the character of different acts, very dangerous indeed to conscience, yet perhaps, in the judgment of charity, of a nature to exempt them from formal sin. The instance we are about to give is not meant as an illustration of the latter portion of this remark, but it bears intimately upon the former. An Irishman who had, alas, completed (at least for the time) his act of apostasy, by receiving the Protestant communion, was reproached by the priest, to whom he subsequently made recantation of his error, with the enormity of such a sin. "Sure," was the reply, "and it was a sin; but then I thought it could do me no harm, for I knew it was only bread and wine, and no Sacrament at all, at all." The peculiarly limited requirements of a Protestant "conversion" are greatly in our favour. No Catholic in his senses would think of calling that Protestant a "convert" who should be seen frequenting, even for years, a Catholic church, or be a diligent reader of Catholic controversial books. The reception of the Sacraments, of course, is the turning-point with us. But our antagonists set their standard of conversion far lower than this; and did *we* adopt *their* rule, what accounts might not

we give, in published reports or otherwise, of the progress of the Catholic religion during these latter years! These gentlemen sit so exceedingly loose to the duties of external religion, and are, on the other hand, so extremely ready to catch at nominal converts, that the poor Irish have rarely even any temptation (we speak always of *adults*) to complete their apostasy by a formal act of communication “*in sacris* ;” for, in truth, among the religionists who interest themselves in that kind of work, there are few enough “*sacra*” in which to communicate.

Again, it is notorious to all who have experience of the Irish, that, while some of them are tempted by bribes dexterously applied under circumstances of great temptation, to commit grievous sins against the Faith during their lives, the number is extremely small of those who are not reconciled to the Church, even when they have formally apostatized from it, upon their deathbeds.

Taking therefore into account, 1, that many a “conversion” is in truth no conversion at all, and, 2, that even a true “conversion” is no pledge of a final separation from the Catholic Church; and making from the statistics of the Society the deductions necessarily involved in these qualifying considerations, we think that the facts which, in the Report under review, lie embedded deep in a mass of superincumbent self-gratulation, or self-depreciation, or self-complacency, or whatever other sentiment has “*dear number one*” for its ruling motive, or the object of its reflex operation, will not be felt very damaging to the cause of religion, at least as regards the diminution of its hold upon the great mass of the adult population of Ireland.

We have perused the Report with some care in order to get at the precise number of “converts” actually *claimed* as such. We may be quite certain that this number will not fall *below* the truth of the case. On the contrary, without imputing even exaggeration to the framers of the Report, (and we must in justice to them say that the Report gives no tokens of it), we may easily believe that, for the reasons just stated, some of these “converts” are but half converts, and a still larger proportion will not continue such. But let us come to the statistics of proselytism. The following is a tabular view of the conversions in the year ending May 1856.

Dublin	...	...	0	Erislannon	...	...	0
Monkstown	...	...	0	Errismore	...	...	0
King's and Queen's C	...	...	0	Balliconrea	...	...	0
Kilkenny	...	...	0	Moyrus	...	...	0
Cork	...	...	8	Ballinakill	...	...	0
Bandon	...	...	5	Killery	...	...	0
Fermoy	...	...	0	Ballicroy	...	...	0
Aughrim	...	...	0	West Sligo	...	...	1
Galway	...	...	0	Belfast	...	...	0
Tuam	...	...	5	Kingscourt	...	...	0
Headford	...	...	0	Loughmask	...	...	0
Spidal and Inverin	...	...	0	Achill	...	...	1
Killeen	...	...	0	Roscommon and Leitrim	...	...	1
Lough Corrib	...	...	0				
Castelkerke	...	...	0	Total conversions in 1856			21
Connemara	...	...	0				

Here are twenty-nine missions, some of them populous and extensive, yielding a return of but twenty-one even nominal converts in the course of a year. On the other side we have several confessions of loss. For instance, in Connemara.

"In estimating the effect of the works, we are forcibly reminded of the difficulty of judging by appearances. One, whom we for some time regarded as a convert, *sent for a priest the day before he died*; while another, a Roman Catholic tradesman, would have me attend him all through his illness, and *though he never separated from Rome, and even allowed the priest to come to him*, yet he declared that he had no confidence in any but Jesus alone."—p. 58.

The latter anecdote reminds us forcibly of the triumph exhibited at the Evangelical Tea-party in "Loss and Gain," on the fact of Pope Gregory XVI. having died "a true believer," because he was known to have expressed confidence in the merits of his Redeemer.

Again:—"Seven have returned to Popery, of whom three were young women who married Popish husbands, who most probably influenced them. Two others were the son and daughter of Romish parents who had not the moral courage to resist the priest's repeated denunciations, and another was a man who was never regarded as a decided convert."—p. 59.

Now see the "gains" by which these losses are counter-balanced. "Eighteen adult Romanists have attended from time to time our mission service who never attended

before. *Many others have promised to come, but have not as yet*; while a very large number are under instruction and read the Bible and tracts given them, and acknowledge openly they believe everything in the Bible, and nothing else.”—ib.

Ballinakill.—“I need scarcely say that the great mass of the people are fearfully ignorant and superstitious.”—p. 63.

Killery.—“I feel I should not be discharging my duty should I merely show the cheering side of the picture, whilst I pass over in silence that which is not so. I must therefore mention two cases of relapse into Romanism.”—p. 64.

Achill.—“The congregation has somewhat diminished. Our schools have not been so well attended towards the close of the year as they were at the beginning. Every exertion has been made to induce the parents to take their children away from the schools. Dr. M’Hale visited the island some months ago, and urged the people to withdraw their children from the schools, to which, he said, *they are sent as little angels, and returned little devils!*”—p. 68.

Truly, these are the most candid of witnesses!

The following little histories give more than an inkling of the way in which these “conversions” are brought about.

“A—, of Lisnaskea, is, we hope, a truly pious convert from Popery; she attends church regularly, and is deeply acquainted with her Bible, which is quite a curiosity to look at, from the way it is thumbed, and scored, and underlined. She is indeed a *very interesting young woman*, and a faithful witness for the truth. *She is a servant now in the house of a pious Protestant lady*, and is a regular communicant.”—p. 16.

“C—, an intelligent, frank, fearless girl, gradually and completely gave way to the arguments of the readers, and what she heard at the inquiring class..... She came to me several times, and seemed to be earnestly seeking truth, and searching the Scriptures, at the same time quite resolved to leave home. *I then took her in as a house-maid*; and soon after her mother came and told her that the money was all ready for her emigration. She went home, but found that it was all false, and only a *ruse* to get her out of my house. I recommended her then to the

Rev. —, who reports of her most satisfactorily, that she is an *excellent trustworthy servant*."—pp. 16, 17. There is a strong smell of "soup" here.

On the whole, we cannot be far wrong in concluding that, as regards adult conversions, the operations of this Society are little less than a total failure. Allowing, indeed, for the admitted "relapses," or restorations to Catholic communion, and for the probable return to the Church of many who are described as having enigrated, enlisted, or otherwise removed themselves from the influences of Protestant bribery, there is good reason to hope that even the recorded gains of heresy during the year to which this Report applies, have been completely neutralized, and that the enormous expenditure of £36,444 : 15s : 4d. (a sum which in Catholic hands would have sufficed for missionary operations all over the world,) has not produced the accession of a single adult Catholic throughout the length and breadth of Ireland to the ranks of apostasy.

With the *children*, we fear, the case is otherwise. The statistics of this Society undoubtedly exhibit an amount of success in the educational department of its operations, which gives us very considerable pain. We much fear that in Ireland, as in England, many poor Catholics, who would rather suffer martyrdom than themselves be guilty of any final act against the Faith, are seduced, partly by bribes, partly by false professions, and partly by the most mistaken notion that the minds of children under eight or ten years of age are incapable of receiving any indelible impressions of false doctrine and false morality, into committing these little ones to the care of heretical teachers, who do their best to corrupt them. For the faith of the adult Irish (at least in their own country) we have no fears. But the prospect is, we confess, anxious if not alarming, as regards the rising generation. The utmost vigilance on the part of the priests, joined with an essentially Catholic system of education, can alone, under God, prevent the otherwise almost certain inroads, both of actual heresy, and, what is even a more fatal, because less assailable foe, that carelessness and indifferentism about the grand distinguishing features of the Catholic religion, which must result from a counteracting power applied with the most indefatigable pertinacity, the most dexterous ingenuity, and the most unscrupulous disregard of principle in the means by which it effects its objects. Sincerity of purpose, however grievously misdi-

rected, shall always meet with forbearance at our hands; and we desire that what we are about to say may be understood with an allowance for all which, in the sight of God, is truly the effect of invincible ignorance in this movement. But, speaking of it materially, and in the abstract, we must say unhesitatingly, that a more exact counterpart of the Tempter's work in the first Paradise we can hardly picture to ourselves, even in imagination, than is to be found in the systematic endeavour to rob a religious and united people of that Faith which is no less the cementing bond of the nation, than the foundation of the hope and the pledge of the peace of the individuals composing it.

To prevent mistakes, we close with two observations.

While we have felt it our duty, at all hazards, to set before our readers the true state of the case with regard to the actual success of *one* Protestant engine for the destruction of the Faith in Ireland, neither they, nor we must forget, that this engine is *but* one of many, and may not, for what we know, be a fair specimen of its class. Let nothing, therefore, which we have said, be taken as an encouragement to over-confidence and false security. "Legion" is the name of the evil spirit who stalks abroad in the specious form of a friend of liberty and a messenger of peace to Ireland; and the revelations of failure to which this particular Report bears witness, must not be allowed to throw us off our guard in a contest where, although vigilance be not victory, indifference would be certain ruin.

Again, the confidence we have expressed in the "tenacity of Irish faith," must not be understood to extend in all its fulness to the case of the "Irish in England." Torn from the associations of a strictly and pre-eminently Catholic country, (a loss which mere spiritual privileges cannot supply,) and plunged into the midst of an atmosphere so charged with heresy and its attendant vices, as that of an English metropolis, or large provincial town, Irish who have expatriated themselves, in ignorance of consequences, and are now mingling with a heathen population, and "learning their works," cannot, in the nature of things, present a front against heretical attack, like that which they offer to it in their own favoured land. Not that even in England we believe actual apostasy to be otherwise than the very rare exception. But, undoubtedly, England exhibits the sight, almost unknown among

the poor in Ireland, of a class of semi-Catholics, thoroughly protestantized in spirit, without being formal apostates, who bring the utmost discredit upon their country, and but too faithfully indicate the success of proselytism, either covert or avowed. It may well be imagined that the children of this class of Irish will inherit the Faith, if at all, in a most diluted and corrupted form; and, unless the progress of the evil be stayed by timely remedies, we shall have to deplore the progressive degeneracy which finds its description in the words of the Roman poet—

"Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturus
Progeniem vitiosiore."

In the mean time, if any one desire to know the kind of teaching employed by the agents of Proselytizing Societies, we commend them to this Report. Two specimens may suffice. We all know that the Apocrypha, although excluded by the Established Church from the Canon of Inspired Scripture, is yet allowed to be read, in the public service, for the moral edification of the people, and that its value, to this extent, is even recognized in the XXXIX. Articles. What, then, have the clergy who support this Society (including, we believe, some of the Protestant bishops) to say to the treatment of the Apocryphal books implied in the following anecdote?

"Two lads, of respectable appearance, entered the Townsend Street class, which your Missionary was conducting, and entered into a discussion on the merits of the Apocryphal books. *They were greatly struck with the argument that Suicide was countenanced in the Book of Maccabees.*" p. 28.

The other specimen which we shall exhibit, relates to a great article of the Catholic Faith, but one which many Protestants receive, at least with qualifications, and which all the more religious portion of their body are agreed in treating with reverence on account of the very sacred nature of the doctrine to which it relates. Now we ask but this question:—What sort of tone, or habit of mind, is that which is likely to be engendered by such teaching as is presupposed in the fact of mentioning with applause such a case as the following?

"A boy, in answer to a Romanist, said: *You won*

a Saviour made of flour and water ; but we worship the Saviour who created the flour and water."—p. 69.

It will be some compensation to us for the pain of even transcribing this atrocious piece of blasphemy, if it should lead candid Protestants to denounce a system so fatal to religion and morality of every kind, or, at any rate, to give us credit for good intentions, where we warn our people to shun such teachers as they would shrink from reptiles, as insidious in their approaches as they are poisonous in their bite.

ART. V.—*The Kingdom and People of Siam, with a narrative of the Mission to that Country in 1855.* By Sir John Bowring, F.R.S., Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary in China. 2 vols., 8vo. London: Parker and Son, 1857.

WE are indebted to Sir John Bowring's embassy to Siam not only for the completion of an advantageous treaty, but for a work replete with valuable and authentic information upon numerous points of interest regarding the history, antiquities, and present condition of that kingdom. It must be acknowledged, however, that the larger portion of our interest is attracted to the rulers of Siam, its two kings, and that the people are comparatively seldom before our minds. This is not owing to any undue prominence given by the author to these leading figures, although the heads of the state in any country, but more especially in the East, must always absorb the consideration of a writer to a great and perhaps not disproportionate degree. The influence of nations upon their governments, and the reaction of the government upon the people, are by no means the easiest of problems, but it is likely enough, and at all events the more probable theory, that the government is the result of the national character, and may therefore in a great measure be studied as its index. In some places, of course, the supreme power has been so unduly exalted, that those for whom it is a trust are regarded, and regard themselves as its born slaves. This circumstance

alone throws the prince into such relief, that he is the only object considered, and the people are the background of the painting, like masses of infantry, sketched in outline behind the picture of a king or general. This is not exactly the case with the kings of Siam, for it will be seen there are two, somewhat like the Augustus and Cæsar of the latter days of Rome. They do not command your attention merely by their barbaric pomp, their strings of pearls, or rivers of diamonds, their litters, fans, Arab chargers, white elephants, their gold, unwrought and coined, their harems, and janizaries. They have all these things, but you lose sight of them all in considering the personal qualities of the men. They appear to possess in common the qualities of benevolence, intelligence, and a sound appreciation of European art and literature; they also appear desirous to give their subjects the benefit of European civilization wherever they find it possible, and generally to govern in a mild and kindly spirit. The first or principal king is however by much the more remarkable man, and the second king would seem to have only followed the lead of his brother and superior. The king of the Siamese, "*Rex Siamensium*," as he writes himself, realises Mr. Carlyle's idea of a king, the cunning or knowing man of the nation, as that gentleman deduces the etymology. The king is in point of information, general accomplishments, and general merit, as well as of rank, the first man in Siam, perhaps in the East. He has a good knowledge of Latin and French, speaks and writes English with the utmost fluency, has a critical acquaintance with the language and literature of his own country, and has no common knowledge of natural philosophy, and of several of the mechanical arts. Without any leaning towards Christianity himself, he is perfectly liberal and on good terms with the Catholic and Protestant missionaries; and although favourable to European civilization, and most anxious for its diffusion amongst his subjects, we think it an argument of his good sense that he does not endeavour to impose it upon them by edict. Their abject adoration of the royal authority would probably favour in some degree an attempt of the kind, but could hardly lead to a genuine or permanent civilization. We think the late Emperor of Russia was not far astray when he said that the pretended reforms and surface civilization attempted to be imposed upon Turkey by the late Sultan, were amongst the causes of its rapid

decline. No barbarism, how stupid soever, opposes so insurmountable a barrier to progress as an old and imperfect civilization, such as obtains in most countries in the East, and in Siam amongst others. The antiquity and imperfection of the existing civilization in these countries are eminently generative of pride, the feeling of all others most unfriendly to advancement of any kind. The Turkish reforms, for instance, were all in the interest of the drill-sergeant and the tailor, but while the fanaticism and ignorance of the lower orders were left untouched, the intelligence of their superiors, civil and military, was cultivated into utter profligacy and unbelief, and the entire state, notwithstanding these prodigious ameliorations, continues to rot and drop asunder day by day, until it will become necessary for Europe some day to undertake the task that could not safely be trusted to Russia alone.

The kingdom of Siam is a fine plain of about twelve hundred miles in length, and three hundred and fifty in breadth. It adjoins the British dependencies of Malacca and Arracan; and washed upon one side by the Gulph of Siam, and on the other by the Bay of Bengal; within easy reach of Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta; it is of the utmost importance to us to cultivate friendly relations with a state so circumstanced. It is in nominal dependence upon the Chinese Empire, and the king always pays some feudal service to the emperor, and takes a kind of investiture from him. The Siamese Government is, notwithstanding, completely independent, and although Siam is the resort of numerous Chinese, who are in fact the principal traders of the country, they are in no respect under the protection of China, or subject to any other than the law of the place. The kingdom is by no means populous, considering its extent and capabilities, the population ranging according to the most probable computation, (for none can be said to be authentic,) between four and six millions. Its history, like that of most empires, has its heroic or fabulous age, and its more or less authentic period. Sir John Bowring devotes a chapter to the annals of both, but they are full of hard names and dry facts. We shall not pause upon them, although, of course, they have a very sufficient literary and antiquarian interest. It was in the reign of Louis XIV. that Siam first came into relation with Europe, and more particularly with the court of that monarch. This was, however, a

mere episode in Siamese history, which in no way altered or distracted the main action. Siam too, as is well known, was the scene of devoted, but not very successful missionary labour, a labour which has been brought down to the present day, and which certainly meets with no obstruction from the king. We think it improbable that the king, familiar as he is with the literature of the West, has any belief in the superstitions of his country, but he has not renounced them, and it is not unlikely that, although not having any positive religious belief to fill the place of the national Buddhism, he is satisfied to allow the latter to stand, as no religion could give him more obedient or manageable subjects.

Although we cannot afford to dwell upon the history of Siam, fabulous or authentic, we think the following extract will not be found uninteresting. It contains the history of the present royal house of Siam, written by the king in English, and addressed to Sir John Bowring, as will be found, in the form of a letter. Sir John Bowring has preserved his majesty's idiom and orthography,—a circumstance which gives great character to the composition. The style is peculiar, but the proficiency of the writer is, notwithstanding, very wonderful. He is evidently unacquainted with the style of royal letters, and seems to be under the impression that the ordinary forms of politeness are as suitable to a prince as to a subject. His remarks are often those of a judicious critic, and his letter gives one altogether a most favourable impression of the Eastern monarch forgetting himself in the man and the scholar. The times and the press are, it is needless to say, very different, but assuredly the King of Siam, in his correspondence with Sir John Bowring, contrasts very favourably with Frederick of Prussia in his correspondence with Voltaire, when such a king commended such a man to God's holy keeping, a folly if he did not believe in God, and an indecency if he did.

"I requested the King," says Sir John Bowring, "to favour me with an account of his own dynasty, and received the following reply:—

"His Excellency Sir John Bowring Knighted, Doctor of Laws, the Governor of Hong Kong, &c., &c.

"RESPECTED SIR,—In regard to the particular narrative or ancient true occurrence of the present royal dynasty reigning upon Siam, I beg to say what I know from statement of our parents and

other tolerable and corresponding families whom I have been present of in considerable space of time when they have been living or alive.

"The first family of our parternal ancestors, it is said, have been inhabitants of the City of Hanswatty. (proper Sanscrit name) the Capital of Pegu, written by Bishop Pallegoix in corrupted sound or pronouncing of Sanscrit name, 'Hongswadi,' upon the time of reign the king of that city Pegu named Jumna ti cho by Peguen name and Dusadi Sawijay by Sanscrit name (marked in the book of Bishop Pallegoix with figure 1). This family became officers of state; employed as a part of military service of that King who has conquered Ayudia in about Christian era 1552, have placed the Siamese King of Northern Siam, who have been alliaied to him upon the throne of whole Siam at Ayudia in the name of Phra Maha Dharmmarajadhiraj (marked 2 in the book in which the corrupted names printed, and the King marked 1, has taken the son of the King marked 2 to Pegu for security. As Siamese King promised to be dependant of the Pegu on that time, the royal son accompanied the King marked 1, named Phra Naresr (printed in book Phra Narit, and marked 3) who has been or was at Pegu during the living time or reign of the Conqueror, in demise of whom he observed the governments of Pegu being in great distress in complex opinion to establish the successor of the expired king for about half a month, has conciliated many of the inhabitants of that city in his power and took them with him, fled from thence, returned to his native land Siam, and proclaimed independancy to the Pegu again. The aforesaid family or party of officers of state then have alliaied with King Phra Naresr marked 3, on his returning to Siam, has accompanied him and took their residence at Ayudia, which was bestowed upon them by the King.

"A large Buddh's image was constructed at a place of worship near of their residence, remained until the present day with some ancient inscriptions.

"After the time of the King Phra Naresr, the particular narrator's statement of this family is now disappeared to us until the time of reign of Phra Narayu, printed in Book Phra Narai marked 4, reigned at Ayudia and Lawoh, about the Christian year 1656 to 1682. On the reign of this King, two brothers, extraordinary persons, have been descendants of the said family; became most pliant to the King who has appointed the other brother in place or office of the lord of foreign affairs, in name or title of 'Chau Phya Phra Khleng,' who has been at presence of the receipt of the French Embassy visited Siam upon that time, and the younger brother of his Excellency Phya Phra Khleng, named Mr. Pal, was appointed head of Siamese Embassy to France of return of friendship with the French Government, and met with being wrecked, lost of his ship at Cape of Good Hope, where he, with his suit, remained during considerable while, and afterwards became to

France, met with favourable treatment of the French Government upon that time, and returned to Siam when his elder brother was died. The King Phra Narayu has appointed him (Mr. Pal) the head of embassy in the office of his elder brother, the Lord of foreign affairs. 'Chau Phya Phra Khlang' from this person extraordinary, our ancestors were said to be descendents; but their office and affairs in royal service were not continued in generations during a few reign of that majesties Siamese King who succeeded his Majesty the King Phra Narayu, until the time of his majesty Bhumindr Rajatdhiraj reigned upon Siam since the Christian year 1706 to 1732, in which the first person being father of the first King, and grandfather of the royal father of the present King (myself) and late King (my late brother) of Siam, was an extraordinary son of a family descended from aforesaid lords of foreign affairs, who removed their situation at Ayudia for happiness of lives, and selected their place at 'Sakutrang,' a port on small river, being branch of great river, at the connected realms of Northern and Southern Siams, at about latitude N. 13° 15' 30" more little, and longitude 99° 30' E. The said extraordinary person was born there and became man of skill and knowledge and ability of royal service, came from Sakutrang to Ayudia, where he was introduced to the royal service, and became married with a beautiful daughter of a Chinese richest family at Chinese compound, or situation within wall of city and in south eastern corner of Ayudia, and became pleased by the Kings marked 5 and 6, and appointed in office of the preparer of royal letters and communication for northern direction (i. e., for all state or regions of both dependencies, and in dependency to Siam at northern direction) and protector of the great royal seal for that purpose being, his title was, His Excellency Phra Acksom, Sundom, Smiantra. He has five children; his first wife who afterwards was died, and has recently married with the younger sister of his late wife, with whom he has a single daughter.

"In particular of the aforesaid five children, the first was a son, became man in the service of the Second King in the time of the King of Siam, marked 6, and leaving a sole daughter only, was died before Ayudia was conquered by Burman Army. The second and third were her daughters, their descendants many remained, the royal mother or the present Major and second King of Siam, (myself and my younger brother) was a daughter being third child of the latter. The fourth was an extraordinary son, became the first King of Siam in the present dynasty, marked in the book 8, who was born in March, 1736, of Christian Era, and of whom the present and late Kings of Siam, (myself and my late brother) were grandchildren, and the fourth was the person who was born in September 1743 of the Christian Era, and who became finally the second King upon the reign of his elder brother here, and died before his brothers death six years. The firstly said Ancestor 'Phra Acksom Sundom Smiantra,' has also another ille-

gitimate son, being youngest born from a maid servant whom he (H. E. our ancestor) has take with him, went to Northern Siam, upon the time of the Ayudia, being seized by the Burman Army in the Christian years 1765 and 1766, to obtain new situation or station for refuge, leaving here all above said legitimate sons and daughters who were married and live with their own families for the consequences of difficulty in going with large party in very hurricane and hindering manner of journey.

"He on his arrival at Phitsanulok, the great city at Northern Siam, became regent or superintendent of supreme governor of that city, where he was died of fiver and burn by his maid wife and the son born of her. His relicks was brought here by them and was delivered to his legitimate children here, and remained in our royal house of worship of royal ancestors, until the present day.

"And his two extraordinary son upon lossing of Ayudia; took refuge at various places, and afterwards became combined with the king Phya Tarksing first of Bangkokese kings, marked 7 in book; finally the elder was appointed the supreme general Chau Phya Chukkry, the Lord Regent of Country, and afterward styled in name or title and dignity of Maha Krasute Suk, *id est* 'the king of War,' who has resisted Burman Armies came to take station of Siam every year upon that time.

"The younger was appointed king of Northern Siam governing at Phisnuloke, where his father has been and died. He bore the name of Chau Phya 'Surasint,' so upon that time there were three kings presented in Siam, viz., Supreme King 'Phya Tark,' King of War, our grandfather, and the latter said King of Northern Siam, on the year of Christian Era 1781, when two brother kings were sent to tranquil Cambodia, which was in distress or disturbance of rebellion, the king Phya Tarsing, marked 7, remained here. He came mad or furious, saying, he is Buddh and put many persons of innocents to death, more than 10,000 men, and compelled the people to pay various amounts of money to royal treasure with any lawful taxes and reasonable army; so here great insurgents took place, who apprehended the next king and put to death, and sent them prisoners to Cambodia and invited two kings of war and of Northern Siam to return here for the crown of whole Siam and its dependency.

"Our grandfather was enthroned and crowned in May 1782, in name of 'Phra Budhyot fa Chulatoke,' marked in book 8; his reign continued 27 years. His demise took place in the year 1809, in which our father has succeeded him. His coronation took place in August 1809. His reign continued happily 15 years. His expiration took place in the year 1824, in month of July. His royal name 'Phra Budb, Lord Luh nobhaluy,' marked 9 (names of these two kings were printed in book by Bishop Palagoix 'Pheen din ton' and 'Pheen din Klang.') These names, improper as they were, very popular and vulgar are 'Pheen din ton,' i.e., former or first reign,

Phoen din Klang,' i.e., middle or next reign only, not royal title.

"Our older brother, the late king succeeded our royal father. His coronation took place on August 1824. His name was Param Dharwik rajahdhiraj (proper Sanskrit) and in Siamese name Phra Nangklaui Chau yu Acca. His reign continued 26 years; his demise took place on 2nd April 1851. Then my succession to him concluded and I was crowned on May 15th of that year. My name in Siam is Phra Chomklau Chau yu hua, and I bear the sanskrit name as ever signed in my several letters,

"S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,

"incontract that are

"SOMDETH PHRA, PARAMENDR MAHA MONGKUT,

"Rex Siamensium."

—Vol. 1. pp. 62, 69.

Sir John Bowring, after going at considerable length into the history of Siam, gives an interesting account of many particulars, in their manners, customs, superstitions, and amusements. He also avails himself pretty largely of the labours of former travellers, as many of their descriptions applicable to Siam two hundred years ago are equally applicable to-day. Thus, he quotes Kämpfen, Diego de Couto, Murray, Abeel, Father Le Blanc, Bruguière La Loubère, and makes constant reference to Bishop Pallegoix, than whom, he says, no writer is better entitled to speak from experience. Mgr. Pallegoix is not what could be called a traveller, although his travels have been very extensive indeed. He has long been at the head of the Catholic Mission in Siam, and his works, as will be seen from the foregoing extract, are well known to the king, whose accurate criticism, as may have been observed, suffers not even an orthographical error to escape. And indeed, while reading that part of the king's letter in which he notices the singular mistake by which the Bishop substitutes the description of the reign for the name of the prince, it occurred to us to reflect what execrable nonsense, to say no worse, must be contained in the Bible Society's versions of the Scriptures in Eastern or in barbarous languages. The Latin-speaking nations, it is well known, adopted some of their combinations, such as *mecum* and *secum*, for the express purpose of avoiding sounds, to which vulgar use attached coarse or otherwise offensive meanings; and can it be doubted that if any of

those pretended versions of the Scripture ever meet the eye of an intelligent native, their effect must be to bring the religion, of which such a rigmarole is the exponent, into derision and contempt. To return, however, to our immediate subject. Bishop Pallegoix describes the Siamese as quiet, cheerful, timid, and almost passionless. "They are," he says, "disposed to idleness, inconstancy, and exaction; they are liberal alms-givers, severe in enforcing decorum in the relations between the sexes. They are fond of sports, and lose half their time in amusements. They are sharp, and even witty in conversation, and resemble the Chinese in their aptitude for imitation." Their tenderness for the animal creation, encouraged by the Buddhist superstition, is another feature in the national character, and prevails to that extent, that they are unwilling to kill vermin, and reptiles, although flesh meat and fish are to be found at the tables of the rich. The practice of opium eating, although highly penal, has, it appears, been introduced into the kingdom; other narcotics are also used to produce the same effects, but the national luxury now regarded as a necessity, is the areca, a species of nut, which grows upon a tree in the nature of a palm. The kernel of this nut, seasoned with quick lime, and wrapped in betel leaf, the Siamese chew for hours together, alternating the process with immoderate tobacco smoking, and such is their passion for betel, that "were the choice," writes Sir John Bowring, "offered to a hungry Siamese, of food, or his favourite betel, there is no doubt he would reject the first and ask for the second in preference."

Polygamy is allowed in Siam to whatever extent the fortune of the husband will allow, but there is in general one wife of superior dignity, who is considered the legitimate spouse; but notwithstanding that parents generally seem to take pride in the number of their children, the population, as we have already seen, is thin. Poverty must always be a restraint upon polygamy, but it is well known that the system, so far as it reaches, is unfavourable to population, and there are besides, many concurrent circumstances which the author enumerates, all working in the same direction.

The ceremonies with which the principal events in the life of a Siamese, his birth, education, marriage, and death, are ushered in or followed, are given in considerable de-

tail by Sir John Bowring, and are sufficiently peculiar to make us wish we could ourselves enter into them a little more at large. He also devotes a sufficient portion of the work to a description of the animal and vegetable productions of the country, and there are distinct chapters for the legislation, manufactures, religion, commerce, revenues, language, and literature of Siam. We regret our inability to afford even a glance at each. Under one or other of these heads there are few subjects of interest at all likely to fall under the observation of an enquirer like Sir John Bowring, which have not been examined by him, and fairly as well as carefully stated. We found it difficult to make a selection where everything is interesting and important, but there are some circumstances in connection with the institution of slavery in Siam, which contrast so forcibly with the features of the same institution elsewhere, that we feel constrained to dwell upon them for a moment. The existence of slavery under any circumstances is a terrible evil. The Church has ever discountenanced, and has usually succeeded in extinguishing it wherever her power was sufficient. True, there is such a thing as the lawful relation of master and slave, but it is a relation so dryly and nakedly lawful, so little protected or favoured by Heaven, that an innocent slaveholder is an abstraction, a possibility, or little more. The conditions of the slave in the few Catholic countries that still incur the responsibility and disgrace of upholding such a system is admittedly preferable to that of the slave in the United States, whose condition is the most pitiable and hopeless of all. But in Siam, although one-third of the population is in slavery, the condition of the slave would seem to be far less unhappy than in any other country. The slaves are universally well treated, and have clearly defined rights. They are usually devoted to their masters, and confinement in irons is the extreme punishment to which they can be subjected by their masters, who, however, may hand them to the king to be dealt with as convicts, but the men so treated are such as would be liable to the punishment of convicts in England. Some of these remarks apply to all classes of slaves existing in Siam, namely those captured in war, and who belong to the king; those who are purchased, or in conformity with the old Roman legislation, forfeit their liberty for debt; and those who are born slaves. Slaves of the two

last classes each represent a certain sum of money, and if dissatisfied with their masters, upon tendering their estimated value in money, they are entitled to their discharge. Breakage, or dilapidations, are charged to the account of the slave, and must be included in his ransom. Various services, voluntary or other, rendered by the slave to his master, cover the amount of ransom; and altogether the laws with reference to the slaves are a carefully prepared and by no means unfriendly code. There are various such classifications of slaves, and there are many circumstances under which the slave obtains his freedom without purchase; but in general the kindness and confidence of the master are such, and they are so warmly returned by the slave, that the latter, when emancipated, returns if he can to the service of the same master, and if not, rarely fails to obtain another as good.

Before passing to a more important subject, we shall borrow from Sir John Bowring a graphic description of the reverence with which the Siamese treat their superiors, and which he accurately characterises as a species of adoration.

“So absolute is submission that the severest punishments emanating from the authorities are submitted to without murmuring. A mandarin being imprisoned in order to be punished, a Frenchman offered to intercede for him with his superior: ‘No,’ replied he, ‘I would see how far his love would reach,’ and this was said, not ironically, but was the Siamese interpretation of what a European would have rendered by ‘I wait to see how far his rigour will extend.’ The king said to the French envoy, that his subjects have the temper of asses, who tremble so long as one holds the end of their chain, and who disown their master when the band is loosed.

“The groundwork of all Siamese institutions and habits is a reverence for authority. This principle is pushed to forms of the most extravagant excess, on the one side of assumption, and on the other of prostration. It influences language so far as to create vocabularies utterly unlike one another, to be employed in the various grades of society; it is exhibited in the daily usages of life in shapes the most inconvenient and ridiculous. No man of inferior rank dares to raise his head to the level of that of his superior; no person can cross a bridge if an individual of higher grade chances to be passing below; no mean person may walk upon a floor above that occupied by his betters. There was an expression of extreme distress from the Siamese, when

on board the *Rattler* some images of Buddha were found in the cabin, over whose heads common sailors were permitted to tread the deck. Honours almost divine, language quite devotional, humiliations the most degrading, mark the distance between sovereign and subject; and to some extent the same reverence is paid to age which is exhibited towards authority. The paternal relations are associated with forms and phrases of habitual respect, and the honouring father and mother has more than the force of a commandment—it is an hourly observance.

"Precedence of *position* is thus laid down. 'The right hand is more honourable than the left'—(this is wholly contrary to Chinese usages which invariably recognise the left side as the seat of honour)—'the floor opposite the door more honourable than the sides, the sides more honourable than the wall where the door is, and the wall which is on the right hand of him that sits on the floor, more honourable than that on his left hand; in the tribunals no persons sit on the bench which is fixed to the wall directly opposite the door except the president who also has a determinative voice. Councillors who have only a consultative voice are seated on the lower benches along the middle walls, and other meaner officers along the wall of the side where the door is.'

-, "In addressing an equal the Siamese use the word *than*, meaning master, and call themselves *kha*, servant; to a superior they say *Chau kha*. But the terms of humility on the one side and of assumption on the other rise and fall with the difference and distance of rank. Crouched in the dust before a dignitary, the language employed by the speaker is, 'Your slave—a hair—an animal *dixan*,' the diminutive of *devaxan*, 'a little beast,' or some equally depreciatory phrase. No man approaches a person of the higher orders without prostrating himself, raising his hands over his head, and bending his body low. To the highest authority there must be three separate acts of adoration, and the word *khora*, which means 'obedience to order,' constantly interlards the conversation. 'When the Portuguese interpreter saw the Phrakhleng, though at the distance of twenty or thirty yards, he bent his body and crept along like a sportsman approaching the game unobserved. In this inclining position he continued until within a few yards of the object of his reverence, when he laid himself prostrate on the ground, and waited the order of his superior.' This is the universal method of inferiors entering into the presence of persons of higher rank.

"Other forms are—'lord benefactor at whose feet I am;' to a prince, 'I the dust of your august feet'—'I the sole of your foot;'—to the king 'mighty and august lord! divine mercy! I a dust grain of your sacred feet;' and of the king, the usual phraseology is 'the divine order,'—'the master of life'—'sovereign of the earth'—'guardian of the Bonzos.' The ordinary phrase in the presence of majesty is *ton xramong* 'placed on my head.' The most common

royal title, and that usually found in the sacred books is *Phra ong*, meaning literally 'the divine personage.'

"Bruguière says that the words *to reign—saenival*—means literally 'to devour the people.'—Vol. i. pp. 124, 127.

Sir John Bowring devotes a chapter of the first volume to the existing Christian missions, and in the second volume he gives a brief history of each of the missions, some apostolic and some diplomatic, which the great nations of Europe sent to Siam at various periods. With reference to the present missions, he states what we unreservedly believe, the very natural fact that the Protestant and Catholic missions go a great way to neutralize each other. It is not surprising that when there are two parties in presence whose teachings are directly contradictory, and who each profess to deliver the one true Christian doctrine, a very large number of those who are called upon to choose between Christ and Buddha, should be grievously at a loss to know what Christianity actually is, and should prefer holding by what they do know in preference to what there seems no likelihood of their discovering. In the simplicity of his heart Sir John Bowring recommends an evangelical alliance between the Catholics and Methodists, and encourages them to treat each other as fellow-labourers. We need not dwell upon the extravagance of such a proposal. There should be two parties to any such arrangement, and if *per impossibile* the Methodist should be ready for a compromise, the Catholic would cease to be a Catholic, by the bare fact of its acceptance. The Catholics were in possession when the Methodists and Presbyterians made their appearance, and upon the latter of course lies the responsibility of all the harm done. The mission was of a sufficiently arduous description without requiring difficulties of this kind to complicate it. Strange to say, the professors of the most stupid and monstrous superstitions are often the most subtle disputants and clever objectors when Christianity is offered to their acceptance. There is no unsoundness, real or apparent, which they do not at once detect and turn to surprising account. The missionary career of St. Francis Xavier furnished numerous instances of the kind we mention, and Sir John Bowring gives a very remarkable specimen of a dialogue between a Protestant Missionary and a Siamese Mandarin, in which the answers of the latter are evidently of a kind to disconcert any but the most accomplished reasoners; and we cannot but

think that the greatest logician in the world, imperfectly acquainted with the language, would, without a very marked and almost miraculous interposition of Providence, completely fail. Sir John Bowring goes at some length into the causes of the comparative failure of the early missions, and the nearly complete failure of the existing missions, notwithstanding the toleration so liberally extended by the government to all. La Loubère, upon whom he draws for many of his facts and reasons, does undoubtedly supply a great many circumstances confirmatory of the views he entertained. He also quotes the general practice of St. Francis Xavier, and the early missionaries, in the sustaining of his opinion, that the prejudices of heathens are not to be too rudely dealt with, that the prudence of the serpent is to be called into requisition, that the philosophy, and even what is sound in the theology, of those whom you seek to evangelise, must be turned to account, and that every custom not absolutely incompatible with Christianity, must be tenderly handled and even preserved. This has indeed been the practice of the Church in all her missions where she has been allowed anything like freedom of action. It was more particularly the practice of the Jesuits, who in China adopted and consecrated whatever in the Chinese philosophy, manners, and even ceremonies and belief, they did not consider inconsistent with the Christian faith and morality. A stupid outcry was raised in Europe. An order was obtained from Rome, under what circumstances or by what influences it is needless to enquire now, disapproving the connexion of these ceremonies and practices with the Christian faith, and the result was just what might be expected, and what would have taken place in Saxon England a thousand years ago, had Gregory the Great forbidden the adoption of Saxon customs and observances. His wisdom has been seen and recognized even by Protestant writers, and there have not been wanting Protestant writers to condemn the ill-omened measure which threw Christianity two or three centuries back in the Chinese empire.

With reference to the indiscriminate circulation of the Scriptures La Loubère has an observation in which we are inclined to think Sir John Bowring concurs, although without an express statement of his concurrence. The Scriptures, according to the views of La Loubère, should not be thrust into the hands of Eastern heathens in parti-

cular, without preparation or comment. The same thing in our view of course holds good for Western Christians ; but La Loubère lays his finger upon some of the passages which will only scandalize and disgust a heathen, at the same time that they give a completely erroneous view of the doctrines of Christianity. How, he inquires, can the language of the Saviour regarding His mother and His brethren, unexplained and unaccounted for, be regarded by natives, whose reverence for the parental authority has grown into a species of instinct? We might point to Scripture texts more offensive still even to the right sense of an Eastern heathen, Siamese, Chinese, or Hindoo. What could he think, for instance, of an unexplained book in which he should read, that unless a man were to *hate* his father and mother he could not have life everlasting? La Loubère quotes also the text, "Let the dead bury their dead," and adds, "what more abhorrent amongst people whose funeral rites form the most sacred of duties and obligations?" Further on Sir John Bowring himself says upon the same subject,—

"It may be doubted if the profuse and indiscriminate circulation of bibles and books is a judicious proceeding, or likely to be accepted as evidence of the value attached by the giver to the gift. One of the missionaries acknowledges that sheets of white paper would be yet more carefully sought. Hundreds of thousands of printed tracts and treatises have been scattered broad cast over Siam and China. Has the result responded to that expectation? Has the seed grown up into the harvest of promise? Great reverence is attached to *books*, as books among the Buddhists. It may well be questioned whether it is wise and prudent to fling them to all the winds as our missionaries fling "their seed" in the hopes that some will fall into good ground and bring forth a hundred fold. No such seeds have hitherto fallen—no such good ground has hitherto received those seeds. I doubt not the ultimate prevalence of truth, of Christian as well as all other truth; but it is impossible to close our eyes to the sad, the very sad, but most undoubted fact, that spite of sacrifices the most heroic, zeal the most devoted, liberality the most unbounded, little, almost nothing has been done. I ask not the discontinuance of missionary labours, but the calm consideration of the causes of failure, of the incredibly small returns for immensely great exertions."—Vol. I. pp. 377-378.

The Siamese mission inaugurated by St. Francis Xavier, but in strictness commenced by De la Motte Lambert, Bishop of Berythus in partibus, was far more successful amongst the Chinese and Annamites, who form

so considerable a portion of the population of Siam, than amongst the Siamese themselves. It was not, however, without success even amongst the latter, but it had the misfortune of royal patronage from Europe, the patronage of Louis XIV., and as is always the case in similar instances became connected in the mind of the native princes with the political schemes, real or imputed, of the European king. As in the case of Japan, this led to persecution, but fortunately not to the extinction of Christianity. The Siamese appear to be a kindly race, but there has been no succession of kings unfavourable to Christianity. Fortunately, too, although the Dutch were in the neighbourhood of Siam, as in that of Japan, to keep up any passing exasperation, and to see that no pause or respite should be allowed to the little flock; they did not find it necessary to do so in the present instance, and the flock was allowed to come to shelter after each dispersion.

In the year 1830, Mgr. Pallegoix, the present Vicar Apostolic of Siam, was appointed to reorganize the Mission, and since then, as Sir John Bowring observes, the Catholics have laboured with unremitting activity, and have also established missions in Cambodia and Laos. The numbers and distribution of the Catholic population in Siam, are stated to be as follows, upon the authority (we presume) of Mgr. Pallegoix:—

In Bangkok	...	...	...	...	4050
Ayuthia and Salaburi	...	...	...	...	200
Petriu and Bangplasoi	...	...	...	...	300
Nakhonxaisi and Bang Xang	...	...	...	...	300
Chantaburi	...	...	...	...	1100
Jongsilang	...	...	...	...	500
Dispersed and in Slavery	...	...	...	...	600
					<hr/> 7050

Under the government of the Bishop, are his Vicar, eight European, and four native priests. There are also comprised in the Mission, thirty students, four convents occupied by twenty-five nuns, five schoolmasters for boys, and fifteen catechists, mostly Chinese. The native priests are supported by their own congregation, and the mission receives from what Dr. Bowring calls the Propaganda, but which must of course mean the society for the propagation of the faith, 20,000 francs a

cular, without preparation or comment. The same thing in our view of course holds good for Western Christians ; but La Loubère lays his finger upon some of the passages which will only scandalize and disgust a heathen, at the same time that they give a completely erroneous view of the doctrines of Christianity. How, he inquires, can the language of the Saviour regarding His mother and His brethren, unexplained and unaccounted for, be regarded by natives, whose reverence for the parental authority has grown into a species of instinct? We might point to Scripture texts more offensive still even to the right sense of an Eastern heathen, Siamese, Chinese, or Hindoo. What could he think, for instance, of an unexplained book in which he should read, that unless a man were to *hate* his father and mother he could not have life everlasting? La Loubère quotes also the text, "Let the dead bury their dead," and adds, "what more abhorrent amongst people whose funeral rites form the most sacred of duties and obligations?" Further on Sir John Bowring himself says upon the same subject,—

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year, reduced, it is said, one-fourth by the rate of exchange, so that the resources of the Mission, from that quarter, amount to just £600 per annum, and are brought up in other ways to £746 accounted for as follows:—

Viaticum of the Vicar Apostolic	...	...	£52	per an.
" of nine Missionaries, £26 each	...	...	234	"
Subsidy to Native Priests	...	...	40	"
" to the Nuns	...	...	40	"
Expenses of the Seminary	...	...	160	"
15 Catechists £8 each	...	...	120	"
Printing	...	...	40	"
Expenses of the Mission barges	...	...	32	
Rosaries and objects of devotion	...	...	28	
			<hr/> £746	

The Protestant missions are three in number, connected with various denominations of American protestants, but their native adherents do not appear to amount to more than thirty-five individuals. They were under some restrictions previous to the arrival of Sir John Bowring, but, at his Excellency's instance, were removed by the King. Mgr. Pallegoix gives the following account of the Protestant missions.

"Twenty-seven years ago, American Protestant Ministers established themselves in Bangkok; some dispense medicines, others preach or keep little schools, which do not prosper. Their great object is to print and distribute versions of the Bible in Siamese and Chinese. They have four presses in activity, they incur enormous expenses; their Bibles circulate throughout the country, and yet many persons have assured me that in twenty-seven years, they have not baptised twenty-seven Chinamen, and those they have baptised are people in their service. The Siamese cannot persuade themselves that one can be a priest and a married man. Thus they never call them Phra (or Priest) but Khru (Master) or M6 (Doctor). Besides, the six families of ministers are divided into three sects, which is not likely to inspire confidence."*—Vol. I, p. 373-4.

Sir John Bowring makes graceful mention of the services rendered by the Catholic missionaries to philology, of which indeed the Siamese and Latin grammar and dictionary, published in Paris at the cost of the government,

* Pallegoix, ii. 319-20.

are a sufficient proof. His description of the capital and court of Siam, it is needless to say, are full of interest. There are few, however, who have not at one time or another, made acquaintance with Bangkok and its wonders, including the white elephant, a few hairs from the tail of which were confided to Sir John Bowring for presentation to her Majesty, as a gift of no mean value, and worthy the acceptance of one whom the king of Siam must regard as one of the greatest princes in the world. The information to be derived from Sir John Bowring's pages is not indeed confined to matters of this description, although in the economy of Siamese government they are of the highest importance. The capital and court of every country are its characteristic features, nowhere are they more characteristic than in Siam, and, as it would appear to us, no description can trace them more accurately than that of Sir John Bowring. In the first chapter of the second volume, he gives an account of some of the principal dependencies of Siam, including Laos, Cambodia, and Quedah. His Excellency became acquainted with Mgr. Miché, the vicar apostolic of Cambodia, in Bangkok, to which city the bishop had come for the recovery of his health. Sir John Bowring refers to the circumstance with a pleasure which is very gratifying, and pays an ample tribute to the good qualities and devotedness of the bishop. "From him," says Sir John, "I learnt many interesting particulars as to the produce and prospects of the country which is the field of his missionary labours. He seemed earnestly devoted to his work, careless of privation, dangers, and sufferings. He had lately traversed the perilous jungle, where, day after day, and night after night, he found scarcely the trace of man—no succour, no shelter—the elephants which conveyed him making their way through the scarcely ever traversed forests. But, though oppressed with lassitude and sickness, I heard no complaint; his path of duty seemed clear before him, and in that he resolutely walked. It is impossible to look on the dedication of these missionary wanderers, to the task allotted to them by their master, without wonder and admiration. No amount of labour or of privation, no manner of peril, persecution, or even death, diverts them from their onward but often darksome way." A long and important chapter is devoted to the history of the diplo-

matic and commercial relations, from time to time established between Siam and the Western nations; and the last chapter, containing the personal journal of His Excellency's visit to Siam, is also of extreme interest. There are as many as seven appendices, containing amongst other matters, some notices of the history of Siam, and detached portions of historical narrative, all drafted by the King of Siam, and some of them retouched for the press. Sir John Bowring has reprinted *verbatim et literatim*, from a MS. in the handwriting of the king, an account of the death of the late queen, or in truth her biography, for he gives a sufficiently detailed account of her not very eventful life, up to the period of her last illness. The account shows him to have been a very attentive observer, for he notes with the accuracy of a physician all the symptoms of her illness, and all the medicines or other remedies made use of during its course. Before closing this paper we think it will not be taken amiss if we give a specimen or two of His Majesty's correspondence with Sir John Bowring. The following is the first letter received from the king immediately upon his arrival at Bangkok.

(No. 38.)

"Royal Audience Hall, Grand Palace,
"Bangkok, 20th March, 1855.

"MY RESPECTED GRACIOUS FRIEND,—I am now indeed very glad for your Excellency's arrival, as mostly as it is the fulfilling of my longly expecting mind and earnest desire of personal respect with your Excellency, which would be better than our faithful correspondence between us, which were continued so long as for many years ago.

"I have informed your Excellency's arrival to all members of our government; they are all very glad, and trusting that the visit of your Excellency is peaceful, and your Excellency is my intimate corresponding friend, from whom they expect favourable discussions of treaty, &c.

"On yesterday morning after your Excellency's arrival being just learned less than an hour, I had written the foregoing of No. 37 immediately, and sent down to sea together some articles of food,—Siamese fruit, abundant in the present season, and some Siamese manufactured sweet articles, cakes, &c., in hand of my private ministers Messrs. Nai Kham, Nai Suong raj bar han, and Nai Bhoo, (the latter of whom your Excellency would remember) to present your Excellency my first respect and cordial welcome heartily.

"But I am little sorry that they both were or are not acquired with but little knowledge of English, so your Excellency would

know my being glad, but personal of my letter or through interpreter.

"To-day, I beg to send your Excellency some articles of salt food put in six bottles, and six pints of salt fishes and venison; the latter may be for your Excellency's retinue or accompany, all aforesaid articles in hand in charge of the bearer hereof who is a gentleman and my private minister, 'Mom Kou tao, who acquired with considerable way of English language in speaking and writing, whom I could not get to send down on yesterday. I trust your Excellency will please to converse with him.

"I have ordered his Excellency 'Chau Phya, Sri—Suriy, Wongso' Samuh Phra Kralahom to accept your Excellency at Parknam with great respect and consult with your Excellency to do well, profess in what manner your Excellency will be conveyed to this city. He got down last night and now in Parknam. Your Excellency's messengers who went to proceed to this city for witnessing the prepared residence of your Excellency are allowed to come according to their pleasure. It is said they will come up tomorrow. I beg to assure your Excellency that all things here will be in peaceful manner and gracious respects.

"I wish your Excellency to be here as long for many days as possible to your Excellency. Do not fear for our expenses, &c., as I wish to enjoy the entertainment with such a noble and favourable friend as your Excellency are to me.

"I beg to remain your Excellency's faithful friend,

"S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,

"The King of Siam.

"To his Excellency SIR JOHN BOWRING,

"Kt., Dr. of Law, &c., &c."

The proper officials having some scruples with regard to the European style of complimenting a prince by discharges of artillery, the king at once proceeds to gratify the ambassador by the acceptance of the compliment, and communicates his intention in the following letter.

(No. 43.)

"Rajonty House, Grand Palace,

"3 April, 1855, 10 p.m.

"MY DEAR FRIEND.—In your Excellency's conversation with our noble two heads of private ministers to day, regard the salute of 21 guns on board *Rattler* which would be up to the new fortification below the city tomorrow, they (two my ministers have declared) the Siamese custom and forbidden the one salute of 21 guns. Now I have resolved to allow according to your Excellency's custom and pleasure of much respect towards myself; so agreeably to your

Excellency pleasure, I have issued my proclamation (printed in thin papers, one of which enclosed herewith) among our citizen and people forbidding their alarm. I beg, therefore, to permit or agree that 21 guns on board the steamer *Rattler* shall be fired in salute on her arrival at directed place of anchor near of new fort. Then on the end of 21st gun our military party upon fort will answer with the same number. Please order to your Excellency's captain of steamer to salute according to English custom.

"This from your Excellency Friend,

"(signed) S. P. P. M. MONGKUT,

"The King of Siam.

"To his Excellency SIR JOHN BOWRING,

"K., L.L. D., &c., &c."

—Vol. ii. pp. 422, 423.

(*Enclosure.*)

"A Royal proclamation of the Senior king condescending graciously to the vested tuft and crown of the people, giving, them to know conveniently throughout every magistrates district, that the British envoy who has come at this time is a person who has been intimately acquainted in and under the soles and dust of the sacred feet for a long time past. For this reason he condescending graciously to the vested tuft and crown, allows the fire-ship being a war vessel, that which has now arrived to come up to the mouth of canal Phadong Krung Kasem below. If when the fire-ship shall come up and the captain fire large guns, a salute of 21 guns to the powers of the great angelic city, and the soldiers in the fort Pitpatchanak shall fire another 21 guns, being altogether 42 guns, let not the people be frightened or startled at all by any means. This firing of guns is the custom of vessels of war, like the custom of junks to beat gong mutually.

"Published on Teusday the 5th month, the 1st evening of the waning moon in the year of the Rabbit, and the 6th year of the cycle of ten."—Vol. ii. pp. 427, 428.

Nothing could exceed the delicate courtsey with which the English envoy was treated throughout his stay in Bangkok, or the frankness with which the treaty, the object of his mission, was discussed and finally arranged by the Siamese ministers, and ratified by the king. In addition to the great service which Sir John Bowring has rendered to the country by conducting to a successful issue a treaty of such importance, the public is very much his debtor for the valuable contribution to its information, which has resulted from that mission, in the shape of these volumes. We have

rarely met with a book that inspires a more pleasing interest, and what is far better, we feel that in recommending it to the reader we can adopt the words of Montaigne and say,

C'est icy un Livre de bonne foy Lecteur.

ART. VI.—*Philosophie Morale*. Par N. J. Laforet, D.D. etc., Professeur a la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, et Président du Collège du Pape, a l'Université Catholique du Louvain. Nouvelle édition. Louvain, 1855.

THE word Moral Philosophy in our English tongue, and as used by our writers, has two significations perfectly distinct. The one general amongst men of letters, the other peculiar and proper to a small, and it may be, comparatively unlettered few. In the former sense, Moral Philosophy, or as it is more generally called, Moral Science, embraces much weighty and valuable matter. It discourses of God, of our soul, of this world. It treats of the laws which govern thought, of their independence of those other laws which rule the material world, of the nature and origin of our soul, of the free will by which we administer the affairs of our own economy, of the endless destinies which await our exit from the shifting scenes of this life. It investigates the character of material existence, scrutinizes its dependency, traces its temporal origin. And rising from effects to their cause, it unfolds the reasons which constrain the mind to acknowledge the existence and infinite perfection of the Supreme Being; it deduces the nature and character of His Divine attributes, His immensity, ubiquity, eternity, simplicity, omnipotence, omniscience, foreknowledge: and setting before us, as in a mirror, how we have been created and preserved, how His loving Providence has watched, and ever watches over us,—it leaves us impressed with the most intimate conviction of our complete dependence on His Almighty Goodness and Power. Such are the topics involved in the term Moral Science, as it is used in our

universities and colleges, as it denominates a *section* at the meetings of the British Association, and as it appears in the title pages of solemn-looking books. We know the term includes more—discourses on the Moral Law, on human obligation, &c. But of these we shall speak anon.

But the few English or Irish laymen who may have studied in the Continental Universities, who are even slightly versed in Continental literature, know a very different signification of the term Moral Philosophy. For them it means what it sounds, the *Philosophy of Moral Acts*. It examines the origin, nature, and extent of the Natural Law; the source of Moral Obligation; the sanction which attaches to the observance or violation of the Law. Starting from the general notion of Duty, it investigates its several ramifications, and defines our relations to God, ourselves and our fellows. The fulfilment of these duties produces within us a facility or readiness of action; such a facility is virtue. Such is Moral Philosophy as it is understood all over the Continent. It involves neither more nor less. A Continental philosopher would as soon dream of treating subjects belonging to natural theology, or psychology, when discussing Moral Philosophy, as he would think of introducing the perturbations of Uranus and Neptune into a treatise on elementary algebra. Each science has its own department, as it has its own name; and as amongst us geometry and mechanics mean very different things, so on the Continent very different are Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy.

There is scarce a branch of speculative knowledge which is so little known amongst us; there are few whose study would be more useful at the present day. In a mixed society, presenting every shade of moral, political, and individual variety of opinion, at a time when questions of the most vital interest to the community and to each man severally are agitated,—questions which regard the very foundation of social order, the essential differences of moral good and evil—we cannot turn to the teaching of religion for decisive instruction, for we have not religion in common with those who are without the pale of the Church. Reason, truly and solidly developed, the teaching of this science which professes to unfold the nature and foundation of our duties, can alone supply us with arguments by which to decide those questions. And we are the more

particularly induced to hope that our rising Catholic youth will be attracted hither by reason of our new university. Its nomenclature will hardly correspond with that of our Protestant literature; its science will be the full Catholic philosophy taught for ages in our Continental schools, and not the meagre fragments which have been preserved with difficulty here.

And for this reason we return our most hearty thanks to M. Laforet for his valuable work. From opinions which he occasionally puts forward we must dissent. But about his merit as an author, as a clear and able exponent of the truth, there can be no dispute. We shall, we think, render a service, neither unimportant nor superfluous, if, availing ourselves of the treatise of M. Laforet, we attempt to present our readers with a more detailed and exact account of *La Philosophie Morale*, than can well be furnished without the help of a foreign literature. The author's preface informs us of how he came to write his work. He tells us how, from the date of his appointment, he began to study the more famous writers on moral philosophy. Amongst those writers were some of the Fathers—especially Saint Augustine—and the great scholastic theologians. The perusal of their writings disclosed the most elevated and extensive views on the most difficult questions of moral philosophy.

“Compared with the writings of these eminent men, the moral treatises of the moderns appear to us in general weak. These words may seem paradoxical to a certain class of readers; but they are yet true. We meet men otherwise well instructed, but strangers by their education to the scientific traditions of the Church, who fancy that the science of morality and natural right is of modern creation, and who above all do not dream that it is possible to find its principles among the authors of the middle age. If these men had only the courage to open and glance at the *Summa* of St. Thomas they would see to what modern discoveries may be reduced. And yet there are other writers of that epoch, but too little known, such as St. Anselm and St. Bonaventure, who, on capital questions of morality and natural right, exhibit views sometimes more profound than those in the beautiful work of the Angelic Doctor. The merit of the moderns is the having classed in stricter order the ideas which should enter into moral philosophy, and the philosophy of right; but for profoundness and comprehensiveness of views, with some rare exceptions, they are certainly not comparable to the ancients.

“Modern authors have applied themselves more to place in order,

and systematize moral ideas; and of this merit we esteem the value very highly, for without a rigorous order of ideas science were impossible. And if it be true to say that on the score of order and of method, the moderns surpass the ancients; it is also certain that even at this day moral philosophy is far from presenting a system precisely conceived and rigorously connected. It seems to us that in no treatise of morals do we find a general principle, truly philosophical, ruling the entire science, and around which the particular ideas group naturally and without effort. Under this head the best manuals disclose grave defects. The greater part of authors do not ascend to the first principles of the moral order; they pause at secondary and derived principles which do not satisfactorily account for anything. Hence it is impossible for them to seize on the true filiation of ideas: they can perceive only imperfectly the unity of the order whose laws they explain.

"We have attempted to correct these defects by starting from more elevated, and what appear to us more philosophical principles. It is for the learned public to decide to what degree we have succeeded.

"Perhaps some may find our mode of proceeding too elevated and far too metaphysical for a course destined for young persons. But to this reproach it is not difficult to reply. We have long since conceived that without profound metaphysics philosophy is impossible; there may be ingenious conceptions, analyses more or less solid, but never can the true reason of things be found. We must therefore select: we must have true *philosophy*, or not speak of it at all. We believe moreover there is always a way of conveying to the young, even those of mediocre talents, ideas of high and profound metaphysics; these ideas are the common patrimony of all intellects, they are present to every spirit, and we think that with method they may be pointed out and rendered intelligible to all—with this difference doubtless, that some will attain more others less, according to their capacities and the degree of attention expended on it.

"Again, we think that the master's mission is not merely to teach his pupils the elements of the science which he represents; it seems to us that it should be his principal aim to develop and elevate their faculties. Now nothing is more suitable to this end than to initiate them into the grand views of christian metaphysics."

We shall not apologize for this long extract. We should have detracted from its genuine value had we attempted to curtail it.

The author next proceeds to notice the distinction which the educational system of the day (adopted even in his own university) has drawn between *le droit naturel*, and *la morale*. And while he admits that it may be very advantageous for those who are entering on the study of law, that certain general principles of the moral order should

be as it were culled from the mass, and treated of in a more special and exclusive manner; at the same time he would fain impress us with a recollection that as those very principles are part of the moral law, and derive from it all their force, their special study must ever be subordinate on the general study of morals. Hence he infers very justly that the science of right must ever be a sort of dependant on that of morals. Further on we shall recur to this subject, and shall endeavour to point out the differences between the Philosophy of Right and Moral Philosophy, and the mutual relations which render them cognate sciences.

The *Introduction*, which is a substantial part of the treatise, commences with establishing the general notion of Moral Science, and inferring this from the etymology of the term, *Ethics*, it defines it to be in general the science which treats of morals, that is of moral actions. Now, a just and philosophical notion of any science must embrace the fundamental principle which determines it and governs all its parts. Such fundamental principle in *Ethics* (for so we shall for brevity sake denominate the science in future) must be the first and highest rule which determines the morality of actions. This rule is *le Bien*. *Le Bien in se* is something absolute, necessary, unchangeable, eternal. This is why *Ethics* finds a place in the circle of the sciences, for, properly speaking, the object of all philosophy is neither more nor less than universal ideas, which are necessary, absolute, unchangeable, eternal. Doubtless philosophy does not content itself with the study of absolute ideas, merely considered in themselves; it investigates their relations with things, with man, the world. But even thus in its study of relative ideas, Philosophy has for its guide the Absolute: this is at the same time the port whence it departs on its outward-bound voyage, and the haven whither it conveys the treasures amassed in its wanderings in stranger climes.

Now, one important corollary follows from this. Necessary and absolute ideas are the divine idea itself, presenting itself under different aspects. Hence, in all strictness, all the parts of philosophy tend directly to God. He is the commencement, the middle, and the end of all philosophy; and a philosophy which does not tend to Him, is on its road, starting with the idea of God, and ending with it, or all its researches to Him, according to the

Moral Philosophy, as it is treated by a vast number of writers scarce deserves the name of a science. Separated from God, and so from the central point of absolute ideas, it must of necessity take a lowly place amongst the empirical sciences, and so proclaims its incapacity of resolving any one of the great problems of the moral order.

Now *Good* (*Bonum*) is the object of Ethics: that is, considered in its relations to man's will which it guides and influences. Man conforming himself to this rule in his actions, perfects himself and becomes *good*: departing from it he deteriorates and becomes evil. And as the freely acquired possession of the Supreme Good is man's perfect happiness, so its free loss constitutes his perfect misery. In this way *Good*, considered under its several relations with the will of man, is the complete object of Moral Science.

Passing to the consideration of the *end* which Ethics has in view, the author remarks that this end cannot be identical with that of religion, namely, the practical one of regulating the actions of men. First, because every science is theoretical, not practical—it addresses itself to the understanding and not to the will: secondly, because, while in pagan times on philosophy devolved that practical teaching which the existing religious system could not perform, now we have a religion whose proper function it is to instruct men in the discharge of all their duties. Hence there does not now exist the same reason for entrusting to Ethics more than its proper province, as when Socrates laid the first foundations of moral science amongst the Athenians. Neither can the end of Ethics be the discovery of the precepts of the moral order; such a statement involves the leading error of Rationalism “that human reason can and ought to discover by its own unaided powers all truth, and especially all moral and religious truth.” The true end of Ethics is to acquire the *science* of the moral order; to set forth the true theory of the relations which constitute this order, and to refute the erroneous theories which have been proposed. Moral Philosophy is then the *science of the moral order*. Hence we may easily deduce its definition. The great principle of the moral order is *good*, considered in its relations with man's will: Moral Philosophy is then the science of good considered as the ruling power of man's will, and as conducting him to that happiness which is his end (*la science du Bien gouvernant le libre arbitre créé, et le conduisant à sa fin ou au bon*

heur). The fundamental truths which such a science involves are on the one hand, the existence of a personal God* who has freely created this world which He governs by His Providence ; on the other hand, with regard to man, his liberty, personality, and immortality ; the denial of any one of those truths will draw with it the necessary ruin of the moral order.

Moral philosophy is, then, connected with other branches of Philosophy. The *good* which governs the created free will is identical with God : hence we have a connection between Ethics and Natural Theology on the one hand, and Psychology on the other. A profound knowledge of both those branches is requisite to an accurate system of Ethics ; but with this difference, that psychology, the science of the human soul only, of its properties—of a contingent, changeable, created being—cannot be the true basis of Moral Philosophy. Natural Theology which presents to us those absolute and necessary ideas of God that can be the only foundation of Ethics, is the true source whence Moral Philosophy is derived.

The author proceeds to point out the difference between Moral Theology and Ethics ; a difference which is identical with that which exists between the science of revealed Theology and Philosophy. Passing on to consider the dignity and importance of Moral Philosophy, after observing how this necessarily flows from the fact of the moral order being the means of acquiring our supreme happiness, he continues thus :—

“ Moral Philosophy derives a new importance from the actual state of men's minds. For about a century, the moral order has been radically convulsed all over Europe : the most sacred principles have been transformed, disfigured, corrupted. What has the dominant philosophy contributed towards remedying this deplorable

* Let no one be shocked at hearing M. Laforet speak of a *personal* God. The term has been used of late by Catholic philosophers in order to mark more definitely the complete distinction which separates the Divine Nature from the world, in opposition to the *impersonal* God of the Pantheists, who, being identical with the world, could not impose obligation on man, because not distinguishable from himself. Hence the term *Personal* as applied to God in this sense, is not taken in its theological or even philosophical signification : but in a purely technical meaning.

state of things? Absolutely nothing. Child of the false and frivolous philosophy of the eighteenth century, contemporary rationalism has but rendered it still more useless. Even the more serious and honest rationalists have themselves deformed some of the fundamental truths of the moral order; and are incapable of defending those few remaining principles which they are anxious to retain, because they have not a basis on which to rest their defence, or rather what they have retained they preserve despite their own principles. It is then of the last importance to endeavour to restore, by a scientific method, to those sacred principles which are the foundation of all morality their real character, and to re-establish them on an immovable basis. Such is, in our day, the mission of a good Moral Philosophy."—pp. 11-12.

Finally, as to the division of Moral Philosophy, it may be distributed into general or theoretical, and special or practical. The former will examine and establish the general relations of *Good* with created free-will: the latter will apply such general principles to the several conditions and circumstances in which man may be found. It is plain that this latter part is but an application and corollary of the former.

Such is M. Laforet's *Introduction* to Moral Philosophy. It is not merely an Introduction: it might well have been called the *Foundation*. We have wished to give its substance at length, in order that our readers may have no difficulty in understanding the remaining portion of the system. It is a noble, elevated view of the nature of moral science, put forward as clearly as the abstruseness of the subject would permit, and connected together by a chain of systematic reasoning. It could not fail to produce, when developed, a closely united system of moral science. But, withal, there is much within it from which we must dissent. However, we shall reserve our remarks until we have spoken of the system itself, to which we now proceed.

The first part treats of *general or theoretical ethics*. In the first chapter the notion of *good* (*ly bonum* as St. Thomas would have said) in itself is set forth with much vigour and closeness of reasoning, and in language scarcely, if at all removed from eloquence. Good is shown to be an idea cognate with Truth, universal, unchangeable, eternal, independent of all succession of races or variations of climate. Now this absolute and unchangeable idea must reside in the Absolute and Unchangeable, that is in God:

“sont quelque chose de Dieu, ou plutôt sont Dieu même.”* As however, truth has reference to the understanding, and good to the will; so when we say that God is the absolute good, we have in view, the absolute and necessary Will of God by which He eternally loves Himself. Good in itself is then God inasmuch as He loves and wills Himself with a necessary and essential Will. This necessary and *absolute* Will of God must be distinguished from His *relative* will; the former *wills* His own divine nature and infinite perfections, the latter *wills* everything *really* distinct from God. The former is necessary, the latter free. With the former, it is that (ly) *Good in se* is identified; it is then the *absolute* Will of God which is the foundation of the moral order.

* These words M. Laforet so quotes from Bossuet (*De la connaissance de Dieu et de soi-même*, ch. iv. § 5,) as to appropriate them, as well as others previously quoted, as the expression of his own views. In the previous part of the quotation there occur those remarkable words; “C’est donc en lui, *d’une certaine manière qui m’est incompréhensible*, c’est en lui dis-je, que je vois ces vérités éternelles; et les voir, c’est me tourner à celui, qui est immuablement toute vérité, et recevoir ses lumières.” M. Laforet admits that the authenticity of the words we have printed in Italics is not unquestioned; but at all events, he quotes them as embodying his own views. Now, it would seem to us, that there are many objections to introducing such a theory, as that insinuated in the whole passage, particularly in the italicized part of it, as a fundamental principle in establishing the basis of a solid system of Moral Philosophy. We know this theory has been adopted and defended by able men, that St. Augustine has been put forward as its principal patron;—nay for ourselves, we may add, that we must ever speak of it tenderly, for it comes to us clothed with all but paternal authority:—but we know also that able men have denounced it both as unphilosophical and irreligious; and we think under these circumstances, it were an unsuitable basis on which to build up Ethical science. It were just as commendable to found the metaphysical demonstration of the existence of God on the hypothesis of the simplicity of material elements. Aristotle has defined τὸ δ’ ἐπιστητὸν καὶ ἐπιστήμη διαφέρει τοῦ δοξαστοῦ καὶ δόξης, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἐπιστήμη καθόλου καὶ δι’ ἀναγκαίων, τὸ δ’ ἀναγκαίον, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἄλλως εἶχειν, ... ἡ δὲ δόξα ἀβέβαιον (*Analyt. post.* I. 33.) The great majority of scholars have adhered to this rule. It would be, in our opinion very unwise to depart from it; particularly in the actual condition of all merely rational science, and treating of so important a subject as Ethics.

Good, thus explained, is the rule of created will; for every faculty has a rule conformable to its nature, this rule is called its law.

"This truth which we enunciate is evident; it is practically accepted by all men. A very little attention will be sufficient to enable us to understand this. Whence comes it that every day of your lives, within the secret recesses of your own consciences, you blame each free act of yours which has not been performed in conformity with what you consider Good? Whence comes it that every man,—no matter what are his principles otherwise,—acts, spontaneously and unreflectingly, in the same way, according to the same rule,—nay oftentimes despite some contrary suggestion, the offspring of a depraved will? Whence come those things, unless from the fact that an irresistible evidence constrains us to recognize Good as the rule of the will; and that when our will goes aside from this rule it fails in its duty and deserves blame?"—p. 21.

Doubtless men differ seriously in particular cases as to what is *hic et nunc* good: many deceive themselves sadly, but

• "This is not the question. It is enough, that all have the idea of Good (*τοῦ Boni*) and regard the will as *obliged* to conform itself to that which seems to it good. Forthwith it is clear that Good is the rule of the will.....

"We may now enquire the reason of this fact whose evidence is so apparent, and we may ask *why* is Good the rule of the created will? This is our answer to this question. Every creature is made according to the order which exists in God, and ought, inasmuch as it possesses perfection, to represent in some degree the divine perfections. God is necessarily the model of the created universe, He could not have looked for a model but to Himself, to His divine nature; for without Himself there was nothing. God then must have been the model of the created spirit, and He must have been so in an especial manner, for it is the creature which resembles him most nearly; our soul has been made to the image and likeness of God. (*Ἀγαθος ἦν· ἀγαθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενός· οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτός ὡν πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ. Plat. Timæ. 29.*) Thus the created understanding would have for its rule the divine understanding, and the created will the divine will. But, as on the one hand the divine understanding is identified with Truth *in se*, it follows, that our understanding has for its rule Truth; and as on the other hand the absolute will of God is identified with Good *in se*, it also follows, that our will has for its rule Good. This is, to our mind, the final reason *why* Good is necessarily the law of our created will."—p. 22.

Such is, as it would be technically described amongst Continental writers, M. Laforet's theory on the *origin of moral obligation*. But this theory has to be developed. How does Good regulate the will? In what way does the relation between Good and the created will come to exist, (comment le Bien se mette *en rapport, en contact*, avec la volonté,) so that the former will rule and direct the latter in all its movements? How, in a word, comes the moral law to exist? Now, since Good is identified with the absolute Will of God, all these questions come to mean, "how does the absolute will of God become the law of our will?" For the purpose of resolving this question, M. Laforet goes into an examination of three general points:

1. God inasmuch as He knows and loves Himself.

2. God inasmuch as He conceives as *possible* beings distinct from Himself.

3. God *realizing* the plan of the World by creation.

Our limits will not allow us to follow this examination in detail; and we the more willingly abstain from doing so, because the matter is not new, but the usual doctrine of the Scholastics on the eternal and necessary character of the *possibilia*. Much freshness is imparted to it by the clear and graceful style in which it is told; but the theory itself is identical with that taught by Dmowski and Ubaghs. There is, however, one position which we must advert to for its influence on the whole system: it occurs towards the close of the third point indicated above.

All creatures, and their mutual relations are *good*, because, inasmuch as they are conformable to the Divine Will: because they are conformable to that *possible* order of creatures which God loved with His absolute Will. Hence the human will so far conforms to its rule, as it observes the order established by God. It has for its rule *Good*, which is the absolute Will of God. By this absolute Will, God loves all possible beings, and their mutual relations as imitative reflections of His own infinite perfections. The world which God *freely* created by His Relative Will, must be conformable to the possible world loved absolutely by God. Hence the created will, in order to be conformable to its rule—Good, the absolute Will of God—must observe the order *actually* established or *realized*, by the relative will of God, because such actual or relative order is perfectly conformable with the possible

and absolute order. Such is the way in which the actual order becomes the object of man's observance, the *real* rule, so to speak, of his actions. But *how* does this rule, whether absolute or real, direct man? how is it for him a law?

"Here (with regard to man's free-will) God puts on a new character, He assumes a tone really imperative, He ordains, He commands in the strict sense of the word. Revealing Himself to the will as the absolute Good, He prescribes, that man conform himself to it (and he does so by his observance of the established order), promising him at the same time to reward him if he obey, and threatening him with punishment if he disobey."—pp. 29-30.

One element only is wanting to the completion of this chain of reasoning. It is insinuated in this question:—

Is the creature morally bound to observe the precept given to it by God?

Such an obligation must be conceived as preceding, *ordine naturæ*, the divine command; it could not logically be subsequent or concomitant to it. But the author had anticipated this question by remarking, (page 28).

"It is unnecessary to observe, that creatures, being *effects* of God, deriving from God everything which they have, are in a state of the most perfect dependance in His regard: consequently they are bound (according to their nature?) to conform themselves in everything to the order which He has traced out. *By virtue of creation, God is invested with a supreme and unlimited right over all finite beings.*"*

* Will this answer completely satisfy the proposed question? might one still ask: "right cannot exist in one being without a corresponding obligation on the part of another; nay it is this very obligation which is conceived as the generative principle of right. Hence God's right to command presupposes an already existing obligation on the part of the creature to obey. Whence comes this obligation?"

Without attempting to decide this knotty point, we shall endeavour to place clearly before our readers the difference between the theory of M. Laforet, and that insinuated in the question just now proposed. And to do so with accuracy, we shall distinguish, with all catholic theologians and philosophers, certain *instantia rationis*, or *signi* in eternity. According to M. Laforet, we should distinguish, with regard to the *production*, so to speak, of the moral law,

1. The instant when God *conceives* the *possibilia*, and the necessary order of their mutual relations.

Good, then, thus imposed as a rule on the human will, is the moral law,—supreme type and model of all other laws. This first law is a precept, just general, and permanent, obliging every created will, under the sanction of rewards and punishments. Considered in its concrete reality, it may be defined “Good presenting itself to the created will, commanding it with sovereign authority to conform itself to it (Good), and claiming for itself an entire obedience.” This law is called *moral*, because first, it is freely observed, in contradistinction to physical and purely intellectual laws: secondly, because the object of this law is to regulate *mores* (that is, those habits of men which arise from a repetition of free acts) and consequently those free

2. The instant when God loves with His *absolute* Will those possible beings and the necessary order of their relations.

3. The instant when God wills to realize this order by creation.

4. The right to govern man acquired by the act of creation, and consequent obligation to obey, produced as it were by creation in man.

5. The Divine law commanding man to observe the order of the world.

According to the view insinuated in the question contained in the early part of this note, the *right of creation* enumerated in the fourth place here cannot be the first and primary origin of obligation, because prior to this right there must have existed (in *ordine nature*) an obligation on the part of man to respect it, for the logical conception of right in one being, necessarily involves a corresponding duty in others. Prior then to this *right of creation* there existed for men a rule of action *obliging* them to respect it. Nay, it might be contended that such an obligatory rule must be conceived as preceding every act of God, as well necessary as free. Because the reason *why* such an act can bind men with a moral obligation must be something anterior to it, determining that a human action conformable to such divine act is good, and an action not conformable is bad. Otherwise the same question will recur: *Why must men recognize in this Divine act a rule of their wills?*

These remarks we have made rather to place as briefly as we could before our readers the real nature of the question involved in any theory on the *Principle of obligation*, than to offer any criticisms on M. Laforet's theory. The subject is too great and important to be treated of in an aside way: and we have not aimed in this paper to sketch our own system of moral Philosophy, if any such we have; but to introduce to our readers the able work of M. Laforet on the subject.

acts themselves. Thus is established not only the *existence*, but the *manner* of the existence of the moral law.

We now proceed to ascertain the nature and characters of the moral law.

1. It is peculiar to man and conformable to his nature.—For it is a precept commanding him to maintain the order of those relations which his intelligence knows to exist between God and the world, and between the beings which compose the world mutually: none but a free being is capable of receiving a precept, therefore the law is peculiar to man alone.

2. This law is objective, distinct, and independent of the human soul.—For it is in reality the absolute Good. Now this is necessary, unchangeable, eternal; therefore it cannot be identified with our soul which is contingent, created, changeable. Consequently any system which identifies the moral law with the soul must be false.

3. This law is necessary.—Not as if we should say, that the absolute Good were necessary; this would be tautology; but that under its aspect of *law* it is necessary. God *necessarily* conceived from all eternity certain beings as possible: He also necessarily conceived the relations which mutually connected those beings, because inherent in their nature. He loves and wills, with equal necessity, both those possible beings and their natural relations. Consequently, when God created a free being, He necessarily commanded him to observe the order of these relations. He could not have abstained from doing so without denying His own nature. There are then some things which are necessarily good; their moral goodness antecedes the free action of God's Will. Man is necessarily obliged to conform himself to those things; such conformity is good of itself, while any dif-formity will be bad of itself.

4. The moral law is unchangeable.—The natural relations of things (whose necessary order the moral law commands man to maintain) cannot be other than they are; for they flow from the intrinsic and necessary nature of the possible beings. Since then these relations cannot change, neither can the law, which necessarily expresses them and prescribes their observance, change. Hence,

(α) The moral law can never be abrogated.

(β) God Himself cannot dispense in its observance, so as to cause that which is contrary to it to cease to be evil.

Yet the schoolmen and scriptural commentators speak of God's dispensing even in the natural law? There are two sorts of change with regard to a law. One *intrinsic* and *absolute*, when the object remaining the same, the obligation which the law imposed with regard to that object ceases; as if blasphemy, continuing just what it is, should cease to be forbidden by the law. The other change is *extrinsic* and *relative*, when certain things which fall within the province of the law, undergo a change which alters their relations with other things, and so modifies their relation to the law. The former change is the only one which affects the law itself; it is it we have in mind, when we say the moral law can undergo no change.

5. The moral law is universal.—There are three sorts of universality: (1) universality of place, (2) universality of time, (3) universality with regard to the actions which the law governs. Now as to the former two species of universality, it is plain that the moral law is universal; for through all time and in all place, the necessary moral order must be commanded as it is known and willed by God. But also the moral law is universal as to all human actions, in this sense, that man must always act conformably to the moral order, to reason, to God's will. There are, no doubt, actions *per se indifferent*, that is, which may be performed or omitted according to man's option; but if they are performed, they must be performed *well*, that is, at least for an end conformable to the dignity of human nature, otherwise man violates the necessary moral order.

6. The moral law is self-evident.—There are people who are ignorant of some of the precepts of the moral law. There are also people who are ignorant of most simple mathematical truths. Such people have not *subjective* evidence on these matters; that is, their proofs have not been seized upon by their minds. When we say that the moral law is *self-evident*, we mean that it has objective evidence, that is, that it carries with itself convincing arguments independent of every other source. These arguments are (1) ontological, founded on the fact of the moral law being a necessary law springing necessarily from the necessary order of things: (2) psychological, because when the general principles of the moral law,—*steal not, give unto every-one what is his due, honour thy parents*, etc. (presupposing that the mind understands the terms and the ideas

which they express)—are proposed to the mind, we see their truth immediately, perceiving instantly that the predicate necessarily agrees with the subject.

7. The moral law is autonomous.—For it is the absolute good, manifesting itself to man, and necessarily commanding him to conform himself to itself. Hence it is its own legislator, its own sovereign authority in the strictest sense of the word. Everything which it commands is equally good; everything which it forbids is equally evil. No positive law can possess this quality; because being free, it requires another being to give it existence, to make it a law.

8. The moral law is eternal.—For it is necessary, unchangeable, universal, absolute, it is identical with the absolute good; as this could not have been created it must have been eternal. A difficulty presents itself. Man was created in time; without him we cannot understand the existence of a law. True. But neither can we conceive God actually a Creator, without the existence of creatures. A distinction, familiar to all who are even slightly acquainted with the metaphysics of Catholic authors, will dissipate this apparent difficulty. The will of God creating the world, and consequently commanding the observance of the moral order (this command being the moral law) is eternal: the *term* (object) of this will exists in time. This is the origin of the distinction made by St. Thomas and the scholastics between the eternal law and the natural law.

9. The moral law is not distinguishable from God Himself.—For it is the absolute good, that is God, commanding man to observe the intrinsic order of things.

Corollaries.—Therefore those systems are false which (*a*) consider the moral law as something separate from God, and independent of Him; or (*b*) which while they regard the moral law as something essentially dependant on God, view it nevertheless as something distinct from Him, and possessing a certain undefinable abstract reality.

Hence the Moral Law has for its remote source God, inasmuch as He loves His own divine nature necessarily and absolutely: its proximate source is the natural necessary relations flowing from the metaphysical essences of things.

This moral law being the first and supreme obligatory rule of action imposed on man, is the foundation and model

of all positive laws. Positive laws are those which do not flow immediately and necessarily from the natural relations of things, but emanate from the free will of the legislator. They are called positive, as it were antithetically to the natural (or moral) law; because they are something *superadditum* and *appositum naturæ*, while this latter flows from the necessary will of God commanding the observance of the natural order of things.* There are two classes of positive laws, divine and human. It is manifest, that any ordinance or *soi-disant* law contravening the prescriptions of the moral law ceases *ipso facto* to be a law.

We have purposely devoted much space to this synopsis of the second chapter: because it contains the real system of the author. All which follows is but the developement of this system, or a logical consequence of it. We may then pass the remaining portion of the work more rapidly in review, than we could have justly done hitherto.

In the third chapter M. Laforet enters on an examination of the false systems, which have been propounded by various authors concerning the moral law. He distinguishes five principal systems. We cannot enter into the detail of this most interesting subject without encroaching

* Not long since we had occasion to hear some persons discussing the nature of the *natural law*. One of the parties very earnestly contended that the obligation of the natural law cannot be attributable to any act of God's will, inasmuch as in this case, being a *jussum superioris* it would be a *positive law*! None of his companions could set him right. For although from the circumstances of their position, they ought all to have been well informed on those subjects; they were all in reality so grossly ignorant, as to pain, by their perpetual mistakes, any one even slightly acquainted with the matter.

A friend of ours, a couple of weeks ago, met an M. A. of one of our universities, a really well informed man on most subjects. In the course of the conversation this gentleman asked him what he had been reading lately? our friend answered "Kant's criticism of practical reason." The other not being acquainted with it, asked what it was about, and was informed that it was Kant's Moral Philosophy. "That is right," said he, "you do well to keep up your acquaintance with these matters. But you should read our authors, — Paley, Mackintosh, Brown. Now were I you, I would get up *Tupper's proverbial Philosophy*, if it were but for the sake of introducing contrasts into my conversation on the subject"!!

too much on our space. We must content ourselves with a mere outline. At the same time we cannot too earnestly call our readers' attention to the importance of this subject, which must always occupy a chief place in every well digested treatise of Moral Philosophy. We fear that it is a matter with which mere students are very slightly acquainted; nay we are sadly assured, that our own students have not as yet been able to form with it even a slight acquaintance.

(a) The first false system is the egotistical, based on utilitarianism or the morality of self-interest. It might be formulized thus: "an action is good because it is useful." Hence the same line of conduct will be good or evil according as it brings with it, or is destitute of temporal advantages. The chief supporters of this system in modern times have been Hobbes, Helvetius, Volney, Destutt-Tracy, and Bentham. It is based on the psychological and ideological systems of Locke and Condillac.

(b) The second system is *the sentimental*. Its principal supporters have been members of the Scotch and English schools. Richard Cumberland was the first who, with a view to refute the theory of Hobbes, endeavoured to construct a moral system on the basis of sentiment. The celebrated Lord Shaftesbury followed in the same path; he first introduced the term, moral sense. But, Francis Hutcheson, an Irishman, and an élève of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, has the merit—if merit it be—of having systematized this doctrine. It places the moral rule of our actions in our feelings of benevolence and tenderness for others. Adam Smith, the political economist, has developed this doctrine. He places the principle of morality in sympathy; its leading law may be formulized thus: "so act that other men may sympathize with thee."

(c) The rationalist system, or abstract morality.

I. System of Kant.

Kant is one of those names which inspire a sort of terror amongst a certain class of philosophers. They are good men, sincerely religious, animated with the best views; but either from their smallness of mental power, or their unacquaintance with the real matters in question, the deep-sea fisheries of metaphysics, they are unable to measure the height and breadth of the great philosopher of

Königsberg. To their elf-like vision his proportions are such and of the same kind as those of Virgil's Rumour. Kant has done great good service in moral philosophy as well as elsewhere; he has shaken sensist philosophy to pieces. He has committed grave mistakes. But these should not cause us to forget his good deeds. M. Laforet pays a high tribute to his merit, but dismisses his system too cursorily. Of the importance of a full and diligent study of Kant, we could not bring a greater proof than that, without an accurate knowledge of it, it will be impossible to understand the French or German—we had almost added Italian—philosophy of the day, particularly its pantheistic tendencies.

II. French Rationalism.

This also, we think, a little too hastily sketched by the author. He sums up M. Cousin's theory in a few lines, formulizing it from his edition of Plato's *Eutyphron* thus: "It is not amongst the dogmas of religion that we must seek the primitive title and origin of the moral truths. They legitimate themselves. They have no need of another authority than that of reason, which perceives and proclaims them." He proceeds then to similarly outline the views of Jouffroy, Saissset, Guizot, S. Simon, and others, in a manner which can scarcely convey to his readers an accurate idea of the actual condition of eclecticism as applied to Moral Philosophy.

(d) The doctrine which derives the moral law from the free will of God.—In this theory an action is good simply because God has willed it so; He might have willed otherwise, and then this same action would have been evil. It is sufficient to state this doctrine to prove its refutation. The author cites as its patrons, Ockham, the celebrated Scholastic, several Protestant theologians, (according to Leibnitz,) the distinguished Swedish jurist, Puffendorf, and Crusius; and he declaims very justly against certain Catholic writers of our day, who, ignorant of the pro-founder teaching of philosophy and Christian theology, would fain resuscitate this strange theory.

(e) Pantheism compared with the moral law.—Here again we must differ with the author. We do not think he has at all done justice to the subject. The relations between Pantheism and Moral Philosophy, and the philosophy of Right, have been gradually extending themselves. The Hegelian theory has become not only the

foundation of all instruction in many parts of Germany, but has even been made the basis of civil and criminal codes. Hence an extensive course of Ethics would be wholly incomplete, did it not notice in considerable detail Continental Pantheism, just as the same subject should be fully treated in a similar course of metaphysics. We do not, however, find fault with M. Laforet for anything he has said; we only wish he had said ten times as much.

The fourth chapter treats of Right and Duty. Of this subject we shall speak by and bye. The fifth chapter examines into the condition of Man under the influence of Moral Law, of his understanding, his passions and affections, his free will. The sixth purports to explain the nature and difference of moral good and evil; it discusses the character of virtue, of vice, their effects on the soul, of merit and demerit. All these subjects are treated neatly, accurately, and as fully as the prescribed limits would permit; the author never failing to trace back each point to his own system, and again to draw copious illustrations from this latter.

The seventh chapter enters on a subject familiar to every student of ethics—Sanction. Every law, M. Laforet says, must, in order to secure obedience, have a sanction, that is, punishment and reward attached to its violation, or its observance. The moral law also is attended by this important property; its sanction flows both from the sanctity and the justice of God; this sanction must be complete and perfect, therefore, it involves the reality of another life; this life will be endless, endless also the sanction, endless the reward of good actions—the end to which man tended by his observance of the Moral Law—endless the punishment which will attend the deprivation of his end on which man turns his back when he sins. This latter point, evidently the more difficult, he takes great pains to demonstrate, winding up with the conclusion, “that the Catholic dogma of the eternity of punishment inflicted on the reprobate is a dogma eminently philosophical; and that they who deny it seem to be little worthy of the name of philosophers.” (p. 122.) And so ends the first, or theoretical, part of “*La Philosophie Morale*.”

The second, or practical part, professes to be a general application of the principles already laid down. This application must be general, because ethics is not a science

of casuistry destined to mark the actual limits between good and evil in every vicissitude of circumstances in which man may be placed. What then, is the great leading rule of moral conduct, the general precept of good, of which all other particular precepts are but special applications? It must be contained in this imperative formula, "will what God wills, maintain the order which He has established?" Our business, then, is to determine what this established order is, in order that we may determine how this general precept will particularize itself.

The established order is the order of man's relations. Now those relations are three-fold: (1) with God, (2) with himself, (3) with others. There might be added a fourth class—relations with creatures of an inferior order: but the three just mentioned are of chief importance. The general precept of good applied to this triple order of relations, produces three great classes of *duty*. Man is placed in connexion with his duties by *conscience* and *free will*; hence the consideration of these becomes consequent on the development of man's duties. Finally, there will remain the consideration of the particular effects of the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of these duties, that is, the detailed study of particular virtues and vices. Such is the outline of the second part. Most of its topics are treated at length in all Catholic systematic works on Moral Philosophy. The only novelty which they receive from M. Laforet is, that they are illustrated and deduced from the general principles already established in the first part. We will not then delay on them; but we shall content ourselves with indicating summarily, for the benefit of such of our readers as may not be acquainted with the way in which they are treated by Catholic authors, the heads of the several subjects.

I. The first chapter treats of the duties of Man towards God, or, of Religious Worship.—Worship is two-fold, interior and exterior. Man is bound to render both to God. Hence he is bound to adore Him, to pray to Him, and to love Him. As to external worship, it also is two-fold, private and public,—each form is obligatory. The individual man as well as the social body, or community of men, is bound to worship God with external ceremonies and solemn rites.

II. The second chapter inquires into the duties of Man towards himself.—There is no absurdity in such an in-

quiry. Man is not the author and principle of such duties ; they derive from the moral law, which obliges him to respect in his own person, in his body and soul, the order of the relations established by God. These duties may be classed into (a) those relative to the understanding, determining the order, manner and extent of our cognitions ; (b) those relative to the will, including the direction and restraint of our passions ; (c) those relative to the body and its life, involving the obligation of preserving this life, and prohibiting suicide.

III. Next come the duties of Man towards his fellows. —These duties are three-fold, according to man's triple relation to (1) his family, (2) the state, (3) to individual stranger men. (a) Hence we must commence with an examination of the nature of *marriage* the foundation and origin of the domestic society : it is the legitimate union of man and woman, implying the obligation of living in one and the same society. It is the union of one with one. Hence it equally excludes polyandry and polygamy. It is of its own nature indissoluble ; hence it essentially excludes divorce ; and the civil power can no more legitimate divorce than it can theft.

To the consideration of marriage naturally succeeds (b) the consideration of the rights and duties of parents with regard to their children. Parental authority, M. Laforet regards as a gift, emanating directly from God ; one of its inalienable duties and rights is the good education of the children. Closely connected to this subject is that of (c) the duties of children towards their parents.

2. The second branch of our social relations, springs from the fact of our being members of civil society. For this society we have a natural fitness and tendency. The investigation of our duties under this head involves (a) that civil society is a law of human nature, (b) that consequently there must exist a civil power which will govern such society, (c) that this power comes from God. Hence, we pass to examine (d) how this power comes into the hands of the chief authority in the state. (e) The doctrine taught by Hobbes and Rousseau, as to the natural condition of man must be rejected, because contrary to his social destiny. (f) We next consider the duties and rights of the chief civil power with regard to its subjects, and (g) vice versâ, the duties and rights of the latter. This leads to an examination of the right of subjects to

resist unjust laws and ordinances. The author treats this delicate question very briefly but ably; and in reply to it, he lays down substantially the doctrine which facts have incorporated with the constitutions of England and Belgium. (*h*) He thence passes to an inquiry into the obligation of every citizen to contribute to the well-being and moral perfection of his country. Finally, he just touches (*k*) the relations of states with each other.

IV. The third class of our duties towards our fellows is investigated in the fourth chapter. They include: (A) *justice*, which involves—

(1) Respect for the lives of others; although such respect does not detract from (*a*) the right of legitimate defence. However it distinctly forbids (*b*) duelling.

(2) Respect for the property of others.*

These however, are negative duties, we have also (B) positive duties, involving—

(1) Mutual love, (2) almsgiving, both spiritual and corporal.

V. Man is placed in immediate relation with the particular prescriptions of the moral law by his conscience, and his free will. Conscience is considered as a practical judgment which decides, in a particular case, what is good or evil, and consequently what we ought to do or avoid, or what we ought to have done or avoided. Hence, conscience is the rule of our acts, and is the measure of their morality. It may be considered either subjectively or objectively. Objectively it is true or erroneous: error is vincible or invincible.† Subjectively, it is certain or

* This leads to a necessarily hurried sketch of the origin and lawfulness of *individual* property, and a defence of such property against the Socialists. We regret extremely that M. Laforet has modelled this part of his treatise on defective types. He has endeavoured to treat social rights and duties together, as parts of the same subject, and this fully as much because the treatises, with which he is familiar, had done so, as in conformity with a certain view he has on the subject. The consequence of this *mélange* is that neither one point nor the other is treated clearly, and that it becomes impossible to trace either rights or duties to their *generative principle*. As well ought Moral Philosophy treat of the nature and attributes of God, as of the origin and characters of the civil power. We shall return to this subject presently.

† The author seems not to have exercised his usual perspicacity

uncertain, "no one can follow lawfully a conscience which is not morally certain, or place an act of whose lawfulness he doubts," (p. 223). Free will is necessary, that an act be moral, that is, meritorious or blameworthy. Free will is "The faculty of acting according to one's own determination, and one's own choice."* The causes which

here. He has quoted from others, the trite division of erroneous conscience into *vincibiliter* and *invincibiliter* erroneous, without ascertaining for himself if this division be real. Now it would seem that with regard to the moral law, there can be no invincible error: for such error would fall upon the first moral principles, or on deductions drawn from them. With regard to the first principles error cannot exist; because those principles are immediately evident. As to the deductions from the principles, either we have drawn them for ourselves, or we have adopted them on the teaching of some one who deserves our confidence. Now, in the former case, we cannot fall into invincible error as to those deductions: for either the conclusion is evident or not. If evident, we cannot have erred at all. If not evident, nothing compels us to assent to it. Hence if we do so assent, we do it willingly, and any error into which we may fall is attributable to ourselves. But if we have learned those deductions through the teachings of others, then it is not to be wondered, that we should fall into error. Because, in these circumstances, the moral Law puts on, with regard to those deductions, the character of a *positive* law, resting finally on the moral repute of our informant. Consequently we may conclude, that, concerning the moral law itself, there is no such thing as invincible error.

* *La faculté d'agir en vertu de sa propre détermination et de son propre choix.* (p. 225.) This definition has been already given (p. 95.) I. part, ch. V. § III. We fear it cannot sustain the test of a rigorous analysis. In the first place it merely declares the spontaneity of our actions, according to the old scholastic notion that *spontaneum est quod fit a principio intrinseco efficiente et determinante*, in opposition to *coactum quod fit a principio extrinseco*. This is the utmost that can follow from the fact of actions being *en vertu de sa propre détermination*. But he speaks of choice? choice supposes a power of election, that is an intrinsic power of setting aside some things and preferring others: surely this is a complete notion of liberty? we are of a different opinion. And first because M. Laforet defines liberty to be *the power of acting in virtue of..... one's own choice*. Now here the choice precedes the power of acting; and it is this latter which is said to be free. That is freedom would be predicated immediately and directly of the vital action by which I raise my arm, and not rather of the voluntary act by

influence our actions so as to diminish our free will, nay sometimes to destroy it altogether—are (1) ignorance, (2) constraint, (3) fear, (4) passion.

Finally, in the sixth chapter, M. Laforet treats of virtues and vices hurriedly sketching their nature and chief divisions.

Such is an analysis of M. Laforet's "*Philosophie Morale*." We have already commended it as an elevated and noble system, well bound together, and methodically arranged, and put forward as lucidly and clearly as the matter would admit. In an age like ours, when the spirit of innovation has seized upon everything, leaving no doctrine untouched, no principle untempted, it is matter of congratulation to see so able a work issue on an important branch of science; still more so, that while it adopts for its basis a deep, and oftentimes abstruse system of metaphysics, it treats things in a form parallel to that of the popular philosophical works of Cousin, Comte, Saisset, &c. But, while we speak thus warmly of the work, there are some reflections which suggest themselves to us. We shall state them very briefly.

1. We shall first remark on that very system of metaphysics which M. Laforet places as the basis of his moral system. We do not refer to the Scholastic theory of the eternal existence of the *possibilia* in the mind of God, and the intrinsically necessary order of their mutual rela-

which I determine to exercise this vital operation. Secondly, the choice *according* to which we act may be free or not. If the latter, neither can the act placed in consequence (*en vertu*) of it pretend to freedom. If the choice is free, then to it and not the faculty of acting in conformity with it, can freedom be attributed. Thirdly, freedom necessarily involves (at least in creatures) the power of so willing, as that we might at the same time, if we so chose, abstain from willing, or will the contrary. Now, no such power is reserved in the definition: nay it would seem to be positively excluded by the words *en vertu*. This definition then would seem (1) not to include certain essential conditions without which we cannot conceive freedom; (2) freedom, according to it, would really exist in some of the *præ-requisita ad agendum*, and not in the *actus secundus* itself; (3) it predicates freedom directly and immediately of the *actus imperati*, and not of the *actus eliciti* only; (4) finally, it rather defines those actions which are *spontaneous*, than those which are *free*.

tions. Of this theory we have nothing to say at present, save that it offers an intelligible ground on which to rest the proofs of the existence of the Moral Law. But we mean the more ideal and subtle conceptions of the identity of God with the Absolute Good, and of the deduction of moral obligation from God so conceived;—of the dependence of Good on the Divine Will, and of the distinction, as explained by the author, and with reference to the origin of the Moral Law, between the Absolute and the Relative Will of God. Those views are too subtle, even if correct, too personal, too much of an intellectually-æsthetic character (if one may so speak,) to render it advisable that a moral theory should be based upon them. He who would aim at discovering a scientific basis for a system of ethics, must remember, that he is about constructing the most popular and universal of sciences; for there is no man who is not subject to its influence, no action which is not controlled by its laws. It is impossible, then, that the basis of such a science can be lost in the haze of a recondite and subtle collection of theorems which are conceived to have an a priori existence. It was against such a system of metaphysics that Kant so inexorably warred, contending with so much truth against the possibility of its ever forming the groundwork of real knowledge.

2. Even as we have sketched the "*Philosophie Morale*," it must have appeared a subtle and complicated system. Yet we venture to believe that the system, as it exists in the original work, is much more complicated and traced out much more subtly. We have carefully avoided all detail which could embarrass the clear comprehension of the outline, and was not necessary to the understanding of any fundamental principle. We do not intend any discourtesy either to M. Laforet or our readers, when we express an opinion that some of the arguments would have been too fine-spun and far-drawn for the comprehensions of some at least amongst the latter.

3. The doctrine of M. Laforet, on the object of Moral Philosophy, seems open to grave reprehension. Is it correct to say that

"This object cannot, like that of religion, be a practical one; to regulate the morals of man, and to direct him in his practical life. For Moral Philosophy is a science, and the object of every science is necessarily *theoretical*, and *speculative* science addresses itself to the understanding and not to the will."

Is it not rather the first function of ethics, of Moral Philosophy, to address itself to the direction of man's will, of his free actions? Is there not an art of LIVING WELL, just as much as there is one of shoemaking, of carpentering, of the engineer, mason, bricklayer? and if there be such an art, must it not have rules? nay, has not the author told us some of those rules? And if there are rules by whose guidance we may live well, is there not a science which undertakes to enumerate them accurately, to strengthen them with apposite reasons, to demonstrate them, to search out their first principles, to connect them into one body worthy of being called a science, according to Aristotle's definition already quoted, (p. 411, note.) because a universal discipline arising from necessary principles? And is not this science a practical one, which does not rest contented in the mere speculative contemplation of good, but proposes it to the will as necessarily to be performed?

Again one might ask, "has the Moral Law been abrogated by the Christian dispensation?" The author will at once answer in the negative, because it is a necessary law. One might extend his inquiry, and ask if it has been specially revealed as part of the Christian dispensation? Should an affirmative answer be returned, it would be, at best, only a very peculiar and private opinion. But the science of Moral Theology is, for fully two-thirds of its extent, occupied with questions arising from no positive Divine or human law, and consequently decidable by the natural law alone. Now, will the author say that Moral Theology is not a practical science,—that the discipline which is the practical guide in the salvation of souls for the ministers of religion, addresses itself solely to the understanding, and puts aside the will, is purely theoretical and speculative? Now, Ethics and Moral Theology are identical sciences, or almost identical, in those matters which arise out of the Natural Law. Both decide on principles of reason, the only difference being that Moral Theology brings in the aid of revelation sometimes to decide doubtful cases, and is able to adventure itself on the wide sea of casuistry, which Moral Philosophy is obliged in a great measure to avoid.

In fact there is no generic difference between the moral knowledge of two men, one of whom is taught by religion, the other by reason, not to steal, because God will visit

theft with severe punishment hereafter. Each knows practically his duty, although from a different source; that knowledge surely is practical which influences my *πραξις*, just as much as practical is my knowledge of the burning power of fire, if it induce me to abstain from thrusting my hand in.

Hence we cannot agree with M. Laforet when he says that ethics must now yield to religious teaching functions, which it might have assumed in the days of heathenism. Ethics are of the same use now as ever. True there is another source of moral information now, but that has not dried up the other. We have seen how each teaches, in a great measure, the same truths, they run parallel, and as parallel lines can never cross each other, so neither can those sciences. Man may learn his duty in one or in the other, so far as they are co-extensive, for religion teaches much, on which ethics must be silent. But this latter science, so far as it goes, "teaches man the laws which serve to regulate his conduct" just as much as religion. Therefore, so far the end of ethics is not different from that of religion.

4. Nor is M. Laforet quite correct when he cites as an error of rationalist philosophers the opinion that the object of ethics is "the discovery of the rules and precepts of the moral order." Now, F. Solimani, the actual professor of Moral Philosophy in the Roman College, and one of the ablest writers on the subject in Europe, has never, that we have heard, been suspected of rationalism. His work on Ethics is lying open before us. The FIRST sentence in the very FIRST page is so:

"*Ethica est scientia morum, idest scientia, quæ normas inquirat, ad quas, dum homo suas exigit actiones, bomos sibi comparat mores. Quare duplex est Ethicæ munus. Primo enim oportet ut Ethica inveniatur ac certo quodam ordine hominis proponatur præcipuas bene agendi regulas. Deinde necesse est, ut INVENTAS regulas homini apte accomodet ac quodammodo applicet.*"

But, perhaps the key to this opinion of M. Laforet is to be found in a passage of the Introduction, (p. 5.) where he says—

"We shall content ourselves with observing that philosophy in general cannot have for its object the discovery of the chief truths of the moral and religious order. These truths were given to man long prior to his being a philoso-

pher. Philosophy is not called upon to destroy the work of nature or of religion; her duty is only to expound it and develop it. For our part we know no other morality than Christian morality; and we would consider ourselves wanting in our duty, not only to religion, but to philosophy itself, if we commenced by casting doubt upon the truth of the moral rules and precepts which have been given to us in the Christian teaching."

We cannot approve this doctrine. We believe that it strikes at the root of all philosophy, that it takes out of the domain of reason what properly belongs to it. No doubt man received the truths of the moral and religious order prior to being a philosopher, but he received also the truths of the ontological and physical orders. If the investigation of the reality of the one class of truths cannot be the province of philosophy, because it would irreligiously seem to cast doubt on the previous teaching; so neither can the investigation of the reality of truths of the other class, for a similar reason. The existence, then, of the moral law, the existence of God, the reality of another life, of this material world, of the very authority which professes to teach us those truths, would be subjective a priori postulates, which cannot be investigated without pulling the whole fabric of truth down about our ears. Man certainly cannot destroy the work of nature, he cannot obliterate the teaching which he has already received; when he starts on his philosophical journey, he cannot render his mind a *tabula rasa*. He must commence where he is: he must go on with the cargo of knowledge, or rubbish, as the case may be, which he has on board. His knowledge becomes philosophy when searching through the storehouse of his mind, he discovers there the last supreme reason of what he knows. But it is not philosophy, it is belief, when he holds on to other teaching than that of his mind and of things themselves. The philosophy which would only develop the Christian morality, that is, morality *quâ* Christian, would be no philosophy, it would be only another form of religious teaching. M. Laforet has, fortunately, not carried out his own principle; otherwise his work, able no doubt as a free exposition of a part of Moral Theology, would have the same claim to be called philosophy, as would the *Symbolik* of Möhler.

5. The definition of Ethics, given by M. Laforet, seems to us quite incorrect, or at best to apply to only a portion

of Moral Philosophy, (as Moral Philosophy is understood by some writers)—the portion which treats *de Finibus*. The definition is so: "The science of Good governing the created free will, and conducting it to its end, or to happiness." And the author infers this definition by this process of reasoning: Moral Philosophy is the science of the moral order, now the supreme principle of the moral order is good considered in its relations with the created free will, therefore, etc. Now, as every science devotes only a small portion (if any) of its speculation to its supreme principle, or to the supreme principle of the real object of its speculations;* so a definition which refers only to that supreme principle, cannot be a definition of the science itself, but only of a part of it. Again, neither can this definition be strictly a definition, even of that portion of the doctrine, which is by some writers included in Moral Philosophy, viz: *de fine hominis*. For as Moral Philosophy is the science of morals, or, (according to M. Laforet) of the moral order; it can only busy itself about that kind of happiness which is exclusively connected with it, viz., the happiness of the other life. And this is invariably what is meant by those writers who treat of man's happiness in their works on ethics. Now the definition which we have on hand, talks of happiness and good, in general; there is nothing added to limit the signification of these terms. Consequently it is applicable rather to Eudæmonology (the general science of happiness) than to that particular branch of Moral Philosophy which treats of only a kind of happiness. Nor can it be objected that the happiness of the other life is the only real happiness. For this is not the fact. It is the only perfect happiness, but not the only real.

In a word, Moral Philosophy does not treat of Good, even of moral Good, as tending to secure or compass any object; but it treats of the laws by which man may, in his actions, accomplish moral good, and so, by a repetition of good actions, produce, in his soul, those good habits

* An obvious illustration is Astronomy, a science which treats of the physical order of the stars and the laws which govern it. The supreme principle of that order is God's Will—its end His glory. Would any one pretend for a moment that either subject came within the astronomer's province?

which are *boni mores*. Hence the name of *Philosophia Morum*.

6. And this faulty definition leads us to speak of another serious defect, and one which cannot be remedied. We mean the author's use of the word Good, which is by no means steady and consistent. Sometimes he intends by it only the object, physical or notional, which incites the rational or the sensitive appetite. Sometimes the ontological quality which is the object of God's complacency. We think this inconstancy arises from his not having laid up in his mind, that *bonitas* and *malitia*, as predicated morally of actions, are not primary but secondary qualities, deriving from their *rectitudo* or *pravitas*: the primary moral quality being conceived to superinduce a secondary one akin to that property, goodness or evil, which makes things be sought after or shunned by the appetite. Hence he did not advert that of these two positions,

Actions are good *inasmuch* as they are right,

Actions are good *because* they are right,
the former is false, the latter true. This was the origin of the sophistical argument we quoted above from his first chapter. All men always, in all circumstances, seek good, real or apparent, and they do so of a natural invincible necessity; but this good need not be—too often is not—moral good.

7. The origin of moral obligation is placed by M. Laforet in the act of the Divine Will, commanding us to observe the order of the natural relations of things: God's right to command being a necessary consequence of His having created us. In a note, attached to page 414, we suggested that, while this theory made out God's right unmistakeably, it said nothing as to our duty. What, we asked, would come of the exercise of such a right, unless we were previously obliged to obey? We now add, first, that according to the theory of the author, there must be an intrinsic difference between moral good and evil, prior to any act of the divine will. For an action is not good because God knows it or wills it, but He knows it because it is good. Now an action is good or evil, only inasmuch as it is conformable to an obligatory rule or not. We say obligatory. For if an action merely differ from some wise, or prudent, or honourable rule, it is not therefore morally evil. As your action is not morally good, merely because performed in consequence of the counsel of some

very wise man ; so neither could it be morally evil, because performed in disregard of his advice. Since then, according to the author's theory, prior to any act of God, there is an intrinsic difference between actions morally good and morally evil, and since moral goodness or evil supposes the existence of some rule possessing real moral obligation : it follows, that prior to any act of God, there exists a moral rule possessing real obligatory power. We may add that we put forward this objection, not as precisely embodying any views of our own, but as springing directly from the author's own views on the intrinsic order of the necessary relations of things.

Secondly, we would also observe, that the way in which M. Laforet explains how it comes to pass that God commands the observance of the moral order, is eminently unsatisfactory. The intrinsic goodness of the moral order is sometimes regarded as the object of the Divine Will, sometimes as a consequence of God's act. Sometimes it is spoken of as being really synonymous with the Divine Nature, sometimes as possessing an abstract reality. In the end it is not at all clear that this abstract reality is not the principle of the divine command. This is very faulty. For it must inevitably force on one's mind the conclusion that the subject is too difficult to be resolved otherwise than by taking refuge in Kant's theory of a synthetic judgment *à priori*. Honestly, in M. Laforet's theory, we cannot see our way to the reality of moral obligation or any logical principle whence it might be derived.

8. Finally, we are not at all satisfied with M. Laforet's theory of right. It is now some years since philosophers have begun to recognize right as a distinct branch of philosophy. And the Philosophy of Right has had a separate chair devoted to its exposition in Louvain, Pavia, Padua, Turin, Pisa, Naples, and all the German Universities. In his preface (p. 9) M. Laforet thus expresses himself:—

“ We must now say a word on the distinction which has been established between moral philosophy and natural right.

“ In the teaching of Universities in the present day, natural right and moral philosophy are treated separately. The course of natural right, or of the philosophy of right, as it is also called, may be a useful introduction to the study of positive right, by appropriating specially to this study some general principle of the moral order. Besides, to this course we may reserve the discussion of certain

points of the moral order, which concern the exterior relations of men amongst themselves, as members of a family, as members of a civil society, and as members of humanity in general. But to confine ourselves to the truth, we must not forget that these principles are moral principles, we must not lose sight of the fact that these various points should arise from moral philosophy, and be fixed there. Right can never be other than a dependance on moral philosophy. Beyond this it is nothing.

"We do not admit then, in the first place, this radical distinction between right and moral philosophy, which has been established with so much eclat by Kant and adopted after him very generally in Germany, this distinction does not seem to us to repose on a philosophic foundation. Kant, because of the subjective and abstract basis of his philosophy, could not, as we will prove in this work, elevate himself to the generative principle of morality or of right. Thus where there is question of principles, he more frequently only rests in abstractions, or at best in secondary and accessory notions which in themselves have no value. This particular happens in the question of the difference between right and moral philosophy. The treatise of moral philosophy and of right of the profound thinker of Koenigsberg, contain excellent detail; but they seem to us to want a basis."

Carrying out this view, the author treats, as we have already seen, promiscuously of duties and of rights: and in page 85 he distinctly lays down that rights produce duties.

"D'où vient que l'homme a le *devoir* de faire telle ou telle chose? C'est qu' il' existe un *droit* supérieur qui l' impose: le *devoir* présuppose toujours le *droit*, et il n'en est que l' effet."

He had already observed in page 80.

"*J' ai des devoirs a remplir envers mes semblables; à ces devoirs correspondent chez eux des droits. Ils ont droit à exiger que je me conduise de telle ou de telle manière à leur regard.*"

Without commenting on the contradiction between the two passages; we shall just observe, that in accordance with the theory laid down in the last passage, since we are bound to give alms, not only in general, but sometimes in an individual case; an individual beggar might address himself to me imperatively, and insist on receiving an alms, or on my declining to comply with this modest request, might proceed to help himself thereto—a doctrine equally averse to the Natural Law, and to the seventh commandment.

We had intended to explain at some length the nature and extent of the Philosophy of Right, in order to vindicate

its importance, and shew its true basis. But we have devoted so much space to other subjects, that we must considerably epitomize the remarks we intended offering on this.

The Philosophy of Right is, then, that branch of science which demonstrates and explains the rights both of God and of man. Confining our attention to this latter branch, right may be defined as a moral faculty of action, conformable to reason, and protected by some moral law, which distinctly forbids, that any one should interfere with its exercise. Now a faculty of acting—of doing something—is a good, therefore connected with our happiness: also, this faculty of action, which is a right, must be itself moral (that is not forbidden) and must be also protected by the sanction of a moral law. Hence we have the Philosophy of Right touching on one side on Eudæmonology, and on the other on Ethics. The General Philosophy of Right embraces three functions and three parts. (1) The determination of what rights exist; this part may be called Rational Right. (2) The application of the former part to the consideration of what descriptions of laws ought to be enacted; this part is the Theory of positive laws, or the science of legislation. (3) The application of this theory to the actual laws of a state, in order to ascertain their defects or good qualities; this is the Critique of positive laws. The first part is commonly called the Science of Natural Right; the latter two unitedly the Science of Positive Right.

The Philosophy of Right is intimately connected with Political Philosophy or the Science of Government; the latter has for its object prudence, the former justice, hence the former is, the science of the end, the latter of the means. Hence the Philosophy of Right establishes the basis and origin of all human authority, as well as of all legislation thence derived. This is sufficient to demonstrate its importance.

Fixing our attention on the science of Rational or Natural Right, indicated above, a complete treatise on it would, in our opinion, involve two great leading divisions; viz., (1) that which would treat of the first principle or essence of Right, (2) that which would enumerate and classify all rights derived from that first principle. This second part would treat of the way in which rights may be

derived from their first principle, and then of the actual rights themselves. These will be divided into

- I. Natural, and
 - II. Acquired Rights.
- Rights may be acquired by the act of
- I. An individual producing
 - (a.) New rights (as by occupation, production, etc.)
 - (b.) Or Modifications of existing rights :
Or they may be acquired by the acts of
 - II. MANY UNITED TOGETHER { be those many individuals
or moral bodies,
And this in two ways,
 - A. WITHOUT A CONTRACT, OR
 - B. WITH A CONTRACT, which may regard either
 - (a.) The *objects* only of the right (as in buying or selling)
 - (b.) The *subjects* themselves of the right, inasmuch as it associates them, thus producing *Society* and giving birth to
- I. SOCIAL RIGHT, which is
- A. GENERAL (common to all societies), and this both
 - 1. *Internal* (of the members of the social body between themselves, mutually,—also called *Civil right*.)
 - 2. *External*—or right of the members of the society towards its Government and vice-versâ—also called *Political right*.
 - B. And *Special* (proper to each kind of society), viz :
 - 1. Rights of societies instituted for the purpose of obtaining *certain other rights*—(Conjugal Society—Parental Society—Industrial and Commercial associations, etc.)
 - 2. Rights of Societies instituted for the purpose of regulating the *Modality* of rights already existing, their defence, their better coexistence, etc,—such societies, may be
 - (a.) *Partial*—Associations of defence.
 - (b.) *Universal*—or *Civil Society*.*
 - II. EXTRA SOCIAL RIGHT—that is those rights which exist independently of the association, in the individual associates, during the period of their association.

We should finally treat of the various modifications, which, owing to various causes, all these several rights undergo, without losing their specific identity.

Such is the Philosophy of Right, as we conceive it, and

* This subject opens out an immense field, which for clearness' sake, must be divided carefully into several parts, each treated distinctly. We have not space now even to indicate such a division.

pretty much as we know it is taught in some of the first Universities of Europe. Can any one pretend, that it is narrow, or small, or unimportant? Were there any such, we would only remind him, that the Hegelian school have given it an immense impulse in Germany; they have set about arranging the legislation and codes of the several states according to its dictates; and they are working hard to make it emphatically their own science. Earnestly do we hope that our new university will aid in resisting this last object, and uniting its efforts to those of similar Catholic Institutions abroad, help to make the Philosophy of Right, in form and treatment, as in reality, a Catholic science. It can do so the more easily, for in these countries it is little known, and less understood; and the true doctrine would not have much trouble in extirpating the few false notions which, with the Hegelian works, have been imported from Germany.

For the rest, we have honestly stated our objections to M. Laforet's book. We must now, with equal honesty, recommend it most warmly to our readers, as a work which will both instruct and please them. They will find in it much and valuable information with which they had previously been unacquainted. And unless we deceive ourselves greatly, they will recognize in the author a most pious, able, and eloquent exponent of the truth.

ART. VII.—(1.) *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet.* By M. l'Abbè Huc, 2 vols., 8vo. London, Longmans, 1857.

(2.) *Relation d'un Voyage au Thibet en 1852, et d'un Voyage chez les Abors en 1853,* par M. l'Abbe Krick. 12mo. Paris, Vaton, 1854.

THE internal condition of China has long been one of the puzzles of history. Its social and political institutions, while they imply the existence from immemorial time of a high order of refinement and civilization, have long been regarded, not only in the last degree peculiar, but even as hardly referable to any common principle

through which, as a medium, they might be compared with those of other empires. Even its religion, although essentially the same which is professed by the great body of the Trans-Gangetic races, is commonly believed to be so modified by national peculiarities as to present all the characteristics of a new and distinct system.

Since the first establishment of the Jesuit Missionaries in China in the seventeenth century, European writers, up to a very recent period, were content to refer to the narratives or the historical and descriptive publications of that great Society, as the most authentic sources of information regarding this strange country and its inhabitants. The native literature of China, whether ancient or modern, remained entirely unexplored, even by the most accomplished of our western linguists. Etienne Fourmont was perhaps the first who, without residing in the country itself, arrived at anything approaching to a mastery of the Chinese language. His pupils, Deshautesayes and De Guignes, (especially the latter) pursued the same study with considerable success; and Matthew Langlès, who edited Pere Amiot's *Mantchu Dictionary*, attained a still larger though perhaps less reliable reputation. But it was not till after the establishment of the new chair of Chinese in the College de France at the Restoration that the study can be said to have become naturalized in Europe. The first occupant of this chair, the illustrious Abel Remusat, may truly be called the father of the study. The numerous practical treatises published by him or under his inspiration, tended, more than all that had been produced before his time, to facilitate the acquisition of the language by Europeans. His learned essays and dissertations contributed to awaken the attention of scholars to the great importance as well as the vast extent and antiquity of the literature; and his numerous translations and specimens, especially of its lighter and more characteristic publications, went farther to popularize the study not only in France, but even in Germany and England, than the ponderous though truly learned and valuable compilations of the earlier writers upon Chinese letters.

What Remusat began M. Stanislas Julien has worthily pursued, in *Essays*, in contributions to the *Journal Asiatique*, and in many other forms. Above all, his

recent life of Hiouen-Tsang,* the Buddhist pilgrim to India of the seventh century, is only a sample of what we have yet to learn from a systematic examination of the literary remains of ancient China; but it is an evidence not alone that the early history of this singular nation, and the true nature of their religious, political, and social system, are alone to be derived satisfactorily from native authorities, but also that such authorities exist in a number and of a value which has hitherto been but faintly conjectured, or at least imperfectly understood. China not only can no longer be excluded from consideration in those general problems of ethnography which have occupied so large a share of public attention, but it must even assume an especial prominence on that common map of the human race, on which, notwithstanding its vastness, it had hitherto possessed but little practical interest, by reason of its complete and almost hopeless isolation.

The scholars and philosophers, too, who have given their attention of late years to the questions connected with China, have gradually emancipated themselves from those traditional notions, in pursuance of which it was habitually regarded as a country entirely without relations even with those eastern races by which it is surrounded. Lassen's great work on *Indian Antiquities*, has fully opened up the connexion of the Buddhism of India with that of China. Spence Hardy, though with far less learning or research, has supplied materials for the comparison of at least one branch of its religious system with that of Ceylon. Father San Germano, and more recently M. Dubois de Jaucigny, have done the same for the Birman Empire. The later Dutch writers on Japan have rivalled in industry, if not in success, the researches of the modern Chinese scholars. Mgr. de Pallegoix, the distinguished vicar apostolic of Siam, from whom Sir John Bowring has drawn most of his information, has left little to be desired towards a complete account of the religious and social institutions of the Siamese. Last of all, Père Huc has taken up carefully all the links of the chain which connect both the history and the usages of Tartary and Thibet with

* *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Tsang et de ses Voyages dans l'Inde, depuis l'an 629, jusqu' en 645. Traduite du Chinois par Stanislas Julien, Paris, 1856.*

those of their Chinese masters; with both which subjects Père Huc may be safely acknowledged to possess an acquaintance, such as has not fallen to the lot of any European since the days of Father Ricci or Adam Schall.

Père Huc's studies on the general subject of China have formed an admirable preparation for the work which he has just published on that particular topic of Chinese history, the interest of which must, in his eyes, infinitely transcend that of all the rest—the history and prospect of Christianity throughout its vast empire. It is impossible to consider satisfactorily the prospects of the new religion which the Missionary seeks to introduce unless in its bearing upon the principles which it is destined to displace. It may be necessary to remind those who are not acquainted with Père Huc's earlier works on China, that although it cannot be said that any established religion exists in the Chinese Empire, yet there are three great religious systems which, (if we except the very inconsiderable fragment who profess Mahomedanism, Judaism, and Christianity,) divide among them the entire body of the population. The first and most ancient of these is called *Jou kiao*, "The Doctrine of the Lettered;"—a sort of philosophic, but materialistic, Pantheism. *The Jou Kiao* is regarded as the religion established or reformed by Confucius. The second, that of Lao-tze, the contemporary of Confucius, is regarded by its professors as the primitive religion of the ancient inhabitants of China. The creed of Lao-tze admits, as a First Cause, Reason—an uncreated Being, who is the type of the Universe, but who has himself no type of his being; and it regards human souls as emanations from this ethereal substance, destined to be reunited therewith after death. The third, the Religion of Fo, or Buddha, is believed to have been introduced about the commencement of our era, which is little more than the common system of Indian Buddhism, with certain striking modifications, which the very contact with the pre-existing religious doctrines have produced. The number of Mahomedans and Jews, as well as of certain sects of Manichean origin, is so small, and their position so entirely unimportant, that they need hardly be taken into account at all.

Of these three systems, however, in so far as they can be said to enter into the intellectual or moral character of the people, that of Confucius is by far the most important. It

forms an essential part of the very constitution of the state. Itself without a priestly or sacrificial order, the civil magistrates in their several grades, are its ministers ; and the emperor may in some sense be regarded as the head of its hierarchy. All the learned men of the empire, and all who aspire to that character, attach themselves to it, as an indispensable preliminary. The tablet of Confucius is in all the schools ; the masters and pupils prostrate themselves before his name at the beginning and the end of the classes : his image is found in every academy ; it holds a prominent position in every assembly of the learned, and every place of literary examination ; and the honour with which it is everywhere treated, (whether this honour be regarded as religious or as purely civil,) or rather the unexampled fidelity with which this honour has been continued by a nation of so many millions of men for a period of more than two thousand years, is, perhaps, the most remarkable feature in the character of this singular nation, and one of the most extraordinary circumstances in all the marvels of their history.

This, too, is the great adversary with which Christianity has had to contend in its long continued struggle to obtain a footing in China—the momentous struggle which forms the subject of Père Huc's most interesting volumes. Accordingly, to those who recollect the full and circumstantial details, historical as well as descriptive, regarding the religion of China, into which M. Huc entered in his invaluable work "*The Chinese Empire*," it is hardly necessary to say that the present work must be in some respects a repetition, or rather an extension, of the information on religious subjects which was anticipated in that admirable book ; but as in the work now before us, the subject of religion is not only treated much more in detail, but is also considered chiefly from the Christian point of view, "*Christianity in China*" may fairly be regarded as substantially a new work ; and even when it goes over ground already trodden, its information will be found much more precise, more orderly, and more complete, than the necessarily brief and condensed notices which formed the great charm of the work on *The Chinese Empire*.

In truth, the popular notions on the history of Christianity in China are vague and obscure in the extreme. Beyond a floating belief that the Nestorian Missions of the eighth and ninth centuries in some way extended to

China, or at least to some portion of the vast territory now tributary to China, hardly anything is known of the subject even by scholars, until the period of the adventurous appearance of the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. To this early, and we may say, unknown and unexplored portion of the subject, Père Huc has devoted the greater part of his first volume, and indeed he may be truly said to have exhausted it. It is not merely that he has collected together with great industry and learning, and has arranged with much clearness and simplicity, all the scattered fragments of evidence derivable from the ancient writers, and has examined and discussed with great ability and with singular candour and moderation the conclusions which modern scholars have drawn from these records. The great value of his work and its chief claim to the character of novelty, consists in the use which he has made of what earlier writers had entirely neglected, or rather ignored—the native Chinese authorities. He has not only availed himself of all the lights which the eminent Chinese scholars of the French Academy, Remusat, Stanislas Julien, and Renan, have supplied; but he has also drawn largely upon his own profound and critical knowledge of the Chinese language and literature; and we need hardly say that his intimate acquaintance with the general history of the Church during the periods in question, has enabled him to turn to important use every incident or allusion, however obscure, that can be derived from the native historians of China.

Much, of course, of the learning and ingenuity which he has thus applied to the elucidation of the early history of Christianity in China, is of a nature which can only be fully appreciated by a careful and detailed study of his work. And as our principal concern in this article will be with the history of the missions of the 17th and 18th centuries, we must confine ourselves, for the earlier and less generally interesting period, to a few of the more prominent epochs, and especially to those which have at different times given rise to controversy among European scholars. We should add that the volumes now published only carry the narrative as far as the death of the emperor Chun-Tche, whose reign may be regarded as the commencement of the Mantchoo dynasty in China.

Of the first introduction of the Christian faith into China, no distinct trace can now be ascertained. It is

certain, nevertheless, that from a very remote antiquity, probably from the seventh century before the birth of Christ, there have been members of the Jewish race in China, many of whom were raised in early times to the highest civil and military offices, and even attained to great literary eminence and distinction. Where the Jewish religion had effected an entrance, Christianity has never been slow to follow: nor is there any solid reason to doubt the ancient tradition of the Christians in India, which is confirmed by several passages in their liturgies and sacred offices, that the apostolic labours of St. Thomas and his disciples extended as far as the Chinese Sea.

The most curious monument of early Chinese Christianity, however, is the celebrated and much canvassed inscription of Si-gnan-Fou, to which Père Huc has devoted an extremely interesting chapter.

The history of this remarkable inscription deserves a brief notice. In the early part of the seventeenth century (1625), a number of native Chinese workmen, while engaged in digging a "foundation for a house, outside the walls of the city of Si-gnan-Fou, the capital of the province of Chen-Si, found buried in the earth, a large monumental stone, resembling those which the Chinese are in the habit of raising to preserve to posterity the remembrance of remarkable events and illustrious men. It was a dark-coloured marble tablet, ten feet high and five broad, and bearing on one side an inscription in ancient Chinese, and also some other characters quite unknown in China. The discovery excited much attention among the mandarins and the population of the country. The stone was publicly exhibited, and visited by crowds of curious persons; and amongst others, some Jesuit missionaries, who were at that time scattered about China, in various missions, went to examine it. The first who saw it was Father Alvares Semedo; then came Martin Martini, author of the Chinese Atlas, and Michael Boym, a Pole, who, with the assistance of a Chinese man of letters, undertook the interpretation of the inscription." The discovery at once became public and attracted much notice. A copy of the inscription was made by order of the Emperor, and deposited in a very celebrated pagoda near the city of Si-gnan-Fou, where it still remains, and where it was seen and examined by several Chinese acquaintances of Père Huc during his residence at Peking. Exact tracings of the

stone were at once transmitted to Europe upon its discovery. One of these was deposited in the library of the Jesuit house at Rome; and another was transmitted to Paris, and deposited in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, where it is still preserved.

The inscription, as we have seen, consists of two distinct parts.

The first which is in ancient Chinese characters was translated without much difficulty, and the learned world was taken completely by surprise to find that this inscription in Chinese characters (which was dated from the seventh century of our era,) recorded, among many other events of the period, the history of the preaching of the gospel in China by a missionary from the Roman Empire, and his favourable reception by the then Emperor, Tching-Tsouan.

The second portion of the inscription, (which was unintelligible to its first discoverers,) was found, upon examination by other scholars, to be written in the ancient Syriac characters, known as *estrangelhos*. It contains, in ninety lines, the names of the Syrian priests who accompanied or followed the missionary already described in his mission to China.

Père Huc describes its contents as follows:—

“It is stated on the monumental stone in question, that a religious man, named Olopen, a man of eminent virtue, came, in 635, from *Ta-Thsin* (the Roman Empire) to Si-guan-Fou. The Emperor sent his officers to meet him in the western suburb of the city, had him brought to the palace, and ordered him to translate the sacred books that he had brought with him. These books having been examined, the Emperor pronounced the doctrine they contained good, and permitted its publication. The decree issued to this effect is cited in the inscription. It is therein asserted, to the honour of the doctrine taught by Olopen, that under the dynasty of Toheou, the law of truth was eclipsed in China, and having been carried towards the West by Lao-Tze, has now returned to its primitive source, to increase the splendour of the reigning dynasty. This doctrine proclaims, that Aloho (that is, God, in the Syriac language) created the heavens and the earth; and that Satan, having seduced the first man, God sent the Messiah to deliver the human race from the original sin; that the Messiah was born of a virgin, in the country of Ta-Thsin, and that the Persians went to adore him, in order that the law and the prediction might be accomplished.”—Vol. i. pp. 47-8.

As Père Huc does not enter into the details of the controversy to which this alleged discovery gave occasion, it may be interesting to add that the inscription has been published and defended as genuine by Father Kircher in his *China Illustrata*; by Andrew Müller in a treatise printed at Berlin in 1762; by Renaudot in his *Relation Anciennes des Indes et de la Chine de deux Voyageurs Mahometans*; and by Joseph Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. On the contrary, its genuineness was warmly disputed by many protestant writers, and especially by Böhlen, who unhesitatingly stigmatises it as a pious fraud of the Jesuit missionaries themselves.

All these writers describe the monument itself as a marble slab two feet long by four broad, surmounted by a pyramidal cross. The Chinese inscription is in twenty-eight columns, each containing sixty-two words; and on one side of the slab, as well as at the bottom, is found the Syriac inscription to which we have already referred, and which enumerates by name a series of priests, deacons, and other clerks, together with a bishop, arranged in seven distinct classes. The principal inscription opens with a recital (although it must be owned, in terms sufficiently obscure and curiously accommodated to the prevailing notions of Chinese theology,) of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion. It then recounts the arrival of the missionaries in the year 636; their reception by the Emperor; and the principal events of their history, and that of the mission for a space of a hundred and forty-four years, and especially of two persecutions, one in 699 and the other in 713; and the arrival of a fresh body of missionaries soon after the second persecution. The date of the erection of the monument is also recited A.D. 781.

As the works in which this interesting document has been published are for the most part rare, we shall transcribe so much of Père Huc's admirable translation, as contains the curious abstract of Christian doctrine, to which we have alluded, and also the history of its early preachers in China.

"There has always been one only true Cause, essentially the first, and without beginning, supremely intelligent and immaterial; essentially the last, and uniting all perfections. He placed the poles of the heavens, and created all beings; marvellously holy;

he is the source of all perfection. This admirable being, is he not the *Triune*, the true Lord without beginning, *Oloho*?*

"He divided the world by a cross into four parts. After having decomposed the primordial air, he gave birth to the two elements.†

"Chaos was transformed, and then the sun and the moon appeared. He made the sun and the moon move‡ to produce day and night. He elaborated and perfected the ten thousand things;§ but in creating the first man, he endowed him with perfect interior harmony. He enjoined him to watch over the sea of his desires. His nature was without vice, and without error; his heart, pure and simple, was originally without disorderly appetites.

"But Sa-Than propagated lies, and stained by his malice that which had been pure and holy.¶ He proclaimed, as a truth, the equality of greatness, and upset all ideas. This is why three hundred and sixty-five sects‡, lending each other a mutual support, formed a long chain, and wove, so to speak, a net of law. Some put the creature in the place of the Eternal, others denied the existence of beings, and destroyed the two principles. Others instituted prayers and sacrifices to obtain good fortune; others proclaimed their own sanctity, to deceive mankind. The minds of men laboured, and were filled with anxiety; aspirations towards the supreme good were trampled down; thus perpetually floating about, they attained to nothing, and all went from bad to worse.** The darkness thickened, men lost their sight, and for a long time they wandered without being able to find it again.

"Then our Tri-une God communicated his substance to the very venerable *Mi-chi-ho* (Messiah), who, veiling his true majesty,

"* This name, foreign to the Chinese language, is evidently a translation of *Eloha*, the true name of God in Syriac.

"† The *Yn* and the *Yang*, which play so great a part among Chinese philosophers.

"‡ Modern astronomy has shown that it is the movement of the sun, which draws after it that of the earth. It would be curious if this fact were known to the author of the inscription.

"§ *Wan-ou*, ten thousand things, is the Chinese expression for the totality of created beings.

"¶ This expression is obscure, but it seems to us that it is meant to indicate the Indian and Chinese pantheism.

"‡ This number, which corresponds to the days in the year, expresses, according to the genius of the Chinese language, a great multitude, an uninterrupted series.

"** Literally, *the boiled meat turned to roast*.

appeared in the world in the likeness of a man. The celestial spirits manifested their joy, and a Virgin brought forth the Saint in Ta-Thsin. The most splendid constellations announced this happy event; the Persians saw the splendour, and ran to pay tribute. He fulfilled what was said of old by the twenty-four saints;* he organised, by his precepts, both families and kingdoms; he instituted the new religion, according to the pure notion of the Trinity in Unity; he regulated conscience by true faith; he signified to the world the eight commandments, and purged humanity from its pollutions, by opening the door to the three virtues. He diffused life and extinguished death; he suspended the luminous sun to destroy the dwelling of darkness, and then the lies of demons passed away. He directed the bark of mercy toward the palace of light, and all creatures endowed with intelligence have been succoured. After having consummated this act of power, he rose at mid-day towards the Truth. Twenty-seven books have been left.† He has enlarged the springs of mercy, that men might be converted. The baptism by water and by the Spirit, is a law that purifies the soul and beautifies the exterior. The sign of the cross unites the four quarters of the world, and restores the harmony that had been destroyed. By striking upon a piece of wood,‡ we make the voice of charity and mercy resound; by sacrificing towards the East, we indicate the way of life and glory.

“Our ministers allow their beards to grow, to show that they are devoted to their neighbours. The tonsure that they wear at the top of their heads indicates that they have renounced worldly desires. In giving liberty to slaves, we become a link between the powerful and the weak. We do not accumulate riches, and we share with the poor that which we possess. Fasting strengthens the intellectual powers, abstinence and moderation preserve health. We worship seven times a day, and by our prayers we aid the living and the dead. On the seventh day we offer sacrifice, after having purified our hearts, and received absolution for our sins. This religion, so perfect and so excellent, is difficult to name, but it

* An allusion to the four great prophets and the twelve lesser ones, by adding to whom Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, Moses, Samuel, David, and John the Baptist, they make twenty-four.

† Namely the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, three of St. John, one of St. James, two of St. Peter, one of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse.

‡ It is customary in China in the pagodas and monasteries to strike either on a bell or a piece of bamboo, to call the devout to prayer.

enlightens darkness by its brilliant precepts. It is called the Luminous Religion."*—Vol. i. pp. 48-51.

The theological reader will probably observe, in the paragraph which describes the Incarnation, certain expressions, which, although perhaps susceptible of an orthodox interpretation, nevertheless, in their natural construction, clearly involve the Nestorian principle of the two-fold Personality of Christ, Divine and Human.

The inscription proceeds to relate the arrival of the missionaries from the West.

"The Emperor Tai-Tsoung illustrated the empire. He opened the revolution, and governed men in holiness. In his time there was a man of high virtue named Olopen, who came from the kingdom of Ta-Thsin. Directed by the blue clouds, he bore the Scriptures of the true doctrine; he observed the rules of the winds, and traversed difficult and perilous countries.

"In the ninth year of Tching-Kouan (636), he arrived at Tchang-ngan. The emperor ordered Fang-hi-wen-Ling, first minister of the empire, to go with a great train of attendants to the western suburb, to meet the stranger, and bring him to the palace. He had the Holy Scriptures translated in the imperial library. The court listened to the doctrine, meditated on it profoundly, and understood the great unity of truth. A special edict was promulgated for its publication and diffusion.

"In the twelfth year of Tching-Kouan in the seventh moon, during the Autumn, the new edict was promulgated in these terms:—

"The doctrine has no fixed name, the holy has no determinate substance; it institutes religions suitable to various countries, and carries men in crowds in its track. Olopen, a man of *Ta-Thsin*, and of a lofty virtue, bearing Scriptures and images, has come to offer them in the Supreme Court. After a minute examination of the spirit of this religion, it has been found to be excellent, mysterious, and pacific. The contemplation of its radical principle gives birth to perfection, and fixes the will. It is exempt from verbosity; it considers only good results. It is useful to men, and consequently ought to be published under the whole extent of the heavens. I, therefore, command the magistrates to have a *Ta-Thsin* temple constructed in the quarter named I-ning of the imperial city, and twenty-one religious men shall be installed therein.

"* *King-Khiao* means, literally, luminous religion. A Russian scholar, who has made a rather inaccurate translation of the above inscription, has rendered these two Chinese characters most erroneously as *orthodox religion*."

"The virtue of the venerable dynasty of Tcheou was extinct; the *Blue Chariot* had passed to the West. The wisdom of the dynasty of Thang having shone forth, a luminous ray has penetrated to the East. The magistrates have received orders, and a genuine writing of the sovereign has been traced on the wall of the temple. A Celestial beauty, with splendid colours, has made the Luminous Gate to shine. This sacred testimony of the Emperor has been a source of felicity; it will eternally lighten the universe.

"The great Emperor Kao-Tsoung followed respectfully in the footsteps of his ancestors. He fertilised the Truth, conferred splendour on it, and raised *luminous* temples in all the provinces. He heaped new titles on Olopu, and appointed him Guardian of the Empire, and Lord of the Great Law. The law was thus propagated along the Ten Roads. The empire thus received fruitful germs of felicity; the temples filled a hundred cities, and the Families were enriched with admirable happiness."—Vol. i. pp. 51-3.

It would be tedious to enter into the arguments by which the authenticity of this interesting monument has been defended against the suspicions of the Protestant critics of the seventeenth century, and against the sneers of Voltaire and his followers in the eighteenth. But there is one part of the subject as it is treated by Père Iluc, to which, as it is both novel and decisive, we cannot help adverting. We allude to the authorities which he produces from native Chinese writers, ancient and modern, both attesting the authenticity of the description and confirmatory of its testimony of the truth of that early introduction of Christianity in China which it records. We can only find room for a few.

The first is from the collection of inscriptions entitled *Kin-Che-Sui-Pien*.

"In the period Tsong-Tching (1628—1643) of the dynasty of Ming, the Governor of Si-ngan-Fou, named Tsing-Ling-Tseou, and surnamed Master Tsing-Tchang, had a young son, called Hoa-Sing. Nature had endowed him with rare intelligence, and scarcely was he able to walk, before he knew how to fold his hands and adore Fo. At the age of twelve years he showed the greatest ardour for study; but soon there came a spot upon his eyes, and at the moment when he was smiling at his father, he suddenly died.

"After having consulted the fates, his friends desired to bury him, to the south of the monastery of Kin-Ching-Sse (the City of Gold). When the earth had been dug to the depth of a few feet, a great stone was found. It was the inscription of the luminous doctrine which has spread through the Central Empire.

“ ‘This stone which had been buried in the earth for a thousand years, was then brought to light. The inscription may be seen in the collection entitled *Lieou-yu-hoa-Tsi*. All the characters were perfect, and there was not one damaged. In the lower part, and at the extremity, are traced a multitude of strange characters, such as are seen in the books of Fo.’ ”—Vol. i. pp. 75-6.

Another of the great modern classics of China—“ *The Imperial Geography*,”—describes the present position of the Inscription.

“ ‘King-ching-Sse (the monastery of the City of Gold). This monastery is situated outside the western suburb of Si-ngan-Fou. It was formerly the monastery of the Sublime Humanity Tsoung-Jin-Sse, and was founded under the Thang. This monastery possesses the inscriptions of the Pagoda of the Master of the Law, of the epoch of Thang, engraved upon sandal wood. It possesses also the inscription on stone, entitled ‘Inscription upon stone of the luminous religion propagated in the Central Empire.’ During the years Thien-Tchun (1457—1464), the strangers from Thsin repaired it.’ ”—Vol. i. pp. 76-7.

But a still more curious evidence of the genuineness of the Inscription, or at least of the truth of the history which it records, is derived from the works of many of the early historians and encyclopædists of China; and especially from a well-known Chinese classical author of the eleventh century of our era, Min-Khieou—his “*Description of Si-ngan-Fou*,” as well as from several similar works of even earlier date.

“We might, if we pleased, indeed, contest the authority of the authors just quoted, and insinuate that the new edition of the *Imperial Geography* was revised and corrected under the influence of the Jesuits, who were powerful enough, and skilful enough, to deceive the learned, lull to sleep their jealousy, and induce them to print, in an important and official work, details of their own invention. All the passages favourable to the inscription which are to be found in the modern works of Chinese authors, may be put down at once to the account of the Jesuits, and so go for nothing.

“But here again we have a very well known Chinese author, Min-Khieou, who wrote under the dynasty of Song, in 1060, and who, according to all probability, had not at that period experienced the influence of the Jesuits. He expresses himself thus in his work entitled “*Description of Si-ngan-Fou*”:—

“ ‘In the street of Justice (*T-ning*) may be seen the temple of Po-Sse-Sse. It was built in the twelfth year of the period of Tching-Kouan (638) by order of the Emperor Tai-Tsoung, in favour of O-lo-Sse (Olopen) a religious stranger from the kingdom of Ta-

Thsin.' The same work says again :—' There was formerly at Si-ngan-Fou, eastward of the street of the Sweet Spring (*Li-Kuen*), a temple of Po-Sse (of Persia). In the second year of the period I-Fong (677), three devout Persians desired that another temple should be constructed.'

" A Chinese encyclopædia, published under the dynasty of Song, in the year 1005, contains the following imperial decree :—

" ' In the ninth moon of the fourth year of the period Thien-Pao (745), the emperor issued a decree, in which it is said : ' The luminous doctrine came from Ta-Thsin ; its partizans transmitted it from one to the other, so that at last it spread through the Central kingdom. Then they began to build temples, and from thence came their name, temples of Ta-Thsin.' If it is desired to make them known to men, it is necessary to ascend to their origin ; and that is why, in the two capitals of China, it is proper to change the name of temple of Po-Sse into temple of Ta-Thsin. It is proper that, in all the circles of the empire, this rule should be conformed to.'

" This imperial decree of 745 is reported in an encyclopædia published in 1005; the passages from Min-Khieou, author of a 'Description of Si-ngan-Fou,' were published in 1060; so this cannot be accounted for by the supposition of a 'pious fraud of the Jesuits.'

" These decisive testimonies were repeated by Tsienche (who was living in 1063, under the emperor Jin-Tsoung, and was a contemporary of the above-named Min-Khieou) in his work, entitled, 'Examination of the Luminous Doctrine.'

" Tsien-che, after having cited the very words of the encyclopædia, and of Min-Khieou, his contemporary, continues thus :—' It was then, at this epoch, that the building of the temples of Ta-Thsin was commenced. The inscription says : ' In the kingdom of Ta-Thsin there was a man of superior virtue, named O-lo-Pen. In the ninth year of the period Tching-Kouan (636), he came to Si-ngan-Fou. In the seventh moon of the same period (638), a temple of Ta-Tshin was built in the street of Justice and Peace (T-ning). O-lo-Pen is the same as O-lo-Sse, of whom Min-Khieou speaks. In the beginning, the temple was called the temple of Po-Sse. In the period I-Fong (676—679) it still retained its ancient name, but in the fourth year Tien-Pao (745) its name was changed into that of temple of Ta-Thsin.'

" Tsien-che, in his examination of the luminous doctrine, passes in review the various religions which have come from foreign countries and been propagated in the empire. He speaks especially in detail, and by no means in a tone of eulogy, of the Manicheans, or disciples of Mo-Ni (Manes), and of the worshippers of fire, or disciples of Zoroaster. After declaring that these doctrines are false and perverse, he continues thus :—' As to the luminous doctrine, which has spread like a river, its professors are the most intelligent

of all the barbarians above-mentioned ; they understand the characters (Chinese), but they flourish in their language, and tell quantities of lies. In reality, they do not differ from the Manicheans and worshippers of fire.'"—Vol. i. pp. 77-9.

Nevertheless, while Pere Huc thus learnedly vindicates the genuineness of this first explicit record of the existence of Christianity in China, he at the same time shows, by the strongest evidence, that long before the date of the Si-ngan-Fou Inscription, the Christian religion had been preached and known in that kingdom. The details of its history, both before and after this period, are obscure and unconnected. It is known that Timothy, one of the Nestorian patriarchs, about the end of the eighth century, sent missionaries into eastern Asia, and that one at least, of these, reached the Chinese territory. Several monks also of the same communion were invested, soon after, with the episcopal character, and assigned to these missions ; and, from a canon of one of the synods held by the Nestorian patriarch in the middle of the ninth century, which dispenses the bishops of these parts from attendance at the synod, (on account of their great distance,) it may be inferred that a succession of bishops was for a time maintained. Of the details of their history, however, very little is recorded ; but the fragments which are discoverable, though isolated, are not on that account the less authentic and unmistakable ; and it is a curious confirmation of their genuineness, that for the most part they are preserved, not by Christian but by unbelieving authorities.

What, for example, could be more interesting than the following sketch from an Arab traveller of the ninth century in India, translated by Renandot ? This traveller, named Abou Zeyd Hassan, speaks from the information of a Mussulman merchant of Bassora, who had visited not only the sea-ports of China, but even the then imperial residence, Si-ngan-Fou.

" In the pages of the Arab writer we find a very curious incident which proves that there existed in China a tolerably accurate knowledge of Jesus Christ and his apostles. The author relates that Ibn Vahab arrived at Si-ngan-Fou, and was introduced into the Imperial palace. The Emperor, after having interrogated him on the affairs of the West, commanded the interpreter to say to him these words, ' Should you recognise your master if you were to see him ? The Emperor meant the Apostle of God,—to whom

may God be gracious ! I replied, And how can I see him, since he is now above with the Most High God ?

“ ‘The Emperor answered, That is not what I meant ; I was speaking only of his face.’ The Arab then said, ‘ Yes ; and there-upon the Emperor ordered a box to be brought and placed before him, and from this he drew some papers, saying to the interpreter, Show him his Master !

“ ‘I recognised on these pages, the portraits of the prophets ; and when I did so, I uttered prayers for them, and moved my lips. The Emperor did not know that I recognised the prophets, and told the interpreter to ask me what I moved my lips for. The interpreter did as he was ordered, and I replied, I was praying for the prophets. The Emperor asked how I knew them ; and I answered, By means of the attributes which distinguish them. Thus, here is Noah in his Ark ; he who saved himself with his family, when the Most High commanded the waters to overwhelm the whole earth with its inhabitants : Noah and his family alone escaped. At these words the Emperor began to laugh, and said, You guessed rightly when you said it was Noah ; but as to the submersion of the whole earth, that is a thing we do not admit. The deluge only affected a part of the earth, and not either our country or India.’ Ibn-Vahab reported that he feared to refute what the Emperor had stated by making use of the arguments that he was acquainted with, seeing that the Prince would not have admitted their force. But he resumed, ‘ Here is Moses and his staff, with the children of Israel.’

“ ‘That is true, said the Emperor ; but Moses showed himself on a very small stage ; and his people were not very well disposed towards him.

“ ‘I resumed, Here is Jesus, sitting upon an ass, and surrounded by his Apostles.

“ ‘The Emperor said, He, too, had very little time to appear on the stage. His mission did not last more than thirty months.’

“ ‘Ibn-Vahab continued to pass the prophets in review ; but we will confine ourselves to a part of what was said. Ibn-Vahab added that above the figure of each prophet there was a long inscription, which he supposed to contain their names, the names of their countries, and the circumstances accompanying their mission. Afterwards he continued thus, ‘ I saw the face of the prophet (Mahomet), upon whom be peace ! He was mounted on a camel, and his companions, also on camels, were placed around him. They all wore Arab coverings on their feet, and had tooth-picks at their girdles. As I began to weep, the Emperor desired the interpreter to ask me the cause of my tears. I replied, There is our prophet our Lord, and my cousin, upon him be peace !

“ ‘The Emperor answered, You have spoken truly ; he and his people have raised the most glorious empire, only he has not been

able to see with his own eyes the empire he founded. The edifice was only seen by those who came after him.

“‘I saw the pictures of a great number of other prophets: some were making the sign of a cross by uniting the thumb and fore-finger, as if they meant by this movement to signify some truth. Certain of the figures were represented standing on their feet, and making signs with their fingers towards heaven. There were also other pictures, but the interpreter told me these represented the prophets of India and China.’”—Vol. i. pp. 90-3.

This strange collection of the portraits of religious leaders, and the singular juxta-position of conflicting religious systems which it implies, is a remarkable confirmation of the traditional notions which are entertained regarding the political and religious immobility of the system of state policy in China. The religious indifferentism which it seems to indicate, is precisely the same with that described by Père Huc as the great characteristic of Chinese statesmanship at the present day. The emperor, with whom Ibn-Vahab conversed, Hi-Tsoang, who reigned in 874, is the genuine prototype of the capricious despots who alternately patronized and persecuted the Christian missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and one might almost believe that the spirit of religious syncretism which he exhibited in this strange union of Jewish, Christian, Mahomedan, and Buddhist principles and emblems, was inherited from him through lineal descent, by Young-tching, in 1724, who at the very moment when, for reasons of state and from motives of political jealousy, he was issuing instructions for the suppression of the Christian religion throughout the wide range of his dominions, was declaring to the Jesuits that he “believed their law was not a false law.”

It is from an Arab writer also, Mohammed, son of Ishac, surnamed Aboulfarages, that we learn the probable date of the extinction in China of the little community of Christians thus established. “‘In the year 377 (A.D. 987) I found living in the Christians’ quarter, behind the church, a monk of Nadjran, who seven years before had been sent by the *Djalolik* (Catholic) to China, along with five other ecclesiastics, to set the affairs of Christianity there in order. I saw a man still young, and of an agreeable countenance, but he spoke little, and never opened his mouth but to answer the questions put to him. I asked

him for some information concerning his travels, and he answered that Christianity had become extinct in China.

“The Christians who had been in that country had perished in different ways, the church that had been built for them had been destroyed, and there remained not one single Christian in China. The monk, not having found any one whom he could aid by his ministry, had returned more quickly than he went.’ The Arab writer does not express himself very clearly as to the route the ecclesiastics had followed; but he says that the distance by sea differed according to the way they took, and that the navigation was very troublesome, as few persons could be found acquainted with those latitudes. At the time when the monk visited China, the capital where the sovereign resided was called *Thadjouye*. The empire had previously been divided into two territories; but one of the two competitors for sovereignty had succumbed to the other, who now remained sole master.”

From this period the history is even more obscure. With the fall of the Thang dynasty in the beginning of the tenth century, began a revolution which left so few relics of Christianity behind it, that hardly the faintest trace can be discovered. Père Huc, nevertheless, has contrived to weave together into a very interesting narrative, all the scattered threads which connect the mediæval history of Europe with the remoter kingdoms of the East. The vagueness of the narratives of that period, and the still more hopeless vagueness of its traditions, may be inferred from the fact that the very site of the kingdom of the great hero of eastern mediæval legend, Prester John, was for many generations a problem on which not only divines, but geographers and historians, were divided, some placing it in Abyssinia, some in Tartary, and some in Thibet. Through the many and complicated problems, both of chronology and geography which these questions involved, we have never met so satisfactory or so interesting a guide as Père Huc. He believes Prester John to have been a Khan of the Keraite Tartars, who was converted by the later Nestorian missionaries; and he conjectures that the name *John* is but a western corruption of the common title *Khan*, borne both by himself and his successors; a conjecture which explains very ingeniously the perpetual recurrence of the legend at many successive periods of the Middle Ages. His priestly cha-

racter was of course founded in the same belief which still lends majesty and holiness to the Talai Lama of La-Ssa. The romantic marvels of Prester John's history give place to the sanguinary realities of the conquests of the terrible Tchinguiz Khan. The ravages of this fierce conqueror extended eastwards through China as far as the Yellow River, whence he carried the fearful scourge of his arms, through Khorassan, Persia, and Georgia, to the shores of the Black Sea, and even to the interior of Bulgaria. His successor, Ogotai, (in 1227,) continued the same warfare. Russia, Poland, and Hungary were successively attacked; and the ferocity of the invaders filled all Europe with alarm. The Popes of the thirteenth century, Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV., in vain attempted a defensive organization to resist their progress. At length, where arms were unavailing, a peaceful mission was projected for the conversion and civilization of the dreaded Tartars. Many brethren of the two young orders, the Franciscan and the Dominican, volunteered for the perilous undertaking, and in 1246, two parties set out upon their pilgrimage.

The history of these expeditions, and of the embassy sent by St. Lewis of France in 1248, is detailed with singular clearness and graphic interest by Père Huc. Partly from original materials—the bulls and letters of the Popes, the narratives of the missionaries, the journal of St. Lewis's ambassador, William of Rubruk, (one of the most charming records of travel and adventure in existence,) and many similar documents;—partly from the matured researches of modern historians;—he has contrived to bring together a mass of information which it would be in vain to seek elsewhere, and which, obscure as is the subject, leaves little to be desired. Some of the missionary records—the letters of John of Monte Corvino, of Andrea di Perugia, of Pascal of Spain, and above all, of Oderic of Friuli, are among the most interesting monuments of religious zeal and enterprise which can be found in the whole range of history. We would gladly transcribe more than one of these touching narratives if space permitted, but we must be content to refer our readers to Père Huc's own pages for these and many other interesting details.

We cannot, however, resist the temptation of extracting the following curious description from the pen of Oderic of Friuli, a Franciscan missionary of the fourteenth century,

of one of those Buddhist hospitals for the reception of old or invalided animals which still form in European eyes one of the marvels of Indian Buddhism. The convent in which Oderic witnessed this singular sight was at Han-Tcheou-Fou.

“‘One day, the Christian neophyte said to me, ‘Father, will you come and have the pleasure of an excursion into the town?’ ‘Willingly,’ answered I. He immediately sent for a boat, we entered it, and went to visit a great monastery of Bonzes. The Christian neophyte, having called one of these Bonzes, said to him, ‘Do you see this Frank priest? he comes from the regions where the sun sets, and he is now going to Khaubalik to pray for the life of the emperor. Show him some rarity of our country, in order that he may say, when he shall one day return into his own land, ‘I saw at Han-Tcheou-Fou, such or such a curious thing.’ ‘I will show him,’ said the Bonze, ‘the wonder of our monastery.’ There were, in a corner of the apartment, several baskets filled with the fragments of the repast of the community. The Bonze took them, and, having opened a door, introduced us into a magnificent park, in the midst of which arose a hill planted with beautiful trees. We stopped at the foot of the hill; the Bonze struck several times on a tam-tam, and at the sound we perceived a number of animals, of various species, hastening down towards us. The greater number resembled apes and cats; there were, at least, three thousand of them: all these animals ranged themselves in order, and the old Buddhist priest distributed to them the fragments from the convent repast. When all had eaten according to their appetite, at the first stroke of the tam-tam they quietly began to climb up the side of the hill again, and disappeared into their dens. This sight was so strange that I could not help laughing heartily: at length I said to the old man, ‘Tell me the meaning of what I have just seen.’ ‘You have just seen,’ said he, ‘the souls of illustrious men, whom we feed for the love of God.’ ‘These cats, these apes, these dogs, all these beasts,’ answered I, ‘are not spiritual souls—they are merely animals.’ ‘No,’ said the Bonze, ‘they are not beasts; they are the souls of the dead. Noble souls, after this life, pass into the bodies of noble animals, and the souls of peasants inhabit the bodies of the vilest beasts.’ ‘It was in vain I preached,’ adds brother Oderic; ‘I found it impossible to argue him out of his superstition.’

“It is known that Buddhists admit the doctrine of metempsychosis: they are persuaded that the souls of beasts have formerly been human souls; and hence arises the respect of Buddhist devotees for animals, and the minute precaution which they take for fear of hurting them. It was not therefore surprising to see, in a monastery of Bonzes, animals of all kinds, tamed, caressed and petted, assembling at the sound of the tam-tam to take their meals, and

constituting, in some measure, a part of the religious community. The old Bonze of the convent of Han-Tcheou-Fou might be sincere in his belief, and might really think himself surrounded by friends, when he was in the midst of the apes and cats of his own park ; and it is even probable that he might have repulsed, as impieties, the exhortations of the Franciscan brother."—Vol. i. pp. 366-7.

It will easily be understood that the limited and casual intercourse which missionary enterprise maintained with the east, was insufficient to bring the two races into mutual intercommunion. On the contrary, when, after the momentous revolutions which the conquests of Tchinguiz Khan, Kublai Khan, and Tamerlane brought in their train, and in which whatever little Christian remnant might have outlived the earlier storms, was swept away, the later missionaries penetrated into the further regions of Asia, they were struck with wonder by the many analogies with Christianity which the Buddhist religion there established, appeared to present :—numerously peopled monasteries ; rigid celibacy ; strict and indeed excessive asceticism ; solemn processions ; religious fêtes ; a pontifical court ; colleges of superior Lamas electing their ecclesiastical sovereign and spiritual father ; and in a word, a vast and comprehensive organization in many respects analogous to that which they had left behind them in the Church of their fathers.

The missionaries' report of this striking similarity between the institutions of the Buddhism of the distant East, and those of the Christian Church, which was confirmed by Marco Polo and the other Venetian explorers, naturally occasioned much speculation among the scholars of the West. Whence these numerous and startling analogies ? Which of the two systems was to be regarded as the original of the other ? Or were both to be believed to be expressions of one common type, modified in their details by peculiarities of race, of nationality, or of conventional usage ?

To the scepticism of the eighteenth century these strange coincidences of Buddhist and Christian ceremonial supplied an attractive and not unpopular topic. "The anti-Christian philosophers, Voltaire, Volney, Bailly and others, seized upon these analogies with eagerness, as a valuable discovery. They pretended at first, in the name of science, that mankind, with all their languages, their arts, and religious beliefs, descended originally from the

mountains of Thibet ; there was the cradle of science and faith, whence they had flowed successively through China, India and Egypt, and spread at last into Europe.

"This first point established, by means of a good deal of audacity and a little superficial and mistaken erudition, they talked of Buddhism and the Grand Lama with an affectation of mystery ; they published a number of dissertations on the Lama hierarchy, with some apparently indulgent, but in reality treacherous, reservations ; and as in that enlightened age it could not be permitted to hide the light of truth under a bushel, they then asserted boldly that Christianity was the offspring of Buddhism, and that the Catholic worship was founded on the practices of the Lamas."

Père Huc discusses with great acuteness the foundations of this specious theory. He demonstrates, with all the evidence of history, that these fancied original institutions of Buddhism are in reality but modern reforms and modifications of that system, introduced at a comparatively recent period ; and that in truth they are *all, or nearly all, posterior to the conquest of Kublai-Khan*, and to the great *Franciscan and Dominican missions* of the thirteenth century. He shews further, that, by the traditions of Thibet, the reforms of Buddhism, which are the foundations of those striking Christian analogies, are attributed to a supernatural personage named Tsong-Kaba, *the date of whose career exactly coincides with the period of these missions*. Now this Tsong Kaba is represented by the Buddhist legend as having derived his learning from "the Lamas of the West ;" and Père Huc conjectures, with great probability that the "Lamas of the West" indicated by the tradition, are no other than the Latin Missionaries of the thirteenth century.

"Even a slight examination of Tsong-Kaba's reforms and innovations will suffice to show their resemblance to Catholicism. We have already spoken of the striking analogy between the government of the Grand Lama and that of the States of the Church. During our residence among the Buddhists of Thibet, we remarked, besides the cross, the mitre, the dalmatic, and the chasuble that the superior lamas carry with them, when travelling, or performing some ceremony out of the temple, the choral service, the exorcisms, the censers supported by five chains, and made to open and shut, the blessings which the lamas bestow on the faithful, laying their hand upon the head of the suppliant, the rosary, the practice of

ecclesiastical celibacy, of spiritual retreats, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, holy water, litanies, and many other details of ceremonial, which are in use among the Buddhists, precisely as in our own Church, and are evidently of Christian origin.

"At the time when the Buddhist patriarchs established themselves in Thibet, all the countries of Northern Asia numbered Christians among their inhabitants. We have seen that the Catholic missionaries founded many flourishing colonies in China, Tartary, Turkestan, and even among the nomadic tribes of Thibet, who were converted by Oderic de Friuli. In their apostolic wanderings, the monks carried with them the paraphernalia of the Church; and they performed the ceremonies of their religion before the Mongol princes, who received them hospitably, and suffered them to erect chapels even within the precincts of their palaces; and they were thus enabled to witness and admire the pomp of Christian worship. The envoys of the Mongol conquerors, too, visited the capital of the Christian world several times, and assisted at the second œcumenic council of Lyons in 1274. These barbarians must have been greatly struck with the splendour of the Catholic religion, and have carried back to their wilderness an indelible impression of its grandeur. The new dignity of the Buddhist patriarchs being founded at this epoch, it is not surprising that, desirous of augmenting the number of their sect, they should have sought to increase the magnificence of their worship by adopting some of those splendid ceremonies of the Christian service which attract the multitude, and even have introduced into their system something of that ecclesiastical organization with which the missionaries had made them acquainted.

"Is not the legend of Tsong Kaba, which we have ourselves heard in his native country from many of the lamas, a striking proof of the Christian origin of the Buddhist Reform?

"Stripping the narrative of all the marvellous details added to it by the imagination of the lamas, it is easy to suppose that Tsong Kaba was a man remarkable for intellect and virtue, that he was instructed by a stranger who came from the West; that after the death of the master the disciple, turning his steps westward, arrived at the capital of Thibet, where he taught the doctrines which he had imbibed. The stranger *with the large nose* may have been one of the numerous Catholic missionaries who at that time appeared in China, Tartary, and Thibet, and it is not surprising that tradition should have preserved the remembrance of the European face, so different from the familiar Asiatic type. Whilst living in Amdo, the native country of Tsong Kaba, we often heard the lamas making remarks on our strange faces, and declaring without hesitation, that we must come from the same country as Tsong Kaba's instructor.

"A premature death may have prevented the Catholic missionary from completing the religious instruction of his disciple, who

afterwards wishing to become himself an apostle, and either being but half acquainted with the Christian dogma, or having seceded from his faith, merely introduced a new liturgy. The slight opposition which he met with would seem to indicate that the progress of Christianity in those parts had already affected the stability of the religion of Buddha.

"The coincidence of time and place, as well as the testimony of history and tradition, all point to the fact, that the lama hierarchy borrowed largely from Christianity."—Vol. ii. pp. 15-18.

‘The modern period of missionary enterprise in China, beginning with the expeditions of the Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, in 1497, forms the subject of Père Huc’s second volume.

“At that time, not far from Lisbon, might be seen a rustic chapel, which the Infante Don Enrico had built upon the seashore in honour of the Virgin, to animate the devotion of the sailors, and to ensure them her protection.

“One day towards the end of July 1497, there knelt, at the foot of that statue of the Virgin, a party of men, whose tanned complexions and energetic faces showed them strangers to idleness and ease. They passed the night in prayer; and the next day, after hearing mass, and communicating with fervour, they returned to Lisbon in procession, each one carrying a taper, and chanting hymns and psalms, accompanied by priests, monks, and an immense concourse of people drawn together by the novelty of the spectacle. These men were Vasco da Gama and his companions, preparing to brave the perils of an unknown sea. Diaz had given so terrible an account of the Cape of Storms, that all these sailors were looked upon as so many victims, destined to almost inevitable destruction. Their procession was regarded almost as a funeral array; and the crowd melted into tears at the sight of the youth and manly vigour which was bidding adieu to its native land, to rush into a sadly-certain doom. Thus were the adventurers escorted to the port; and here, throwing themselves on their knees, they received general absolution as for death, and embarked amid the cries and lamentations of the people. The bold adventurers then set sail with a favourable wind, and were soon lost to view on the vast plain of waters.

“Before a year had elapsed, Vasco da Gama had planted the Christian cross and the flag of Portugal on the coast of Malabar.”—Vol. ii. pp. 18-19.

The discovery of India, and of the Nestorian missions, there existing, stimulated the religious as well as the scientific enterprise of the Portuguese explorers. An expedition, under the command of Ferdinand d’Andrada, was

speedily undertaken (1518) in search, by the new and maritime route, of that Cathay, which Marco Polo had reached over the countless and inhospitable deserts of Central Asia. The zeal of the missionary kept pace with the enterprise of the explorer, or more properly outran it ; and long before the foot of commerce had penetrated the coast of China, the miraculous successes of the great St. Francis Xavier were won on the very threshold of that land of mystery. Death, however, summoned him, too soon for the hopes of Western Christendom, to his heavenly crown ; and the first European who, in modern times, actually effected an entrance, was a Dominican of Evora, Gaspard de la Croix, one of the twelve Friar-Preachers who first left Portugal for India. The very earliest symptom of his success, however, alarmed the Chinese authorities ; and he had hardly inaugurated the work of the Gospel when he was arrested and banished from the country.

For the Jesuit Society was reserved the glory of really opening this long-closed kingdom to the influence at once of the civilization and the religious enlightenment of the West.

The first instruments of this great conquest were two Italian fathers, Michael Roger, a Neapolitan, and Matthew Ricci, of Macerata. The latter, especially, was a man of very remarkable character.

"Ricci was born at Macerata, near Ancona, in the same year that St. Francis Xavier yielded up his breath in the humble hut on the Chinese island. Thus, at the very time that the apostle who had conceived the project of Christianising China was expiring in the heart of Asia, there arose at the other extremity of the world the missionary destined to execute the scheme. The apostolic zeal of Xavier seemed to have passed into the soul of Ricci, who had been originally destined to the law, but, preferring a religious life, entered the Society of Jesus in 1571.

"During his novitiate, he was under the tuition of Valignani, who eventually accomplished so much in the Indies, that a prince of Portugal called him the Apostle of the East. After the departure of his master on the foreign missions, Ricci felt a desire to follow him ; and only remained in Europe long enough to complete the studies necessary for his enterprise, reaching Goa in 1578. He was twenty-seven years of age when he entered the apostolic career."—Vol. ii. p. 38.

The Jesuit fathers at first confined their labours to the island of Ngao-men, on which the Portuguese had obtained

permission to establish themselves in a small town which they there founded—the same which afterwards rose to such vast commercial importance under the name of Macao. An opportunity, however, at length offered of penetrating to the main land, on occasion of an embassy to the viceroy of the province of Kouang-Si, in which Father Roger represented the bishop of Macao, who, with the governor, had been summoned to Tchao-king, the capital of the province. Although disappointed at first in their hope of being allowed to settle at Tchao-king, the ambassadors received permission to return from Macao with presents for the viceroy; but owing to a sudden illness, Roger was unable to accompany the expedition.

“The zealous missionary was all the more vexed at this, because he had intended to propitiate the governor by the present of a handsome clock, which Father Ricci had brought from Goa.

“On learning the illness of Father Roger, the viceroy appeared grieved; but when he heard of the marvellous machine which, by means of an ingenious system of wheels, went of itself, and marked the hours with perfect precision, he became tormented with a longing to see and possess this prodigy, and desired his secretary to write directly to Macao to invite Father Roger to come to Tchao-King as soon as his health would permit.

“The arrival of this dispatch was an event for all the little Portuguese colony, and transports of joy burst forth on all sides, particularly in the Jesuit establishment. The letter of the viceroy granted the request which Roger had made at his first visit, and the monks were formally authorised, by letters patent, to erect a house and a church in Tchao-King. Valignani was the only one who did not share the general enthusiasm. He was quite astounded at this unexpected success; ‘and he would have let slip the occasion,’ says Trigault, ‘if the other fathers had not unanimously advised him to seize such an opportunity.’

“The viceroy was so impatient to see Father Roger, or rather to possess the clock of which he had heard, that he sent his secretary to Macao with a mandarin junk to receive the missionary, and conduct him with distinction to Tchao-King.

“These precious marks of friendship were eagerly accepted, and on the 18th December, 1582, Roger embarked, accompanied by Francesco Pasco, another Jesuit who was not yet in holy orders, and several young Chinese.

“The viceroy’s secretary was astonished to see him thus escorted, knowing that he alone had been invited; but Roger told him that, as a priest, he was not accustomed to go about alone, and that it was necessary he should take with him two members of his order, one to accompany him in his visits to the viceroy, the other to keep

house in his absence. This reply was accepted, and the junk set sail with its freight of missionaries, carrying with them the good wishes of all the Christians of Macao. The viceroy was enraptured on witnessing the working of the clock, and no doubt he thought, at the bottom of his Chinese conscience, that men who could invent such marvellous things were not quite such barbarians as they looked. He wished to show them his gratitude by presents, but the missionaries courteously declined his gifts. They assured him that their only ambition was to be allowed to reside in his country; that their profession was to serve God and cultivate the sciences, that they had heard of the intelligence, laws, customs, manners, and knowledge of the Chinese, and had not hesitated to quit their native land, and undertake a weary voyage of three years, that they might come and learn of them; and their studies, they added, would be much better carried on in the interior of the empire than at Macao. The viceroy thought it a great honour for the Chinese that such men should come so far to live among them; and as he piqued himself on cultivating philosophy and mathematics, in which the missionaries were versed, he agreed to their wishes, and assigned to them as their residence a Buddhist temple in the environs of the town. He often sent them provisions from the palace, and granted them frequent private audiences.

"The civil and military functionaries, and all the important personages of Tchao-King, moved either by curiosity or by a wish to please the viceroy, paid frequent visits to the pagoda of the Catholic monks; and thus by degrees the vast empire, so long hermetically sealed to foreigners, appeared opening to the zeal and devotion of the preachers of the gospel. Father Roger had already composed a catechism in Chinese, and translated 'The Lives of the Saints,' in order that Christian ideas might be communicated to the populace. He had obtained the viceroy's consent to Father Ricci also establishing himself at Tchao-King, and everything appeared to smile upon their efforts, when suddenly an unlooked for event again destroyed all their hopes."—Vol. ii. pp. 41, 44.

The event to which Père Huc alludes was the deposition of the friendly governor. The last act of this governor was to request that they would leave Tchao-King, lest their being found there by his successor should but deepen his own disgrace. They were compelled accordingly to return to Macao.

Most unexpectedly, however, the new viceroy invited them some time afterwards to return, and even to settle at Tchao-King; and from this moment their prospects began to brighten. As they gradually acquired facility in speaking the language, they advanced in favour among the learned.

The well-known expedient by which Ricci, in con-

structing a map of the world, accommodated himself to the popular Chinese notions of topography is thus related by Père Huc.

“‘Father Ricci being well versed in mathematics, which he had learned from Christopher Clavius, the prince of the mathematicians of his century, applied himself to the construction of this map, which suited well with his design of preaching the Gospel, knowing that the same means cannot be employed to attract different nations to the faith of Jesus Christ. In truth, by this decoy, many Chinese were drawn to the bosom of the Church. This map was of large dimensions, the better to contain the Chinese characters, which are larger than ours, as well as many annotations, which he thought suitable to his purpose, and to the humour of the Chinese ; for in various places, in treating of the manners and customs of different nations he found an opportunity of discoursing on the sacred mysteries of our holy faith, until this time unknown to the Chinese, in order that the fame of it might be quickly spread abroad by every one. I will not either omit to mention a contrivance of his to gain the good graces of the Chinese. They believe that the sky is round, but the earth square, and that their empire is situated in the midst of it; and they are for this reason very angry, when they find our geographers, in their maps, putting it in a corner of the extreme East. Now they are not capable of understanding any mathematical demonstration, by which it might be proved to them, that the earth and the sea together form a globe and that by the nature of the spherical figure there can be neither beginning nor end to it. He, therefore, altered a little our plan for maps of the world, and by placing the first meridian of the Fortunate Islands at the margin, right and left, he brought the empire of China into the centre, to their great satisfaction.’ After this account, Father Trigault adds, with much naïveté, ‘Truly one could not at that time have found an invention more calculated to dispose this people to receive the mysteries of our religion.’

“In fact, this map, though somewhat irregular in its structure, might have been very useful in contributing to destroy a prejudice which has always been one of the chief causes of the hatred of the Chinese towards strangers. From the earliest times, they have always fancied, that the fixed purpose of the Europeans in coming to China, was to seize upon their empire. Now a mere glance at the map of the world might tend to diminish this fear, by showing the enormous distance that separates it from the countries of the West ; the danger would not then appear so imminent, nor the presence of a few foreigners on the coasts give rise to so vivid an alarm.

“The impression produced by this map was a great encouragement to Father Ricci, and he pursued with ———— ability this method of obtaining influence by constructing terr——— and cele———

tial spheres, both in copper and iron ; and he also made sundials to mark the hours, and presented them to the first magistrates of the cities, so that he acquired a prodigious reputation, and was soon regarded as the most learned man that had ever existed in astronomy, or, as the Chinese say, in 'Celestial Literature' (Tien Wien)."—Vol. ii. pp. 68-70.

It is hardly necessary to add, that in the hands of Ricci and his companions, science, and especially mathematical and astronomical science, became a powerful instrument of propagandism.

"When they were fairly installed and secure of the protection of the magistrates, they resolved to devote themselves to the preaching of the gospel, by what may seem rather a round-about method. They thought it advisable to try and gain credit and influence in the first instance by their skill in mathematics. 'God,' says Father Trigault, 'has not throughout all ages made use of the same method to draw men to His law ; and we need not be surprised if our brethren (the Jesuits) made use of this bait to attract fish to their net. Whoever wishes to banish from the Chinese Church physical science, mathematics, and moral philosophy, knows little of the Chinese mind, which refuses wholesome medicine prepared without any of these condiments.' Now there was no one thing by which Father Ricci could so powerfully rouse the attention of Chinese philosophers, as by the newest European science, supported, as it was, by irrefragable proofs.

"Father Ricci had found the Chinese plunged in the grossest errors in astronomy, geography, and physical science in general, and he hoped that, by showing these self-sufficient, literary men the gross absurdities of which they had been victims, in their pretended science, he might perhaps lead them to admit that they were equally in need of instruction in religion. This method appeared plausible and easy. The Chinese declared the heavens to be round, but the earth square ; and they explained eclipses in various ways. Some said that the moon was so impudently stared at by the sun, that she became embarrassed and frightened, and at last dark ; others declared there was a large hole in the middle of the sun, and that when the moon was just opposite this hole, she could receive no rays of light.

"The Tao-Sse, or doctors of reason, gave a still simpler account of the phenomenon. There was, they said, in the skies, a gigantic goddess, who had but to stretch out her right hand to hide the sun, and her left to hide the moon ; and that was the whole secret of eclipses. As for the elements, they admitted five ; which reciprocally engendered each other ;—they were fire, water, earth, metal, and wood.

"It was certainly not difficult for Father Ricci to offer to the

Chinese theories approaching a little nearer to common sense than this farago of nonsense, but unfortunately he had not always very incontestable truths to put in the place of their absurdities, and after having rejected their five elements, he gave them in exchange *four*. The missionaries of our day have been sometimes considerably embarrassed when the Chinese talked to them of Father Ricci's four elements, and other physical theories which were found interwoven with his moral and doctrinal works.

"But though attended with some inconveniences, the method adopted by the first apostles of the Chinese empire was well calculated to gain them credit and consideration; though also it must be owned to excite the jealousy of the learned and the mandarins. Every Chinese at Nankin who had the smallest tincture of letters now made a point of getting introduced to these great masters from the West, and nothing was talked of but astronomy, geography, and mathematics. Euclid had dethroned Confucius, and the Chinese threw aside their classical books, to occupy themselves in making maps, spheres, and sun-dials. It was quite a rage among them—a monomania.

"Nankin possessed an observatory, situated on a mountain at one of the extremities of the town; beyond the ramparts and on the declivity of this mountain were magnificent habitations, where resided the '*Celestial Literati*,' for this is the designation of astronomers in China. During the whole night these celestial functionaries keep watch and ward at the top of their tower, overlook the conduct of the stars, and give notice to the emperor of any extraordinary phenomenon that may attract their attention.

"When Father Ricci visited the observatory, he was not a little surprised to find in it metal globes of colossal size, dials, astrolabes, and several mathematical instruments, which, though essentially defective, nevertheless manifested some true scientific ideas in their makers. The Chinese informed him that these curious machines dated from the time of the Mongol occupation, namely, the thirteenth century, and it is therefore highly probable that foreigners, Europeans or Arabs, were the authors of these remarkable works.

"The observatory of Peking possessed some instruments of a similar kind, and of the same dimensions, and the Fathers felt convinced they had been made at the same time, and by the same persons.

"Within a short time Father Ricci had acquired considerable influence among the higher classes of Nankin, and it became quite the fashion to be his partizan and apologist. The literary men in particular did not hesitate to declare themselves in his favour; in a great measure because he had attacked with complete success the doctrines of the Bonzes and doctors of reason; as well as because he always professed much respect and admiration for the teaching of Confucius. The European doctor was, in their eyes, a member of the corporation of the lettered—a follower of Confucius,

a partisan of their own doctrines, an enemy alike of the superstitions of the Buddhists and the reveries of the sectaries of Lao-Tze."—Vol. ii. pp. 133-6.

During their second visit to Tchao-King, they made many converts.

"Tchao-King, a town of great importance both in a commercial and political point of view, is situated on the banks of a great river, constantly furrowed by the passage to and fro of crowds of junka. Almost all the mandarins of the South, who are going to, or returning from Peking, pass this way; and the house and church of the Jesuits, built outside the fortifications of the town, and close to the water side, naturally attract the attention of all who navigate the 'Tiger River.' Almost all the travellers who passed by Tchao-King, and especially the mandarins and the 'lettered,' were in the habit of paying a visit to the residence of the religious men of the West; and all were curious to see closely the faces of the strangers, of whom such wonderful things were told. They wanted to look at those clocks which struck the hours of themselves, those maps which described all the countries of the earth, those pictures painted with such astonishing perfection, that the persons in them appeared alive; and that mass of curiosities unknown to the people of the Flowery Kingdom. The mandarins and the lettered men of China were obliged to admit, when they had seen these things, that the barbarians of the West had some glimmer of intelligence; and that even beyond the limits of the Celestial Empire, there were nations who cultivated industry and the arts with some little success. Father Ricci, too, had made himself familiar with the language of China, and interested and amused them so much by his conversation, that they could not but allow that the 'Western Devil' had almost sense enough for a Chinese.

"The frequent visits paid to them tended much to increase the renown of these men of Europe and their possessions. The visitors felt more inclined to listen to the religious instruction which the missionaries always found means to introduce into their conversation; and thus, by the grace of God, the divine seed was sown, which germinated in many a heart, and bore fruit unto salvation. It was at the mission of Tchao-King that many mandarins, who became grand dignitaries of the empire, received their first notions of Christianity, which they subsequently embraced and practised with fervour, as we shall hereafter have occasion to tell. Some families of distinction at Tchao-King even received baptism; and the number of neophytes was at length found so considerable, that the services of the Catholic Church were publicly and regularly performed."—Vol. ii. pp. 86-8.

In the midst of this seeming prosperity, by one of those

capricious changes of policy which, then as now, characterized this jealous race, they were suddenly expelled from Tchao-King, and compelled to take their departure ; but in the end Father Ricci received permission to settle at Tchao-Tcheou, a city near the frontiers of the province. At this city he was joined by a neophyte of considerable note.

"Tchao-Tcheou had lately lost one of its great notabilities, namely, the famous Kiu, a man of distinguished learning, who had held the highest offices and exercised a decisive influence in all the most important affairs of the country. His son Kiu-Tai-Sse had followed the literary career with the most brilliant success ; but a love of dissipation had afterwards induced him to abandon all serious study, and he had devoted himself with passionate ardour to alchemy.

"The rich inheritance that his father had left him was soon dispersed in smoke through his crucibles and alembics, and he then adopted a kind of nomadic life, and traversed all the provinces of the empire, pitching his tent wherever he could find any friends of his father, who, for his father's sake, were generally willing to afford him a welcome.

"He had sojourned in this way for a time at Tchao-King, and had made acquaintance with the missionaries, to whom he became a very frequent visitor, as he had heard the report that these strangers from the West knew how to transform the commonest metals into gold and silver.

"One day Father Ricci was peaceably engaged at his new abode in Tchao-Tcheou, translating Euclid's Elements into Chinese, when Kiu-Tai-Sse made his appearance. He was attired in a rich costume of ceremony, and accompanied by several attendants solemnly bearing presents covered with flowers and ribbons. Kiu-Tai-Sse prostrated himself before the missionary, struck the ground three times with his forehead, and said, 'Master! suffer me to be your disciple !' This is a customary ceremony with the Chinese when they choose a master ; so the next day there was a splendid banquet, and Kiu-Tai-Sse was adopted as a disciple accordingly.

"His passion for the occult sciences and the secrets of alchemy, had, however, been the real inducements to this step ; but, after having for some time frequented the company of the missionaries, he found that though they were certainly in possession of that philosopher's stone of religious truth which is capable of effecting the most wonderful transformations of the intellect and the heart, they were incapable of manufacturing the smallest morsel of gold or silver.

"Kiu-Tai-Sse had applied himself in the first instance to the study of mathematics, geometry, and mechanics, under the direc-

tion of Father Ricci, and made very rapid progress, and even, it is said, became capable of constructing instruments and writing on scientific subjects with clearness, elegance, and precision. To the study of religion he devoted no less attention than to that of the sciences, and carried into it the clearness and correctness of thought which the study of mathematics often gives.

"He had prepared, among other things, a table with three columns, in the first of which were placed the religious and moral instructions of Father Ricci; in the next the objections that occurred to him; and the third he left blank to receive the master's explanations. He was subsequently admitted to the rite of baptism; and the conversion brought great renown to the mission, for Kiu-Tai-Sse, on account of his reputation as a learned man, exercised a considerable influence over public opinion; and the house at Tchao-Tcheou soon became the rendezvous of the literary men and first functionaries of the province."—Vol. ii. pp. 100-102.

While Father Ricci was at Tchao-Tcheou, a prospect offered (in 1595) of penetrating to the capital of the Empire, Peking, in the suite of one of the principal mandarins, who desired to obtain the benefit of his medical advice for a sick child, Ricci eagerly embraced the invitation.

It had long been evident, however, that he had in the first instance committed a great mistake in adopting at first the dress of the bonzes, or Buddhist priests—a class universally despised in China. All the disgrace and unpopularity of this order attach in the eyes of the public to their characteristic costume. Before setting out for Peking accordingly, Father Ricci resolved to lay it aside and to adopt the dress of the Lettered Class in its stead.

This first attempt to reach Peking proved a failure. The junk in which they embarked wrecked, and several other mishaps befell them. These misfortunes the mandarin ascribed to Father Ricci's presence; and he dismissed him from his retinue, giving him letters, however, which enabled him to reach Nankin. In this city he met an old acquaintance, on whose assistance, or at least countenance he thought he might reckon.

"Father Ricci chose for himself a modest lodging in the suburbs of the city, and resolved to wait in calm seclusion till Providence should allow him to see some favourable opportunity for coming forward and proclaiming to this population of learned sceptics the good tidings of the Gospel. He soon learned that one of the principal magistrates of Nankin was one of his old Canton friends, the Mandarin Hia, for whom he had made a globe and some sundials.

He went, therefore, to pay him a visit, hoping he might not have forgotten their acquaintance and his former expressions of friendship.

"The grand Mandarin Hia received Father Ricci with measured courtesy and in a manner perfectly conformable to the 'rites,' and then inquired by what chance he found himself at Nankin, and what important affair had brought him there. 'I remembered you,' answered Father Ricci, 'and could not resist the desire to pay you a visit. Here are official letters from the Grand Military Intendant, who has authorised me to come and see you at Nankin.' On hearing these words, and especially on seeing the letters, the mandarin seemed to be thrown into the greatest consternation, and he could not repress his displeasure. 'What rashness!' he exclaimed—'What madness! Your heart has misled your reason! At Canton I treated you with benevolence, and now you come to ruin me at Nankin! Nankin is not a town where a stranger can live: your presence will excite a tumult: you will be the occasion of a riot, and they will accuse me of having caused it! My enemies will point me out to my superiors as a man who keeps up a secret communication with barbarians and endeavours to bring them into the Central empire. My future prospects are ruined; I shall be irrevocably lost, and all because of you!'—and by way of conclusion to these friendly speeches, the mandarin turned Father Ricci out of doors, and desired he would leave the town immediately, and go, he did not care where.

"The poor missionary retired, terribly disconcerted at this rough reception, and he had scarcely got home before a party of soldiers came and seized the owner of the house and dragged him before the tribunal. Father Ricci's old friend thought proper, it seems, to vent some of his anger upon this unfortunate Chinese: he ordered him to be beaten with bamboos till he was covered with blood, and told him that by keeping up secret communication with strangers he had committed a crime that the law punished with death; and that if he wished to atone for his fault he must drive this barbarian from his house, or his presence would assuredly bring him some worse misfortune.

"Father Ricci could not of course resist a storm of this violence, but yielded to it with resignation, and, after a tedious and troublesome voyage, reached Nan-Tchoung-Fou, the capital of Kiang-Si."—Vol. ii. pp. 107-109.

Soon after his return Father Ricci was appointed Superior-general of the Missions in China. In 1598 he made another ineffectual attempt to obtain a footing at Peking. Accompanied by Father Cataneo, he reached the city in safety under the protection of the President of the Supreme Court: but after a short stay in which little of importance

was effected, they were obliged to return. Fortunately, however, they were suffered to settle at Nankin, where a residence was assigned to them under very peculiar circumstances.

"The president of the court of public works came to pay a visit to the missionaries; and when he had complimented Father Ricci on the triumph he had obtained in the presence of the men of letters, he expressed the earnest desire entertained by the magistrates of Nankin that he should settle permanently in that city. Father Ricci declared that this was his desire also, and that he was only waiting to see whether he should be able to buy a suitable house. The president of public works thereupon informed him that he would willingly place at his disposal, in the name of the state, a palace that had been built some years before for the residence of a magistrate, but which was at present uninhabited on account of being haunted by evil spirits (or Kony). The Bonzes and doctors of reason had gone many times and practised the most approved ceremonies of exorcism; and various persons had attempted to live in it, but had always been obliged to decamp pretty quickly, for there were perpetually strange noises and plaintive moanings, and in the night terrific apparitions.

"The whole town knew that this palace was the favourite resort of demons, and the very neighbourhood in which it was situated was overwhelmed with terror and consternation. Father Ricci said he would gladly go and see this residence, and if it suited him would make no difficulty about buying it, being quite persuaded that the evil spirits, if there were any, would take flight as soon as he should have placed in it the image of the true God.

"This palace, which had been built but a very short time, was capable of accommodating ten missionaries, and in other respects particularly well adapted for a religious house. The price having been fixed at one half of what it had cost to build, Father Ricci did not hesitate a moment about the purchase, and did not concern himself in the least on the subject of the diabolic apparitions; for besides that the house was an excellent bargain; it was a point of the highest importance to the security of the mission, to possess premises sold thus by an authentic act of the president of public works. This fact alone constituted a legal authorisation, and would serve to cut short many future intrigues of the petty mandarins or jealous men of letters. The contract of sale was signed and sealed by the president, and the missionaries with great joy installed themselves in their palace, though not without having previously sprinkled it well with holy water. They never heard any unpleasant noises, nor saw the smallest sign of a ghost, and from that time all Nankin was talking, not only of the knowledge of these foreign doctors, but of their power over evil spirits; and it was inferred also that their religion must be a holy one, since

their presence was thus sufficient to silence and put to flight a whole army of demons.

"This event did not fail to make a great impression on the Chinese, and disposed them strongly in favour of the European ecclesiastics."— Vol. ii. pp. 139-140.

The literary habits of the Nankinese enabled Father Ricci to turn to better advantage than on any former occasion his mathematical and astronomical attainments; and it was to the curiosity excited in the court of Peking, by the report of their extraordinary acquirements, and especially to the fame of certain "wonderful clocks, striking the hours of themselves," which they were reported to possess the secret of constructing, that they were indebted for this final admission to Peking, where they arrived in January 1601.

"Father Ricci's presents were sent to court, and excited general admiration. The great pictures, it was said, had caused some alarm, from the faces being so natural and the eyes so full of animation; but the clocks roused to the utmost the curiosity of the emperor and his court. Unluckily they were a little out of order, and did not go quite regularly, but three eunuchs were appointed to learn the art of winding them up; and a special office was created for the discharge of this great duty.

"A residence was assigned to the missionaries in the immediate vicinity of the court; for although they were not admitted to the presence of the Son of Heaven, he liked to converse with them and question them concerning the manners and customs of Europeans, and he carried on these singular conversations by the intervention of his eunuchs, who went backwards and forwards continually.

"In order to enable the emperor and his court to understand many details more clearly than they could do by verbal explanations, often ill reported, concerning the customs of the West, Father Ricci sent a collection of figures, representing the costumes of the sovereigns and people of rank in Europe, as well as views of the most remarkable public edifices. Among others were views of the Escorial in Spain, and St. Mark's in Venice, and one of the eunuchs told the missionaries that the emperor on seeing these lofty edifices had been touched with compassion for the melancholy case of the unfortunate monarchs who occupied them, and who were evidently obliged to climb up ladders to get to their apartments, a practice that he considered by no means pleasant, and decidedly dangerous.

"Our mode of building houses several stories high, is generally much objected to by the Chinese. They say the countries of the West must be very poor and very small, to oblige people to live in this way, piled upon one another.

"Among the other presents offered to the emperor, was a spinnet, but as there were no instructions for playing on it, the missionaries had to give some lessons to the eunuchs. They even composed a set of airs adapted to the taste of the country, and set them to Chinese words, and the collection became very popular in the Chinese capital, under the name of 'Songs of the Spinnet.' These indefatigable preachers of the gospel were, as we see, perpetually engaged in all kinds of occupations, and they were constantly giving lessons to these eunuchs, sometimes in geography, sometimes in music, and sometimes in clockmaking. Like the great apostle of nations, they made themselves 'all things to all men,' to gain all for Jesus Christ."—Vol. ii. pp. 151-2.

There is an amusing mixture of cunning and humour in the device by which the emperor secured himself against the danger of being obliged to surrender one of these highly prized time-pieces.

"The emperor was enchanted with these marvellous contrivances, and the eunuchs related that when the empress mother, who had heard much of them, requested her son to send her one to look at, the Son of Heaven seemed quite struck with consternation, fearing that when his mother had had the delight of hearing it strike, she would wish to keep it. As he could not well refuse his mother's request, and yet could not bear the thoughts of giving her one of his clocks, the cunning celestial majesty bethought him of playing the old lady a trick, and accordingly sent her the clocks, but took the precaution first to have the striking movements stopped. The empress mother, therefore, when she got the plaything was a little disappointed in it, and soon got tired of it, and sent it back to her son."—Vol. ii. p. 159.

The influence of court favour soon told upon the fortunes of the young mission.

"While the mission of Pekin was thus prosperous, those of Nankin, Nan-Tchang-Fou, and Tchao-Tcheou, after languishing for some years under the indifference or ill-will of the people, seemed suddenly to have received a new impulse, and the joyful news that had arrived from the capital contributed not a little to aid their progress. When the mandarins heard that the Western strangers were preaching their religion freely at Pekin, and had become in some measure the favourites of the emperor and his ministers, their benevolent feelings towards the missionaries became quite lively. At Tchao-Tcheou the magistrates were assiduous in their attentions to Father Lombard, and those who had been formerly hostile to Father Ricci were, if possible, more friendly than any others. Many families even became converted and received baptism.

"This first glow of enthusiasm, however, cooled after a time, for the populations of these towns, entirely addicted as they were to traffic and material interests, were not very anxious concerning the salvation of their souls, and the things that belonged to eternity. Father Lombard thought it probable that the country people might be better disposed to receive the word of God, and therefore resolved to make an attempt to evangelise the environs of Tchao-Tcheou; and he really found these simple rustic men nearer to the kingdom of Heaven than the mandarins, rich merchants, and men of letters of the cities. When he was about to preach in a village, he used to send off, some days before, a zealous neophyte to announce the arrival of a missionary, and prepare the ground for the evangelical seed. The Father then presented himself, and after exhorting the assembled people, gave them a summary explanation of the Decalogue, and the principal articles of the Christian faith. Those who were seriously struck by what they heard, were then asked to write down their names, and an altar was prepared, above which was placed an image of our Saviour, wax lights were kindled, and some prayers chaunted, after which the new catechumens received a catechism from the missionary, and promised to renounce their idols and superstitions. Up to the moment of their baptism, they applied with zeal to the study of doctrine and to the observance of the commandments of God and the precepts of the Church. It was a sort of trial of strength for them, an apprenticeship to the Christian life which they proposed to embrace. A day was then appointed for their baptism, and as much pomp and solemnity as possible given to the ceremony.

"The neophytes were invited from all the country round, and at the conclusion of the festival the newly baptised were escorted home to the accompaniment of music, and with a procession like that which attends a mandarin. These little manifestations pleased the Chinese, who always like a fête and a ceremony; and Catholicism, which is destined to be the religion of the whole human race, is not of a narrow exclusive spirit, but willingly accommodates itself to whatever is harmless and allowable in the peculiar customs of various nations. Religion does not destroy national, any more than individual character; it only improves and sanctifies it.

"The success obtained by Father Lombard among the peasants, reacted upon the towns and quite electrified the citizens. The list of catechumens and neophytes at the mission of Tchao-Tcheou rapidly increased, and soon there was witnessed a spectacle hitherto unheard of in China,—namely, that of festivals celebrated sometimes in the town, sometimes in the country, at which rich and poor, learned and ignorant, peasants and mandarins, partook of a repast together and passed the day in sweet and cordial fraternity, because they had been just kneeling together in prayer to Him who is the Father alike of all. Equality can really exist only

among men who can say from the bottom of their hearts, 'Our Father who art in Heaven.'

"The fraternity of feeling thus developed among the Christian neophytes, formed a striking contrast with the cold egotism that withers the souls of most of the Chinese ; and the intimate fusion of various ranks of society was, perhaps, one of the most beneficial effects of the missionaries' preaching. In one of the villages there was a considerable family, all the members of which had embraced Christianity, notwithstanding a very strong opposition on the part of their neighbours, who tried in various ways to frighten them into abandoning their faith, reproached them with having adopted a foreign religion, and never ceased threatening them with the anger of the Chinese Gods. It happened one day that the house of these new Christians caught fire—and the neighbours, instead of going to their assistance, stood looking at the fire and seeming to derive much satisfaction from its progress, regarding it evidently as a punishment of what they called apostacy. In a short time nothing was left of the house but a heap of ruins.

"When, however, the Christians of the environs heard of the disaster, they voluntarily levied a contribution on themselves to rebuild the house of their unfortunate brethren ; they brought the necessary building materials, and laboured with their own hands at the structure, and in a very short time a far more beautiful house than the former one arose, as if by enchantment from the ruins. It was adorned by the voluntary offerings of the neophytes, and provided with furniture and household utensils ; and the pagans could not but see with admiration how the pure flame of Christian charity had repaired the mischief that the material fire had occasioned."—Vol. ii. pp. 162-6.

We must refer the reader to Père Huc's own pages for an account of the conversion of the Imperial Prince Joseph and of three other members of the imperial family, who, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1605, were baptised under the names of the three Magi-Kings,—Caspar, Melchior and Balthassar, and for the other details of the early progress of the religion in Peking. It will be enough to say that Father Ricci lived to see the mission, according to all human forethought, firmly established.

At his death, which occurred at Peking in 1610, the charge of the Jesuit missions in China devolved upon Father Nicholas Lombard, a native of Sicily, who had already served in China for a period of seventeen years. It was during Father Lombard's tenure of office that the great controversy regarding the lawfulness of the so-called "Chinese ceremonies" arose.

" Father Lombard, though feeling profound respect and admiration for the founder of the mission, did not entirely coincide in the opinions formed by Father Ricci of the religious and philosophical doctrines of China. Father Ricci, after having studied from the very commencement of his apostleship the character and genius of the nation whom he had been called to evangelise, had come to the conclusion that the best means that could be adopted for bringing the Chinese to a knowledge of the truth, would be to subscribe partly to the praises unceasingly lavished upon Confucius by both nation and government, by whom he was regarded as the wise man, *par excellence*, the master of all science, and the legislator of the empire. He thought that in the doctrines advanced by this philosopher as to the nature of God, he found much that bore a considerable resemblance to those of Christianity, and that *Tien*, or Heaven as conceived by the educated classes, was not the material and visible one, but the true God, the Lord of Heaven, the Supreme Being, invisible and spiritual, of infinite perfection, the creator and preserver of all things, the only God in fact, whom Confucius directs his disciples to adore and worship.

" With regard also to the honours paid by the Chinese to their ancestors, Father Ricci had adopted the same idea, and had looked from the same point of view. He was himself persuaded, and he endeavoured to persuade the other missionaries, that the sacrifices offered to ancestors were purely of a civil nature ; that, according to the true meaning of Confucius, they had nothing whatever of a religious or idolatrous signification ; and were solely offered in obedience to the feelings of veneration, filial piety and love, by which the Chinese had been, in all ages, inspired towards the authors of their being, and the wise men who had spread the benefits of science and civilization over the empire. Ricci had thus concluded that these sacrifices and national fêtes, if traced to their real sources in the principles of Chinese philosophy, formed no part of a superstitious and pagan worship, but were simply of a civil and political nature, and might be still preserved, at any rate with regard to Confucius, and to their ancestors, by the Christian Chinese.

" Such was the opinion of Father Ricci, and of a large number of his brethren. It was a system that offered every facility to the missionaries, and that greatly assisted them in propagating the Christian faith. The ancient and only religion of the Chinese had always been confined to the worship of *Tien* (Heaven), of the wise men, and of their ancestors. The delusions of *Tao-Sse*, and the superstitions of the *Bouzes*, had captivated them at various periods, but had never obtained any well-rooted belief, and had never been made a part of their faith. By declaring that the worship of Heaven was similar to that of the true God, and that the homage paid to ancestors and to Confucius was a legitimate expression of filial piety towards the chiefs of families and the benefactors of the

race, the missionaries were greatly favoured by the Chinese ideas, instead of coming into collision with them, and never failed to become popular on that account, especially among the educated classes, who willingly abandoned the creed of the Bonzes and of Tao Sse.

"Father Lombard looked at all these Chinese customs from a very different point of view. The esteem that he had felt for the talents and virtue of Father Ricci had induced him before to suspend his judgment, and his scruples as to the correctness of the system followed by this apostle ; but when he found himself placed at the head of the mission, and responsible for all the errors that might arise, he considered it his duty to examine this important question with greater attention. He set himself seriously therefore to the study of the works of Confucius, and of his most celebrated commentators, and consulted such of the literary men as could throw a light upon the subject, and in whom he could place confidence. Many other of the Jesuit missionaries entered into the controversy, and opinions were divided. Father Lombard wrote a book on the subject, in which it was examined to the bottom, and in which he came to the conclusion that the doctrine of Confucius and his disciples was tainted with materialism and atheism ; that the Chinese in reality recognized no divinity but Heaven, and the general effect that it had upon the beings of the Universe ; that the soul in their opinion was nothing but a subtle aeriform substance ; and finally, that their views as to its immortality closely resembled the theory of Metempsychosis obtained from Indian philosophers. Regarded from this point of view, the customs of China appeared to Lombard and the missionaries who took his side, as an idolatry utterly incompatible with the sanctity of Christianity,—criminal acts, the impiety of which must be shown to the Chinese, on whom, by the grace of God, the light of the Gospel had shone, and which must be absolutely forbidden to all Christians, whatever might be their condition, or whatever part of the empire they might inhabit. The use of the words, *T'ien* and *Chang-Ti*, even, by which they designated the divinity, were interdicted. It will be seen from this how widely the rigorous orthodoxy of Father Lombard differed from the excessive tolerance of Father Ricci.

"Such was the commencement of the disagreements which afterwards proved more fatal to the prosperity of the missions, than the most violent persecutions ever raised by the mandarins. They arose in the bosom of the Society of Jesuits, before missionaries of any other order arrived in China, and we shall, further on, see the dispute developing itself, and assuming the lamentable form of a fierce contest. The discussion on Chinese rites, on the worship of ancestors and of Confucius, was not confined within the limits of the Celestial Empire, but spread over Europe, where, as in Asia, the controversy was carried on with the utmost acrimony and passion. Profuse dissertations and numerous pamphlets on the subject were

scattered about everywhere ; but, instead of bringing out the truth, they served but to envelop it in still thicker obscurity, until at last the Church with her sovereign and absolute authority put an end to this long contest, and restored the peace which this time, it must be confessed, had not been broken by the pagans."—Vol. ii. pp. 227-231.

A more fitting opportunity for the examination of this important controversy will arise, on occasion of the publication of Père Huc's concluding volumes ; to which time we must also reserve the later history of these devoted Fathers of the missions. The simple narrative of their fortunes has all the charm of a romance.

Their successes, however, were not unmixed with many checks and reverses, and especially in the years which immediately followed the Tartar invasion. But this very event, although at first it seemed full of peril to the Christian name, in the end tended still more to establish and extend its influence. The celebrated Father Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, and even more distinguished as a man of science than the founder of the mission, Ricci, obtained in the court of the young emperor, Chun-Tche, a position and an influence far greater than had fallen to the lot of any of his predecessors. He was even raised by an imperial diploma to the rank of the highest aristocracy of the empire : and, in conformity with Chinese usage, similar patents of nobility were also made out for his father and mother. Père Huc has translated these singular documents, which throw a curious light on the manners and opinions of the Chinese people.

It is at this point of the history that Père Huc for the present breaks off. He has thus, left undiscussed several most important and interesting questions—the [history of the controversy on the Chinese ceremonies in the eighteenth century ; the charges made against the system pursued by the missionaries in the conversion of the natives ; and the origin and progress of the disfa-vour into which they fell.

We shall look forward anxiously for the concluding volumes of this important work, and we shall reserve till their appearance our own observations on these later and more important stages of the history.

ART. VIII.—*Delusions concerning the Faith and Practice of Catholics.*
By William Dodsworth, M.A. London : Burns and Lambert.

IT is well said by Father Faber, in his newly published work,* that the religious condition of the majority of English Protestants corresponds far more with that of the heathen than with that of the heretic of early Christian times. Little as, we fear, our countrymen will relish the compliment, a compliment nevertheless it is—at least by comparison. The Protestant (proper) will find it hard to understand how a state of serious religious disadvantage can be a less real evil than a certain intellectual position; still less how it can be better for a man to have miserably defective notions on a great and most interesting subject, than to have formed his own definite views upon a question which he regards, in virtue of his profession, as strictly within the province of human speculation. But a Catholic, who measures things by another rule, knows how far preferable is that man's state in the sight of God, and how far more hopeful his prospects at the Last Day, who from causes more or less beyond his controul, has never known the Truth, than his, who has proudly exercised his judgment between the one Faith and its thousand-and-one counterfeits, and deliberately chosen one of them in preference to it. English Protestants, then, says Father Faber, are to be treated, as a class, far more like those who go on in a contented and apathetic state of ignorance about the Truth, than like those who have taken up some formal antagonistic ground against it; and this he says, notwithstanding evidence to the contrary, which some persons may find in the intensity of the national prejudice against "Popery." Such prejudice he regards (after Father Newman,) rather as acquiescences in a grand traditional error, than as a form of positive opinion, and thus as nearer to Heathenism, than to Heresy. Average Protestantism, indeed, scarcely reaches the dignity of a heresy; it is far too unintellectual. A heretic, at all events, *knows* what he holds and what he contravenes. He can give a reason for the faith which is *not* in him; a bad reason, of course, but still a reason of some kind. Our

* "The Creator and the Creature." Richardson and Son, London.
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manifold and often not very consistent or consentient opponents, on the contrary, (taken as a body) are pretty much, in the great arena of religious controversy, what the Ephesians were in their deliberations about the doctrine of the apostles. "The assembly was confused, and the greater part knew not for what cause they were come together." Of course we do not forget, as Father Faber observes, that the majority of our countrymen are far better off than heathens in possessing fragments, at least of Divine Truth. But this is only a farther note in their favour, and by consequence an additional plea for mercy.

The consideration which Father Faber thus throws out, is of great importance in all controversial dealings with our brethren of the separation. It throws us upon a mode of treating them which, if it be thus proved to be more suitable to their needs, is undoubtedly far less injurious to the cause of Christian charity. It tends to substitute the controversy of instruction for the controversy of antagonism. Antagonistic controversy is the proper weapon in dealing with heretics; but it is as out of place as it is dangerous, when applied to the case of persons rather ignorant than perverse. A man must be next door to a saint who can combat formal heresy without some sacrifice either of love or of humility. Who can contemplate the case of a deliberate and malignant rejection of the Catholic Faith—nay, who ought to contemplate it?—without some kind of resentment and personal indignation? Yet how hard is it to resent without hatred, and to be indignant without self-complacency! But let us feel ourselves honestly able to look at English Protestantism as a great mis-shapen mass of what Mr. Dodsworth terms "Popular Delusion," and then there is neither pride in attempting to combat it, nor any necessary risk to Christian charity in the actual conflict with it.

Mr. Dodsworth has some remarks on Prejudice at the opening of his tract, which have a far deeper truth than the very unpretending manner in which they are put forth, might lead the casual reader to imagine. They fall in exactly with Father Faber's view of the real position of English Protestants. The great fault, remarks Mr. Dodsworth, with all our popular objectors to the Catholic religion is that, blinded by prejudice, and its attendant apathy about truth, they assume a false premiss, and are deluded by finding that they draw from it a conclusion, correct in

form, but vicious from the pervading fallacy in the *matter* of their syllogism. That treacherous little "minor premiss," which so often proves the stumbling-block of the cleverest minds, because its correct formation depends upon certain moral qualities which mere cleverness cannot guarantee, is at the root of almost every Protestant prejudice of the day. For instance, how many a man, as Mr. Dodsworth observes, is turned away from the Catholic Church by the force of this most (formally) irreproachable syllogism, "Omnis idololatria malum; cultus B. V. M. est idololatria; ergo est malum." Most true, indeed, if the minor premiss be correctly assumed. But that is the point; and there is where PREJUDICE has warped the mind of the reasoner into a wrong direction; and, as Dr. Whately is so prone to remind us in the words of the Greek historian, "Indolent above all things, is the investigation of TRUTH, and men, rather than pursue it, will take up with what comes to hand."

But if this be so, then, as Mr. Dodsworth practically concludes, the best kind of controversy is that which clears up *facts*. Facts it is which are wanted to break in upon the stereotyped self-complacency of that stubborn little minor premiss which will yield to nothing but those facts which are proverbially "stubborn" like itself. Men will not hunt out facts; then let us inflict those facts upon them; and even although they may not be convinced, they will fear to repeat their assertions, or, at any rate, will repeat those false statements with a continually decreasing prospect of gaining the ear of the public. We think it is Father Newman who says that a Protestant falsehood should never be allowed to sink into the public mind without an exposure. The memorable case of the "Edgbaston Mare's-Nest," provides us with an apt illustration. The worthy and really amiable parliamentary champion of the Protestant cause persisted in his pet minor premiss after Dr. Newman's inimitable reply. But the great Oratorian succeeded, not indeed in converting Mr. Spooner, but in turning the laugh of the House of Commons against him, when he declared, to its unspeakable amusement, that after all he must believe the cellars to be cells, and the corkscrews, instruments of monastic discipline.

There is another great advantage in understanding the real point at issue with our Protestant adversaries. The

first duty of a controversialist is to master the true position of his antagonist, not only in order to know how to deal with him, but in order to do him no injustice. As then it helps us against an objector to feel that his logical error is a material and not a formal one, involved in the false or hasty assumption of a premiss, and not in the faulty drawing of the inference ; so likewise does it aid our charity towards him to know that, granting his false premiss, his actual conclusion inevitably follows. This Mr. Dodsworth observes, and it is very important. The distinction contains within it a great truth of moral theology, the neglect of which lies at the bottom of many popular mistakes on our own side of controversy. Reverting to our instance ; the man who conscientiously believes that the *cultus* of our Lady is idolatrous, is not merely justified in concluding against the Catholic religion, but bound, pending his mistake, to act upon that conclusion. The mistake often made is that of controverting his true conclusion, instead of undeceiving him about his false premiss. See, again, how this same mistake leads to a totally wrong judgment about the relative danger of persons out of Catholic communion. We naturally tend to sympathize more with the indifferentist who embraces all religions in his comprehensive liberality and ours in the number, than with the "bigot," as we call him, who, for the life of him, can take no other view of the Pope than that he is the Anti-Christ of prophecy. Who can wonder at the preference of the first to the second character, so far as human nature is concerned ? It is natural to catch at sympathy, and to make much of friendly overtures wherever proffered. In a certain sense it is a good and promising sign where persons, for any reasons, are kind to Catholics, or leave them and their religion alone ; and especially since the liberality of the day often contrives to except the Catholic religion from the range of its favour. Moreover, though the term "bigotry" is often abused, such a thing as bigotry in a bad sense there is ; prejudice, really wicked and perverse, because uncandid, obstinate, and lie-loving. But, after all allowances and exceptions on both sides, it remains true that a fanatical hatred of our religion is on the whole both better in the sight of God, and more likely to bring a man right in the end than a mere sentimental admiration, or latitudinarian approval, of it, which does but indicate that the religious *idea* is utterly wanting ; and

this truth, embodied in theological phrase, Mr. Dodsworth has pressed upon his readers with great force, and in a manner most important to the ends both of truth and charity. (p. 5.)

Father Faber likens the religious state of the great mass of English Protestants to the negative unbelief of the heathen, rather than to the positive perversity of the heretic. Mr. Dodsworth, perhaps with still greater warrant in truth, considers their prejudices as remarkably parallel to those of the Jews at our Lord's coming. And perhaps it would be impossible to direct the Catholic to any model of controversy more perfectly adapted to his object than our Lord's method of dealing with the Jews of His time. They, like Protestants of the present time, were inheritors of certain vain traditions which impeded their reception of the Gospel. They took up strong popular prejudices against places and persons; they would accept no truth which did not square with their own views, or could not be adjusted to their own standard. Our Lord's method was to take them on the ground of such truth as they received; to reason with them out of their own Scriptures; to confront their prejudices with undeniable facts; in short, to give them the right premisses to the true conclusion.

The subjects compendiously noticed in Mr. Dodsworth's little Tract are, 1. The *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin; 2. Transubstantiation; 3. Indulgences; 4. The Holy Scriptures; 5. Catholic Moral Theology; 6. Mortal and Venial sins; 7. Oaths; 8. Infallibility; 9. Formality; 10. The Doctrine of Intention; 11. The Imputation of Unworthy Motives. Under each of these heads Mr. Dodsworth says what will well repay an attentive perusal. We would select his observations upon Moral Theology as peculiarly valuable. Alluding to some papers lately put out in the *Christian Remembrancer*, and which he justly terms "mischievous," Mr. Dodsworth says—

"If it were not before us in black and white it might be thought incredible that a clergyman, of talents and attainments not below the ordinary standard, should imagine that the cases discussed by Liguori are adduced as a standard for ordinary Catholic teaching. This Protestant Clergyman supposes that a Catholic priest will employ himself in the pulpit in showing how near a man may approach to sin without actually committing it; and again, how far he can go in sin without making it mortal.

"Does this Protestant clergyman need to be told that S. Alponsus

is writing for the use of priests sitting in the tribunal of penance, where it is their duty not to withhold absolution, except in the plainest cases which exclude from it; and, therefore, the very object which S. Alphonsus has in view requires him to take the lowest possible standard, and to draw the most refined distinctions in order to help to a merciful judgment? The priest in the confessional is a judge, more merciful and gentle than secular judges, for he is a representative of the Judge of all; and yet what should we think of the perverseness of that man who would enter into our ordinary courts of judicature and accuse the judge upon the bench of low and impure morals, because he was skilful in pointing out every palliation and extenuating circumstance which would lead to a merciful consideration of the case of the criminal before him? Truly one is compelled to ask if a cold-hearted Pharisaism does not lie at the root of many of the prejudices against our Holy Religion." —pp. 30, 31.

Under the head of "Formality," the author gives the following example of the danger of going by appearances, and making our judgment of external deportment a test of real piety.

"I remember one Good Friday, the first after I became a Catholic, while assisting at the Devotion of the Stations, I was struck with the apparent indifference with which the priest uttered the words of that most touching worship. I felt offended, and thought within myself, 'Surely, if ever, this is an occasion on which such feeling words would be pronounced feelingly. Surely this priest cannot feel what he is uttering?' But how was I reproached when, having gone through half of the Stations, that good priest burst into tears, being no longer able to control the intensity of his feelings. The probability is that what I had thought indifference in his manner arose from the effort to restrain the manifestation of those feelings with which his heart was overflowing." —p. 44.

On this whole subject Mr. Dodsworth very truly says,—

"The only fair way to judge of this question, whether the Catholic religion substitutes forms for things and is satisfied with the outward act, in place of the inward spirit, is to examine its principles and its teachings. Does the mere outward form of things satisfy its requirements? Who that is at all acquainted with its books can imagine such a thing? Where do we find such expression of interior devotion—such *heart-work*, if I may use the expression, as in Catholic books of devotion? Is it not notorious that the most earnest of protestant devotional writers, have been compelled to resort to Catholic books, in proportion as they have required expression for the religion of the heart? Or examine the

devotional part of the Prayer Book of the Establishment, so justly admired in that society, and you will find all the most spiritual and fervent language borrowed from Catholic sources. Is it just or reasonable then for those who use that prayer book, to turn round upon their benefactors, and charge them with pharisaism and formality? But it may be even still more to the point to observe that Catholic books of instruction abound in warnings against formality in religion, that Catholics are expressly taught in their catechism that to pretend to worship God with the lips while the heart is far from Him, is an abomination in His sight; they are taught to make it a special subject of self-examination every day whether they have offended in this matter, and if they have done so to confess it as a sin, and if wilful, obtain absolution from it. This leads me to notice another misapprehension which protestants often entertain."—pp. 45, 46.

Mr. Dodsworth takes occasion from the subject of Prejudice, to animadvert, in terms of well-deserved severity, upon the language of the Protestant Bishop of Oxford in speaking of the Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist. We must say that the words to which Mr. Dodsworth draws attention are so entirely out of harmony with what we should have expected from Bishop Wilberforce, that we could not have believed in their genuineness, were they not accredited by the name of their "right-reverend" utterer ;

"The extent to which prejudice against the Catholic Church may be carried, is illustrated by a recent example. The late lamented Mr. Robert Wilberforce, shortly before he became a Catholic, wrote a book, the main purport of which was to shew that there is a real presence of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, and that Christ is *there* to be adored. Shortly after the publication of the book, the brother of the author, the bishop of Oxford, wrote a letter, inserted in the public newspapers, asserting that there was nothing in Mr. Robert Wilberforce's book, inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church of England. On the fifth of November 1855, the bishop of Oxford preached a sermon before the university, which was afterwards published, in which he accuses Catholics of 'idolatrous impieties,' and of 'worshipping the wafer.' Now Dr. Wilberforce could not be ignorant of the Catholic doctrine, for he had recently read it as expounded in his brother's book. Moreover, he had two brothers in the Catholic Church, of at least equal talents, education, and attainments with himself, and of whom it may certainly be said even setting aside religious considerations, that they are as little capable as himself, of falling into such absurd impieties, and yet he deliberately charges the church, of which they are members,

with the worship of material bread—in other words, with formal idolatry of the most absurd kind. Can we escape from the inference he has allowed prejudice so entirely to blind his eyes, that he has written at random, not knowing what he said?”—p. 7, 8.

Mr. Dodsworth gives the following answer to the objection grounded upon the supposed formality of Catholic worship:—

“Protestants visiting Catholic countries lounge in to a late Mass on a Sunday morning and to a Benediction in an afternoon. At these services usually no instruction is given; and since they have generally only two services themselves, they perhaps allow themselves to think of these two as *the* Sunday services of the Catholic Church. No doubt, therefore, it seems to them that little is done. But let them become acquainted with what is really the practice of the Church, and they will see how far it exceeds anything that is to be found in the most earnest religious bodies out of it. In this respect let us compare London and its two millions of inhabitants with Rome and its two hundred thousand. In the whole of London, I believe, there is to be found but one small chapel in which communion is administered every day, and I happen to know that some difficulty has been found in obtaining constantly a sufficient number, that is, three persons, without which no celebration can take place according to the rites of the Establishment. Now, in one church alone, the Gesù, at Rome, there are on an average every day, above one hundred communicants. I have heard it stated, on not bad authority to be two hundred, so that my statement is certainly under the mark. And in every church in Rome, in which I have assisted at early Mass there have been always some communicants; in the larger churches generally many, and even in the smallest some.”—p. 41, 42.

In this passage, the average number of communions at the Gesù in Rome is, we think, understated even at 200 a day. Some years ago we had occasion, for a particular purpose, to collect the statistics of various churches on this subject, and we ascertained, on the best authority, that the average of the communions at the Gesù was “as many each day as there are days in the year.” We would submit, however, to Mr. Dodsworth, that he might have instituted his comparison between Catholic and Protestant *London*, as advantageously to his purpose, as between Protestant London, and Catholic Rome. There are churches in London (and what we happen to know of London is doubtless true of our large provincial cities also) in which proportionally to the Catholic population, the number of

communions is as large as in the generality of the Roman churches. The *Gesù* is a very peculiar case, because it is the resort of persons from all parts of Rome, and of Catholic foreigners from all countries. We may add, for the information of Protestant readers, that we never, as a matter of fact, happened to be present at an early Low Mass in London (except under some very peculiar circumstances) at which there were not persons for communion. However, we have no desire to lay too much stress upon religious statistics, which have always something unsatisfactory about them.

Thus is it that Mr. Dodsworth would meet anti-Catholic prejudices with the authorized reply "Come and see." There can be no doubt that the more the Church is known, the better will she be understood, and the more surely loved. Yet every day brings home to us, as Catholics, how hard it is to communicate our experience with those outside. Controversy even at best, is little more than a game at cross-purposes. As to arguments, they scarcely appear to advance matters towards a conclusion, still less to conclude them. Facts, as we have already said, are the only really telling things, and doubtless they do their work in the long run. Yet even facts are weapons which will sometimes rebound from the shield of prejudice. Even facts require to be read by the light of Faith, which, though we are permitted to have a share in helping towards it, is, in the last resort, not ours to command. Again, we must not forget that the phenomena of the Catholic Church, after every explanation which can be given of them, must remain a mystery to those without her pale. They alone, who are of God, can discern all the things of God. Moreover, there may be facts connected with our public manifestation, not only difficult of interpretation, but really to our disadvantage. We not only fall miserably short of our ideal, but often, from the perversity of our evil wills contradict it. Do what we will, we cannot make even facts square with our theories of perfection, far less with the demands of our rigorous adversaries. And it is our wisdom to acknowledge that so, alas, it is.

Yet, after all, there is ample room, and great occasion, for such defences as Mr. Dodsworth's, so truthful, so temperate, so forbearing, so loving. Especially is it impossible that such efforts can be thrown away where enforced and illustrated by Example. What would have

availed all the Apologies of the early Church without the Martyrdoms? And who shall say that many a conversion of our own day has not been a real martyrdom in the aggregate of the most bitter though hidden sacrifices it has involved? And when we come into the province of personal sacrifice, we are in the midst of a new and higher kind of spiritual armoury than that of mere reasoning; more bright, more keen, more effectual. The sharp, albeit bloodless struggles through which many a convert has reached, or kept, the Faith, will have gone to plead, better than words, with a God of infinite compassion, for souls which have been deaf to all appeals, or have wrestled with overwhelming convictions, till God, in His own good time, has sealed them for Himself.

ART. IX.—*L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IV. Siecle*, par M. Albert de Broglie, *Premiere Partie. Regne de Constantin.* 2 vols. 8vo. Paris Didier et Cie. 1856.

ON the first appearance of the Prince de Broglie's book we took occasion to allude to it briefly, as one among many recent publications bearing upon what is pre-eminently the question of our age—the relations of the early Church with the State. The singular merit of M. de Broglie's work, however; its great learning; the rare beauty and eloquence of its style; the sincere and hearty religious spirit—the unfailing appreciation of all the institutions and all the principles of Catholicism, tempered and subdued by consideration for the views of those who are yet insensible to such sympathies, which it exhibits; all appear to call for a more detailed and careful examination. The book itself, indeed, is too important and too interesting to be dismissed, in a journal like ours, with a few brief and casual observations; and the personal merits of its distinguished author, his well-known zeal for religion, his remarkable learning, and the self-denying perseverance with which, amid the distractions and engagements of his high position, he has hoarded his scanty snatches of leisure for studies too

rarely cultivated by his order; and has enriched the Catholic literature of France with fruits, at once racy and mature, which might do honour to the laborious leisure of one of the veteran recluses of learning;—all these constitute an additional claim upon our attention, which it would be worse than ungrateful to disregard.

We have already explained that the “Reign of Constantine” is but a portion of a vast and comprehensive work which M. de Broglie has projected on the relations of the Church with the Roman Empire. But it is in many respects the most interesting, if it be not the most important portion of that grand subject. It is precisely in this period, indeed, that we must seek the first series of data for the solution of one of the great problems of the history of Christianity, its conflict with the paganism of the Roman world. This mighty conflict, it is true, had begun long before, and its latter history stretches far down into the after ages. But not only is the career of Constantine its culminating point; but it may be truly said that in the history of Constantine, for the first time, the conflicting principles meet each other face to face and in open day. Till then there had been little between them that could properly be called conflict. The collision till then was that of the master with the slave; the relation was that of the executioner to his victim.

And hence it is from this period that the so-called philosophical historians of the Christian Religion commonly profess to begin. If they deal with the times which preceded this, it is only in the way of retrospective summary; and all their speculations as to the subsequent history stretch back to this as a starting-point. It was as Gibbon “sat musing amidst the ruins of the capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter,” that the idea of writing the *Decline and Fall* of the city first started to his mind.* It is impossible to read a chapter of his history of Constantine without feeling that he had made that Emperor the great centre of his drama. And the latest English historian of Christianity, Dean Milman, although he had commenced with a general history of the Church in the Roman empire, and had devoted his first volumes to the ante-Constantinian period, saw so strongly,

* Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, i. p. 129.

nevertheless, the line of demarcation which at that period had impressed itself upon the map of the fortunes of the human race, that he has thrown the subsequent history into another and independent form, and deals with Christianity, from that period forth, as a new and distinct (or at least newly modified) intellectual phenomenon—new in its principles, new in its system, new in its organization, new in its spirit;—the creation, in a word, of impulses, feelings and habits of thought to which it theretofore had been a stranger.

It is plain, indeed, that no one who looks below the mere surface of events, can turn his thoughts for a moment to this momentous period without being struck by the extent and the importance of the revolution which it involves. Upon it are concentrated all the scattered interests of the three preceding centuries. Vast and various as the ramifications of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire had already become, it is nevertheless true to say, that, at the date of the birth of Constantine, the entire civilization of the Roman world was pagan to its very core. The laws of the Roman Empire had not only grown up outside of all Christian influences, but were even founded primarily in that religious system against which Christianity had come to do battle. Every social usage of Rome, every civil ordinance, every political institution, had its origin in Rome's idolatrous religion, or at least was modified by its spirit. All the arts, all the science, all the letters of Rome were pagan. From the cradle of the Roman citizen to his funeral pile, the religion of Rome never loosed its hold upon him. And although in the universal scepticism which prevailed, much of this influence was unacknowledged, nevertheless it often affected indirectly, and in many instances insensibly, even those to whom it was a subject of ridicule and disdain.

It was with this gigantic system, still powerful, though corrupted to its very core, that the rising Church had to deal. When Constantine became the Christian head of this mighty pagan empire, and placed himself, though not yet with complete unreserve, in the hands of the Church for the great design of its Christianization, the main problem of his government was to effect this great object with the least amount of danger and of offence;—to consider how far it was possible to reform rather than to revolutionize; how much of what had so long been profaned by corrupt

use, might be purified and utilized by Christian influence or Christian destination; and how far it was possible to bring both the hostile elements into harmony, without unnecessarily outraging or irrevocably alienating either.


To the Church, it is true, an hour of triumph was come. The cruel enemy under whose oppression she had so long lain writhing, was now at her feet. Of that whole vast system which had hitherto been used only for her persecution and enslavement, and which was now in some sense submitted to her for judgment, there was hardly a single detail which had not been employed as an instrument against her, and which had not, therefore, amply merited condemnation at her hands. "If the Church," says the Prince de Broglie, "had thought fit, on the very morrow of her triumph, to declare war against the whole social system of Rome; if she had razed its monuments to the ground, broken its images into fragments, burnt its libraries, and abolished or reversed its laws, she would only have done an act of just retaliation." But, on the contrary, one of the most pleasing studies in the history of the fourth century, is to trace out the mild and maternal policy which she adopted instead. With that divine instinct which guides all her external dealings with the world, she carefully sought out among the dark corruptions and enormities which deformed the existing scheme of society, all that was free, or could be rendered free, from the prevailing taint. The good she unhesitatingly adopted; the indifferent she consecrated by an ennobling and sanctifying destination;—even the bad, when it was not possible summarily to reject it, she mitigated and counteracted. Avoiding in all things a destructive revolution, she adopted, as far as possible, the external state of things which she found established;—correcting and purifying by her own peculiar enactments, reforming almost insensibly by the influence which she infused, and as it were impressing the saving sign of the cross even upon the monuments of paganism itself.

This is the story which the philosophical Christian historian reads in the annals of the fourth century. But, in order to comprehend this story, it is necessary to go below the external surface of events. The historian of declining paganism, Zosimus, contemplates it with far other eyes; and among the countless writers of the many different varieties of shades of opinion which lie between these extremes, each

will form a different estimate, not only of the course of events, but still more of their motives, their tendencies, and the impulses from which they arose. It is hardly necessary to say that history has long ceased to be a mere chronicle of names and dates, if indeed it ever was truly such. It is no longer possible to obtain a perfectly neutral record of events, uncoloured by the personal opinions of the author. Perhaps, indeed such a record as this is little to be desired. Indifference to the moral sense too often accompanies or follows the coldness of intellectual eclecticism; and the historian who should thus be able, as it were, to divest himself of his own subjectivity, would be very likely to lay aside at the same time that earnestness of character, and honest energy of thought, which are the surest foundations of the love of truth for its own sake.

On the contrary, almost every modern writer who professes to treat the subject of general history, whether sacred or profane, has written less as an individual, than as a follower of one or other of the great historical schools.

Some follow what may be described as the Necessitarian or Fatalist school, and look upon history simply as a register of the action of certain general and irresistible laws, which, in the recurrence of the same circumstances and conditions, produce their effect as infallibly as the laws which regulate the physical world. For them history contains no moral lesson. It is but a curious and exciting spectacle;—interesting as an intellectual or æsthetical study—as a suggestive collection of data for philosophical speculation; and even amusing as an exhibition of the various action of individual peculiarities under the common influences to which all alike are subject. But for them its interest is entirely destitute of moral character. It involves no moral teaching. It implies no moral responsibility. It is simply a department—the brightest department it is true, but still, a mere department—of the general science of Natural History. Such, with hardly an exception, were the materialist philosophers of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, Volney, Raynal, and their fellows. Such, too, although presented in a less coarse and revolting form, and disguised under more subtle and more elevating theories, are the principles of the great enemies of the French materialists—the metaphysical historians of the German school in the early part of this century.



There is another school which may be called the Naturalist, or Humanitarian; whose followers, while they freely recognize the moral teachings of history, take no higher range for their speculation than the mere natural destinies, as well as the natural powers and impulses, of man;—who either refuse to recognize the hand of Providence in history at all, or at the most regard it but as imparting the first impulse to human progress—as impressing upon the primeval human mind the faculty of perfectibility as well as the tendency to development, and then leaving it to work out the great problem of its destiny by the exercise of its own powers and the guidance of its own impulses. To the historians of this school history is simply the journal of human progress,—the record of its struggles and its aspirations, of its triumphs and its failures, its backslidings and its success. But these struggles, these failures, these successes, are strictly its own. Human Nature is the exclusive subject of their narrative. Man is their only hero.

And, strange as it may seem, among the followers of this school are to be found many who distinctly recognize the supernatural destinies of the human family, and the supernatural gifts with which it is endowed for their realization,—many even of the historians of the Christian Church. Nor do we mean merely those writers, Christians only in name, to whom Christianity is but one of the stages of man's spiritual and intellectual progress—far higher in degree and more precious in intellectual gifts, but yet hardly differing in kind from the other great and vital truths embodied in the various schemes of religion, some more, some less perfect, by which, at different periods and in different circumstances, men have been helped forward in their march of civilization. We mean that far larger and more popular class of historians, in whose eyes, though they fully and freely recognize its divine character and divine revelation, Christianity nevertheless is in a great degree a matter of race and of country; shaped and modified, both as to its tenets and as to its practices, by the social, intellectual, and national peculiarities of the various peoples who have embraced it; one system for the Jew, another for the Gentile; one for the Greek, one for the Roman; one for the dreamy visionary of the East, another for the fierce and impulsive barbarian of the north; one in a monarchy, another in a republic;

one in an age of letters, another in a period of war; one for the subtle and sensuous imagination of Italy; another for the practical brain of the hardy and energetic Teuton. The reader will not require to be reminded of examples of this class. The entire Rationalistic school of Germany, — Henke, Gieseler, not to speak of Baur and his followers, — are familiar to every one who has given the least attention to these studies; and the most learned and popular of modern English Church historians, Dean Milman, has adopted this as his leading principle in the treatment of the history from the dates of the disruption of the Roman empire.

Another great division of historians comprises what may be called the Providential School; who not only recognize the supernatural gifts and supernatural destinies of man in history, but regard history mainly as the exponent of the dealings of God's ever-present Providence in guiding and controlling the fortunes of the human race.

In this school, of course, there are many shades of opinion. It is not merely that the writers look different ways for the repository or exponent of this providential interposition; — that Catholic historians, from Baronius to Rohrbacher, find it in the Church, in the Popes, and in holy men providentially raised from time to time in special emergencies; while Protestants, like Ullmann, Flathe, or D'Aubigné, discover it in the long series of protests against papal authority which they trace from the days of Sylvester down to those of Leo X.; from Jovinian, and Vigilantius, down through Fra Dolcino, Segarelli, or Peter Waldo, to Wycliffe, Hus, and Martin Luther himself. The varieties in this school to which we allude are drawn rather from the different degrees in which they recognize the direct and immediate interposition of Providence.

It is in this, as in the different schools of biblical exegesis regarding the nature of inspiration; which some extend even to the sentences and words employed by the divine writers, while others explain it down into a mere general immunity from substantial error. In like manner with some, (and these most deeply reverent historians,) God's Providence in history might also seem to be little more than mere knowledge or advertence.

On the other hand it is equally possible to fall into the opposite extreme, and to represent this Providence as amounting to continual and immediate interposition, and

even to such individual and personal guidance and direction, as to overrule and destroy human liberty itself.

Another still more important difference among historians of this school relates to the nature of the providential interposition which they recognize. Catholic historians, it need hardly be said, reverently regard as one of the established though extraordinary mediums through which God acts upon the human mind, supernatural interpositions and miraculous exhibitions of super-human power or of super-human faculties of mind. Nor is this entirely denied even by non-Catholic historians, especially for the earlier ages, and when the Gospel is preached for the first time among unbelieving nations. But if they be regarded as a permanent characteristic of the Christian community, these miraculous gifts are commonly denied by Protestant historians, not only to individuals but to the Church.

Indeed, the whole theory of what have been called "ecclesiastical miracles," meets but little favour outside of Catholic literature. On the contrary, the prevailing tendency of most modern historians is to reduce within the narrowest possible limits all action of Divine Providence upon man, other than that which is purely natural—that which is imparted through those ordinary faculties, dispositions, and gifts, whether of the intellect or of the will, with which men have been endowed by the Creator.

A familiar example of the opposite views which may thus be taken by different writers of the same event, or series of events, is the question of the marvellous rapidity and success with which the Christian religion was diffused throughout the Roman Empire,—a success which one class of historians regards as so extraordinary and so completely beyond and above all human influences, as in itself, and by its miraculous and superhuman character, to form an argument of the divine origin of Christianity; while another contends that it was but the result of a combination of natural influences, each assisting the rest, and all developed and perfected by the moral excellence and intellectual sublimity of the Christian scheme of doctrine and of morals. And the same diversity of view, of course, extends to many of the particular incidents of the Christian history, not only as regards their miraculous character, but also as regards the credibility of the authorities on which they rest.

Hence as there is no period in the history of the world in which this conflict of opinion is more animated, than that which the Prince de Broglie has chosen for his subject, it is with no common pleasure that we welcome his *Regne de Constantin*, as a valuable contribution to our Catholic historical literature. It is a work professedly addressed to modern tastes, and intended to grapple with modern views, and to encounter modern fallacies and modern prejudices. For with all its various and profound erudition, it is essentially a popular book ;—popular in the same sense as the higher popular philosophy and history which form pre-eminently the study of our age. The narrative is always clear, vigorous, and connected. There are many of the descriptions which, for force and vividness, may bear comparison with the most brilliant pictures in the whole range of the well-known “ pictorial school ” of France. The dissertations appended to the work, and the critical observations interspersed in the text, display no ordinary ability and research. Every doubtful or disputed fact is carefully discussed ; every important authority is fully and impartially sifted. Nor does M. de Broglie confine himself in these to the older critics and historians. He is as much at home among the writers of the present day, Neander, Bunsen, Dorner, Gieseler, Hefele, Döllinger, as among the great classics, Catholic and Protestant, of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. His judgment, too, of characters and motives are marked by singular calmness and moderation ; and his general views of the history, the moral, doctrinal, or philosophical opinions which they embody, uniformly exhibit elevation of tone, depth and originality of thought, and an enlightened spirit of Christian criticism which, while it accepts the conclusions of faith with unhesitating confidence, and yields to the sentence of authority with unwavering submission, nevertheless is not on this account a whit less fearless (or rather, perhaps, is on this very account the more fearless) in asserting its own freedom in all that fairly falls under the judgment of historical science.

Indeed, the Prince de Broglie's book may be described as peculiarly the creation of the tastes, perhaps also of the requirements, of modern literature in France. While the author never for a moment hesitates as to his own convictions, or shrinks from their avowal, he at the same time never loses sight of the fact that there are thousands

among the educated classes of his countrymen who are still strangers to the very alphabet of these convictions, and on whose minds they would fall, if presented in their fulness and without preparation, not only without influence, but even with a pernicious influence. Accordingly, writing not alone for believing Catholics, but for cold and sceptical thinkers besides, he has felt it necessary not to overlook the doubts and difficulties which it is impossible to ignore. And thus he has often, if we may so speak, been forced to lower the tone of his history, in order that its language may be intelligible to those to whom it is addressed;—although never at the sacrifice of any, even of the secondary principles of true Catholic criticism, much less of Catholic belief.

We have thought it a duty to enter into these particulars, because we are aware that it has been inferred from a phrase which occurred in our former passing notice of the Prince de Broglie's book, that we adopted as our own certain exceptions which have been taken against the tone of some portions of his history, and especially of the historical retrospect which he has prefixed to his narrative of the Reign of Constantine. The writer of the strictures to which we allude,* the venerated abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes, Dom Gueranger, is justly entitled to our most profound respect; and every opinion of his carries with it, to our mind, all the authority which rare learning, profound knowledge of antiquity, and eminent services to literature—eminent even in the illustrious Order to which he belongs—must ever command. But although there are some of Dom Gueranger's objections to the statements or opinions put forward in M. de Broglie's book in which, as it will be seen, we fully coincide, we cannot help differing widely from his view of M. de Broglie's general line of argument; and we believe many of the particular criticisms by which he supports this view, to be much overstrained and founded on complete misconception.†

Nevertheless, it is no part of our present purpose, to

* A series of articles which have appeared at intervals in the *Univers*, from October 19, 1856, to the present time.

† We refer particularly to the articles which appeared in the *Univers* of Oct. 19, Nov. 16, and March 8.

enter into any discussion of the justice of these criticisms. The truth is, that Dom Gueranger and the Prince de Broglie may be taken as representatives of two independent schools which have ever existed in the Church—schools whose opposite principles we can trace as far back as the days of Tertullian on the one side, and Clement of Alexandria upon the other. Each of these schools, now as then, renders the reason of what are the common convictions of both upon grounds entirely distinct from those which approve themselves to the mind of the other; and in the wise design of the great Disposer of men's hearts, both of them find now, as they did then, a class of hearers for whom their teaching is peculiarly adapted. The philosophers who would have turned with ridicule from Tertullian's "*Credo quia impossibile*," thronged in eager and wondering groups to the halls where Clement was inaugurating the union of Philosophy and Faith. Nor do we doubt that, in the various and conflicting habits of men's minds, there are hundreds in our own day who would listen with indifference and disregard to the high-toned appeal of Dom Gueranger, or perhaps close their ears in scorn against it, and yet will receive with favour, and meditate with fruit, the less lofty but more persuasive reasonings of the noble author of the *Regne de Constantin*.

This is a point, however, on which the Prince de Broglie will be the best exponent of his own views. The leading principle upon which his views are founded is, that we are not to be restrained by any mistaken feeling of reverence for the mysterious and super-human character of the evidences of religion, "from studying calmly in the first origin of the Church the secret of the resources by which the miracle of her development and her triumph were prepared. "Christian writers," he continues, "prostrating themselves in a laudable spirit of adoration, have too often seemed to think that the divinity of Christ's work, and even of His Person, would be misunderstood, unless every detail in the establishment of the Church were proved to be equally mysterious, super-human, and inexplicable. In following the progress of faith, they insist, and not without reason, on the constant disproportion between the means employed and the results obtained. They love to contemplate the giant of paganism struck to the earth by the shepherd's sling. The less they

comprehend, the more they admire; the less they can attribute to man, the more they refer to God. They take a pleasure in the wonder which they feel, and their respect would be diminished, were not their understanding confounded. We do not dispute either the touching beauty or the partial justice of this view;—a view which has supplied the defenders of Christianity with the matter of some of their most eloquent demonstrations. Nevertheless we *should be sorry to rely exclusively upon it*. This would be to neglect one of the principal, and not the least divine, of the characters of the Christian religion—its accordance with the laws of history and the conditions of human nature. Christianity has not been an unexpected accident in the destiny of humanity. On the contrary, it rises up as a culminating point in the series of ages. Every thing that goes before leads towards it, everything that comes after flows from it. Hence it is neither an offence against Christianity nor a denunciation of its divine authority, to seek out and place in full light all the causes which have prepared its way and facilitated its progress. If the hand of its Founder is that which has disposed the course of events from all eternity, that hand must have disposed them so as to act as auxiliaries to its course. If the truth which Christianity has revealed, is a ray of that universal truth which reposes in God's bosom, it could not but have recognized as its own, and absorbed into itself all the imperfect truths, the besetted tatters of which the systems of philosophy disputed with each other. If Christianity came to assuage the thirst of souls, the nations, those wandering flocks of souls, could not fail to leap with joy and throw themselves greedily upon it at its approach. In this way morals, philosophy, the political and moral condition of society in the ancient world;—all must have then served to second its progress, and all must now serve to facilitate their comprehension.”*

Hence it is plain that, in the line of argument which he has followed, M. de Broglie's sole object is to press into the service of the Christian evidences, a historical demonstration which had hitherto been chiefly used by the adversaries of Christianity as an argument against its divine or super-human character. The success of his reasoning

* *Regne de Constantin*, i. pp. 66-7.

serves to illustrate by a new example the principle which Cardinal Wiseman has eloquently explained in his opening Lecture on the Connexion of Science and Revealed Religion ; to show that it is with history, as it has been with astronomy, geology, ethnography, physiology, and every other branch of human learning ; and that although in the infancy of that science, such as it has become in the hands of its modern cultivators, (as in that of its sister studies,) the results to which it seemed at first to point have worn an aspect apparently unfavourable to religion, yet, from the moment when its true principles have been explained, and its real data have been fully ascertained and systematized, what at first had seemed to be an evidence against religion, is found to be a new argument of its eternal and unchanging consistency and truth.

Indeed, those who have regarded the view of the inquiry into the progress of Christianity thus eloquently explained by the Prince de Broglie, as a compromise of the divine and miraculous character of that great event, have overlooked the fact that M. de Broglie over and over again declares it to have been a miracle ; that he considers this view of it but as one out of many topics which combine to produce the complete demonstration of its divinity ; and that, far from discarding the other arguments, he fully admits and insists upon their force, and only desires, that, in consideration of the variety of minds to each of which it is necessary to appeal by reasoning suited to its habit of thought, or its capacity, the argument should not be enforced exclusively from the miraculous and super-human point of view.

"Even in the internal organization of the Church," he continues, "it is permitted us to admire the wisdom and depth of combination ; the union of an invincible power of resistance and an elastic power of expansion ; a mixture of authority and independence, of election and of hierarchy, which realizes and surpasses the most perfect political constitutions. For the Church is a society of men which God Himself has organized ; nor is it therefore to be wondered, that He has made it the most solid and the best balanced of all human societies. The touch of the workman is recognized in the perfect sound of the instrument, and the unknown harmony which He can draw therefrom. Thus in the history of Christianity it is often from the very perfection of the human work that the divine intervention

makes itself known ; a new species of prodigy which opens a vast perspective to the reflection of the historian, and which is in perfect conformity with the spirit of a religion whose Founder, one in a twofold nature, was at once the Supreme God and the Ideal Man.”*

Hence M. de Broglie dwells but slightly upon the topics ordinarily urged by the apologists, although no one could more strongly insist upon their force. He applies himself chiefly in his introduction to the examination of two points; topics, indeed, naturally suggested by the very subject of his work ; first how far the progress of Christianity was assisted by what might appear at first sight to be its deadliest and most formidable adversary—the vast extent and the marvellously perfect organization of the Roman Empire ; secondly, how much it may be said to have owed to that universal desolation of religious truth which it found throughout this vast Empire—to the deep and painful void which the worn-out paganism of Rome had left behind ; and to that instructive craving after truth in doctrine and in morals which paganism could neither extinguish nor satisfy, and to which the saving and consoling tenets of the Gospel, however revolting to the desires of sense, and humiliating to the pride of intellect, came as a message of hope, of peace, and of consolation.

To the illustration of these topics, M. de Broglie has applied all the stores of his very remarkable erudition, profane and sacred. In two sketches, the first “on the Unity of the Empire,” the second “on the Unity of the Church,” he has addressed himself to the two points just alluded to. In the first, his clear and masterly survey of the extent, the resources, and the organization of the Empire, leaves little to be desired, and in some points may be read with profit, even after Gibbon’s celebrated chapter on the same subject : and the brief but comprehensive summary of the history of the Empire, from Augustus to Diocletian, which is interspersed, exhibits these resources in their bearing upon the progress of the Church. The historical survey of the condition of the young Christian community, which is equally interesting, and traces it down from the apostolic age, through the several stages of its conflict with the declining paganism of Rome ;—

* I. pp. 67-8.

through the age of the Gnostic heresies ; through the age of philosophical speculation ; and lastly through the fierce struggle of physical force by which, at least as regards their external relations, the contest was practically brought to a close. A third section, in many respects more generally interesting than either of the others, is devoted to the relations which subsisted between Christian and Pagan society during those ages of conflict.

It would be impossible to do justice by any analysis either to the views or to the reasoning of this Introduction. We shall only venture upon one extract which may be taken as a characteristic one ;—the contrast of Tertullian, and Origen, and of the opposite lines of thought of which these remarkable men are severally the representatives, although both in an extreme and exaggerated degree. After explaining, in common with all the historians of patristic literature, the diversity of spirit and tone which, from the time of Clement of Alexandria, is observable in the writers of the Greek and of the Latin Churches, but which, nevertheless, however tending of themselves to conflict, are maintained in salutary equilibrium under the yoke of the same authority, M. de Broglie proceeds :

“ If we desire to see in its extreme consequences the difference of the two Churches, it is only necessary to study the two great contemporaries of this third age, Tertullian and Origen. The one possesses the spirit of the Latin, the other of the Greek Church ; but both to an exaggerated extreme. The one can only feel horror and disdain for every human science ; the other exhibits for the efforts, and even for the errors, of humanity a patient, and even at times an excessive condescension. Tertullian, converted late in life, after having lived amidst the corruption of Rome and of Carthage, every where struck by the odious spectacle presented by paganism, only studies pagan society in its bloody amphitheatres, its impure and effeminate orgies, the obscene and absurd ceremonies of its temples. All that comes from it is foul in his eyes ; he never speaks of it but with the unrelenting asperity of an indignant penitent. Origen, on the contrary, born of a pious family, sheltered against the storms of the world under the wings of Christian masters, had lived securely from childhood in intercourse with the charming spirits of Greece and of the wisdom of ancient Egypt. In every work of man Tertullian can only perceive the influence of the demon who had destroyed him ; Origen, on the contrary, is always on the search for the trace of the divine hand which created him. This difference is observable throughout ; in the contests with pagans and with heretics ; in the expositions of doctrine ; in the

commentaries on Scripture ; in the general tenor of the writings ; and finally, in the very errors themselves. Tertullian, while addressing his *Apology* to the Roman magistrate and the Nations, hardly restrains himself from insulting those whom he wishes to convince and to propitiate ; Origen, in the eight books of his discussion with Celsus, follows step by step the argumentation of the pagan philosopher, refuting him with moderation and patience, relying, especially throughout one entire book, on the conformity of Christianity and Judaism with the general order of the world !"—Vol. I. pp. 122-4.

After having described the severe asceticism of Tertullian, and the rigour of his principles in all that regards even the slightest compromise of faith, he pursues the contrast into another field.

"Origen did not yield to him either for purity of morals or courage in persecution. From his eighteenth year he fasted ; he walked barefoot ; he slept on the hard earth. He went to visit the martyrs ; accompanied them before the judge ; and embraced, says Eusebius, even those of them whom he did not know, at the very place of punishment. But this forgetfulness of self, which in Tertullian had its source in a gloomy asceticism, in Origen flowed from the abundance of his charity. 'Nothing,' says his scholar, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, 'could equal the sweetness of his discourses. The charms of his charity took the hearts of his hearers by violence. A portion of this holy violence of love has passed into his writings. It is no longer the passion of the African orator ; it is the attraction of a rich imagination, developed by study and enkindled by the furnace which burns within. All the natural faculties subsist in this soul, sanctified, it is true, but yet, with all its avenues still open to sympathy ; and we can easily comprehend the excessive scruple which impelled this loving man to suppress violently in himself, along with the fires of youth, the too dangerous and too facile communication of human feelings. Even in his doctrine itself, this love of his fellow-man, which constituted the charm of his teaching, was not without its danger. The subtlety of his spirit, the taste for allegorical interpretations, which arose from his desire of making the Scriptures attractive for pagan imaginations, led him more than once unconsciously to trench upon the precision of dogma. The simplicity of the biblical narratives was corrupted by the symbolical sense which he delighted to discern therein. He tried to explain the mysteries by metaphysical developments, which were often borrowed from recollections of Plato, and which sometimes deformed instead of illustrating them.'—pp. 124-6.

True, nevertheless, to the one great idea which he proposes to himself, M. de Broglie is careful to explain

how these natural tendencies and impulses were overruled, and still more their influence upon the public faith controlled, by that central authority, which, in his eyes, is the foundation of the Christian system.

“Such, in the course of their natural predispositions, were the tendencies of the career of these two great minds—the representatives of the two different currents of thought which pervaded the Church of the third century; nor could they have failed to have drawn away, each in its own course, the numerous audiences which hung upon their words, had eloquence and genius alone given the law to the Christian Church. But an authority stronger and more constant than individual inspiration interposed in turn to control them; and, when it was no longer able to restrain them, did not hesitate to cut them off from its fold. Tertullian and Origen, although the first men, in point of genius in the full sense of the word, whom Christianity had yet produced, were neither bishops nor saints; and it is even doubtful whether both did not end by being heretics. On the day on which they threatened to impress on one or other of the Churches an eccentric movement, which might have led to separation, the excessive rigour of Tertullian, and the wild imaginations of Origen, found in the authority of the Church, first a counterpoise and then a condemnation. In intolerance, and sometimes even in extreme humility, there is a secret pride which takes delight in anathemas. This sentiment was the ruin of Tertullian. He ended by finding the Church too mild, too patient, too accessible to trial and to repentance. He sought a refuge in the sect of Montanus—a sort of Christian stoicism which exaggerated the severities of the Gospel, while it mistook its inexhaustible mercy. There he was able to give himself up at his ease to the gloomy inspirations of his genius; to refuse penance to sins of all degrees of grievousness; to multiply fasts; to preach celibacy; and to excommunicate second marriages. Irritated at not being able to procure for these rigours the sympathy of the powerful authority of the Church, he finished by rising up openly against her, and by insulting in his chair the Bishop of Rome, the Sovereign Pontiff, ‘the Prince of Bishops,’ (as he himself calls him,) who had thought it right to condemn him. His impatience of the yoke became such, that it was only satisfied when he had founded a new sect of his own, of which he died the heresiarch.

“Less violent in the expression, more difficult to seize and to determine, but perhaps more to be feared for their attractiveness and their profundity, the errors of Origen were not less rigorously watched. It was especially on the subject of the mysterious nature of the Personality of Christ that his over-bold philosophical speculations excited, both during his life and after his death, the jealous but legitimate susceptibility of the Church. In reality, however, he was less dangerous by his own writings, which were always

animated by a spirit so pure, than by the impulse which he communicate to spirits whom he did not possess the power to restrain. Upon his footsteps, in the same path of over-free discussion and interpretation, followed the ill-regulated spirits, Sabellius, and Paul of Samosata, the predecessor and parent of Arius. From this day forward, Alexandria never ceased to be agitated by dangerous questions of religious metaphysics, and by discussions in which the faith of one of her most pious bishops, St. Dionysius, appeared for a moment to totter. Becoming involved in suspicion through the evil fame of this posterity, by turns invoked, compromised, assailed, defended, the memory of Origen has become one of the problems of the annals of the Church. His glory remains as a brilliant but uncertain light, which has never been able to disengage itself altogether from the clouds which hang around it."—Vol. I. pp. 126 8.

M. de Broglie's historical Introduction brings the narrative as far down as the memorable edict of toleration which was wrung from the cruel Galerius by the horrible plague with which he had been smitten. The main history itself, after a brief sketch of the birth and early years of Constantine, commences with his escape from the honourable surveillance in which he was detained at Nicomedia, and his succession, by the choice of the army, to his father Constantine Chlorus. The Prince's narrative of these events is extremely careful and well-considered. He has distinguished accurately the several steps in the last persecution which is commonly called that of Diocletian, though in truth the infamy of it belongs of much better right to Galerius. His account of the final conflict with Maxentius too is exceedingly interesting; although he appears to hesitate about Eusebius's narrative of Constantine's celebrated Vision of the Cross, and, in our opinion, has not given their full weight to the arguments in favour of its reality and miraculous character. His hesitation clearly arises, not from any difficulty as to such miraculous interpositions, but from doubt as to the sufficiency of the evidence, and from its apparently conflicting character: but he has overlooked altogether the *a priori* considerations drawn from the intrinsic probabilities of the circumstances themselves; nor has he attached sufficient weight to the prevalence of the belief of some supernatural appearance even among the pagans;—a belief attested by the Panegyric Oration delivered at Rome immediately after the victory; by the inscription set up by

the senate ; and describing his success obtained *instinctu divinitatis*; and by the oration of the Pagan Nazarius in 321; all of which, however vague, are strikingly confirmed and determined to this particular sign, by the statue which Constantine himself erected, and which represents him as holding in his hand a spear surmounted by a cross, with an inscription to the effect that "*by that saving sign* he had delivered the city from a tyrant." Taken altogether, the effect of these considerations has always appeared to us irresistible ; and we must confess that while we cordially agree with M. de Broglie (Vol. I. p. 218) that the difficulties against it are so grave that good faith makes it a duty to avow and to grapple with them ; we must protest even against the hypothetical recognition of their force under which he appears disposed to take refuge. The difficulties against the reality of the apparition are, in our mind, not only intrinsically susceptible of a satisfactory solution, but are far more than counterbalanced by the positive arguments in its favour.

From the date of the Victory of the Pons Milvius, the fortunes of Constantine are inseparably connected with those of the Christian Church. On the strange and inexplicable questions connected with his personal belief at this period and the years immediately succeeding, which have so long perplexed historians, M. de Broglie, though very ingenious and interesting, has not supplied much additional light ; but he has analysed and described the Christian character of his state-policy with consummate skill. From the first edict of toleration (now lost) in which Christians were but admitted to the same freedom of religious profession that was accorded to all other citizens of the Roman Empire, Constantine proceeded to the special decree which secured to them the restitution of the churches and other property which had been confiscated to the state, or appropriated by private cupidity. Decrees soon followed, visiting with definite penalties all who should insult their worship or molest them in its exercises. Then came immunities, privileges, and exemptions for their clergy ; grants of buildings for their worship ; honours and offices for themselves ; till at length the state of sufferance entirely passes away, and the Church appears, no longer tolerated but honoured, not merely recognized, but triumphant.

It is a curious illustration of the undefined position

of Arianism, and especially through his personal sketches of the eminent men who were its moving spirits—Osius and Athanasius on the one side, the two Eusebiuses on the other. The author, of course, deals principally with the external history of the controversy, but its doctrinal relations also are fully considered by him, and the view which his work presents of the origin of Arianism, of the principles, philosophical and theological, in which it had its rise, and of the intellectual tendencies which prepared its way, is not only eminently calculated to interest the ordinary reader, but may even suggest many subjects of thought to the philosophical or theological student. The sketch of Eusebius the historian, and that of St. Athanasius, are particularly striking. Dom Gueranger considers the latter cold and unsympathizing; but we cannot agree in this view. On the contrary, having always looked upon the character of Athanasius by Gibbon, and his whole sketch of the career of that Father as, in many respects, one of the most dangerous and seductive portions of the *Decline and Fall*, we cannot but regard the portraiture of the saint by the Prince de Broglie as a most useful and valuable counterpoise to this dangerous tendency. Like that of Gibbon, it is conceived from the philosophical, rather than the theological point of view, and thus it meets the infidel historian on his own ground, and, we cannot but think, with complete success. It is calm and unimpassioned, it is true, but we recognize in it, throughout, a tone of sincere and cordial sympathy, as well as of deep and respectful admiration; and in our judgment, the effect of both these qualities upon the minds of the readers for whom M. de Broglie principally writes, is much heightened by the very calmness and moderation, which to Catholic readers may seem cold and spiritless.

On the disputed portions of the personal history of Constantine;—as his treatment of Licinius, his conduct in reference to the death of Crispus, the punishment of Fausta, his relations with the Arian party, and many other points, the author has examined with great care all the best sources of information; and in general his views are solid and judicious, and always put forward in striking and picturesque language. There is one question, nevertheless, that regarding the time of Constantine's baptism, which we cannot but refer until the day of the emperor's

sion, was solemnly acquitted of the charge of having burnt the sacred books."—Vol. I. pp. 278-9.

The conduct of Constantine on this occasion is, in some sense, the type of the general character of his later policy in the Arian controversy.

"Fortified, as he now was, by a spiritual sentence and a civil judgment, it would seem as if Constantine had only to strike one of those blows of authority which came so easy to him, in order to extinguish this flame of division which had been lighted in the very bosom of unity, and which had caused him so much anxiety and annoyance. But from the moment when there was question of the Christian Church, and the Christian religion, this imperious and resolute spirit appears all at once struck with hesitation and scruple. Consciousness of a right, foreign, if not superior to his own—respect for a truth which he feared without thoroughly comprehending—the majesty of a body which only accepted even his benefits with dignity and independence; all filled him with involuntary fear. He was resolved to do for the re-establishment of the peace of the Church, everything except to give laws to herself. His impatience was restrained by the fear of a sacrilegious usurpation; and with more of zeal than of knowledge, he referred anew to her more than once, in order to be sure to act in liberty of conscience at the order of a legitimate authority. Such did he always show himself through the long religious contests which desolated his reign; ardent in taking a side in the Church, but prompt in changing it; never wearied, yet never fixed; indefatigable, yet unsteady; ready to employ violence to serve religion, but never to domineer over her. There is nothing that displays more vividly the simple, sincere, often even rude, character of his faith. This great man, ordinarily so jealous of his authority, in relation to the Church only showed himself restless and impatient to obey the legitimate authority."—Vol. I. p. 280.

The account of the subsequent proceedings in this dispute, and especially of the Council of Arles, is very interesting. M. de Broglie places in the clearest light the true nature of the reference of the case to that tribunal; and, without alluding to it expressly, completely cuts away, by the simple recital of the authentic proceedings, all the grounds of the argument against the supreme and final authority of the Roman Pontiff, which the Anglican writers, since the days of Barrow, have delighted to draw from it.

We wish it were in our power to follow M. de Broglie through his history of the still more important controversy

of Arianism, and especially through his personal sketches of the eminent men who were its moving spirits—Osius and Athanasius on the one side, the two Eusebiuses on the other. The author, of course, deals principally with the external history of the controversy, but its doctrinal relations also are fully considered by him, and the view which his work presents of the origin of Arianism, of the principles, philosophical and theological, in which it had its rise, and of the intellectual tendencies which prepared its way, is not only eminently calculated to interest the ordinary reader, but may even suggest many subjects of thought to the philosophical or theological student. The sketch of Eusebius the historian, and that of St. Athanasius, are particularly striking. Dom Gueranger considers the latter cold and unsympathizing; but we cannot agree in this view. On the contrary, having always looked upon the character of Athanasius by Gibbon, and his whole sketch of the career of that Father as, in many respects, one of the most dangerous and seductive portions of the *Decline and Fall*, we cannot but regard the portraiture of the saint by the Prince de Broglie as a most useful and valuable counterpoise to this dangerous tendency. Like that of Gibbon, it is conceived from the philosophical, rather than the theological point of view, and thus it meets the infidel historian on his own ground, and, we cannot but think, with complete success. It is calm and unimpassioned, it is true, but we recognize in it, throughout, a tone of sincere and cordial sympathy, as well as of deep and respectful admiration; and in our judgment, the effect of both these qualities upon the minds of the readers for whom M. de Broglie principally writes, is much heightened by the very calmness and moderation, which to Catholic readers may seem cold and spiritless.

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death, and that it was administered at Nicomedia by Eusebius, yet we think he has not done justice either to the supporters of the opposite view, (which supposes that he was baptized at Rome by St. Sylvester many years before,) or to the arguments and authorities on which it rests.

But for these and many interesting particulars we must refer the reader to the author's own work, which we cannot but believe must ere long appear in an English translation. We can only find room for one extract more ;—the passage in which he sums up the results of the career of Constantine, and contrasts the aspect of the Roman Empire as that emperor found it, with that which it presented when he was called away by death.

“Constantine had lived sixty-three years, two months, and twenty-four days ; he had reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-seven days. In the course of this life and this reign the Empire had changed both its form and its spirit. If posterity measured glory by the importance of the services rendered, the renown of Constantine would be without equal in the world, for no sovereign ever had a share in a more important and beneficent constitution. The place assigned to Constantine, however, in the memory of men is not so high as this. His name has remained, a subject of curiosity and controversy, much more than of admiration. He has not taken a place among that small number of great men whose genius causes their crimes to be forgotten. The instrument of the triumph of a doctrine whose destiny it is to remain an eternal sign of contradiction among men, he had been an object of violent hatred, of sincere love, and of base adulation. This is the lot of all who outrage or who flatter ardent passions. The gratitude has passed away ; the enmities alone have survived with all the fervour of their origin. More than one unbelieving writer has been found to repeat the calumnies of Zosimus ; no Christian would venture to compromise himself by re-echoing the complaisances of Eusebius. If the Oriental Church, leading the way to schism by servility, has not feared to raise the Christian Cæsar upon her altars, Rome, more proud, without being less grateful, in her relations to the powers of the earth, has never hesitated while she retained a grateful memory of his services, to visit him with the censure which he had deserved.

“This judgment of modern ages, so different from the contemporary admiration, is explained by the very difference of the point of view from which men contemplated him. To maintain in peace and submission for thirty years an Empire which had just passed out of half a century of anarchy ; to exhibit the image of Augustus or Trajan to men who had only known soldiers oftentimes raised up

as suddenly as they were thrown down; to make the salutary weight of authority felt by a generation which had been nurtured in civil conflict, and whose eyes had opened only to behold battle and punishment; this was no small evidence of genius. The people who drew breath under the shadow of this unexpected protection were but indulging a natural illusion when they mistook for a revival of glory what was but a temporary check on the fatal declivity of decay. But the event has undeceived the world. The abyss which was closed by Constantine opened anew under the very feet of his sons. Indulgent as it is for the happy boldness of the youth of nations, posterity has neither sympathy nor justice for the ungrateful struggles of their decrepitude. The imperial organization of Constantine, more enduring than illustrious—made rather to pass through than to prevent the ages of social corruption;—to supply the want of civic virtues by a skilful mechanism, not to revive them, offers nothing that can speak to the imaginations of men. It might have been a necessity and even a benefit, but it never will be a title to glory, to have founded the Byzantine empire.

"In emancipating the Church and sharing his throne with her, Constantine produced a work more fruitful, and one whose results still surround us. He inspired with Christian wisdom those mighty Roman laws which still form the foundation of all our societies; he deposited in the bosom of dying civilization the germ of its resurrection. And yet such is the danger of the alliance of human power, that the Church, free and powerful with Constantine, often appears to the eye of the beholder less touching than the obscure and persecuted Church of the first ages; her brow shines with a lustre less luminous and less pure under the imperial diadem than under the *nimbus* of the martyr. Persecution drives away all impure elements from the bosom of the Church: credit and favour invite and develope them. The ardour of internal dissensions, the baseness of courtier prelates, the intermixture of human passions, the unhappy interposition of force into the controversies of religion, have made even Christians ask, whether Constantine had rendered to their faith a service which may be regarded as a subject of unqualified gratitude. Let us beware, however, of pushing too far a pusillanimous doubt which is injurious both to the Church and to humanity. The destinies of the earth would be cruel, indeed, if truth and virtue could not triumph even for a day, without losing their holy efficacy; and it would be a doctrine truly powerless for good which should be incapable of governing men without itself becoming corrupt. If, on the one hand, persecution has its uses in passing through the crucible the courage and virtue of individuals, it is success; on the other, triumph is the true touchstone of institutions and of ideas. In despite of schisms which have never entirely eclipsed its light—in despite of inevitable abuses which have sprung from human weakness, and against which even doctrinal infallibility is no safeguard;—the Church for fifteen centuries has been pass-

ing through this ordeal. In permitting her to diffuse through a thousand different channels the treasures of dignity, truth, and love, which she sustained in her bosom, Constantine hastened by some years the progress of the world. This is the highest reward that could be granted to the efforts of man."—pp. 376-9.

With this noble passage we must take leave of the *Regne de Constantin*. It is but a part of the great work to which the Prince de Broglie has so laudably devoted his great talents and rare learning. For the part which still remains we can almost believe that his studies and habit of mind are even more eminently suited. We shall look forward anxiously for the volumes of the continuation.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*The Creator and the Creature ; or, the Wonders of Divine Love.*
By Frederick William Faber, D.D. Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London, Dublin, and Derby, Richardson and Son, 1857.

The last, and in some respects, the most remarkable, of Father Faber's theological works. It appears too late in the quarter for an article, and no attempt can even be made to do justice to it in a passing notice. Before our next publication, both we and our readers must try and make time to study it, and at the expiration of the interval, we may hope to return to it with greater advantage. Those who know "All for Jesus" and "Growth in Holiness," will read "The Creator and the Creature;" so it is a waste of words to say that they ought to do so. But the fact is, that the present volume furnishes a kind of key to the interpretation of its immediate predecessors, in giving the great leading idea upon which they have proceeded. The "Creator and the Creature," however, is any thing but an easy book; it is obviously the result of years of patient research, and habitual meditation. But all that a perfect mastery over the English language can do towards elucidating a deep subject, the reader will be prepared to find in any

work of Father Faber's, and will certainly find in this. Moreover, the harder parts of the treatise are relieved by passages of the most luxuriant poetical beauty.

II.—*The Catholic Handbook.* A History of the Metropolitan Missions, with a description of one hundred Churches and Chapels of the Dioceses of Westminster and Southwark. London: C. Dolman, 1857.

We have long felt the want of a useful guide book to the Missions in and near London, but we confess that the work before us is in no way calculated to supply that want. It is one of the most careless compilations that we have seen for a long time. It proceeds upon no consistent plan that we can discover, while the information with which it professes to favour us is, for the most part, meagre and uninteresting to the last degree. We are also sorry to be obliged to add, that it has never been our lot to read a printed book which betrayed so complete an ignorance of the English language as the volume now before us. It abounds in errors of grammar so numerous and so elementary, as to make us wonder how any one with ordinary education could have fallen into them. Let our readers turn to pages 11, 21, 31, 109, 112, 113, 116, and 119, of the "*Catholic Hand Book*," and they will find some glaring and almost ludicrous instances of bad grammar, incorrect English, and gross inattention to the laws of punctuation. Our space will not permit us to make more than one extract, which, however, is amply sufficient to establish the justice of the censure that we have felt it a duty to pass upon this work. The compiler describes the state and progress of the mission at Reigate in the following words:—

"In the year 1851, mass was for the first time restored by the Rev. Dr. Manning, at Prudell Court, [it should be Pendell Court] the residence of his brother Mr. Charles James Manning, on whose return with his family from Italy in 1853, was established; [what?] and opened an oratory there and since that period, [observe the punctuation] within the space of less than three years, the holy Sacrifice has been offered by the bishop of the diocese, [sic] and nearly thirty different priests. The establishment of this mission is a proof of how much might [sic] be done for religion, with even small beginnings, and, it is to be hoped, will prove an incentive to others to build at least an altar, where perhaps they are unable, at once, to erect a church or place the mission on a proper footing. During the harvest season, numbers of

poor Catholics seek employment in the country, and it was [sic] with no common pleasure that the pious originator of this mission rode from place to place seeking them out, and finding that the poor, desolate Catholics received with joy the announcement, that near them was then to be found an altar and a priest."

Here the sentence comes to an untimely end. We are not told what follows upon "the pious originator's" finding that the poor received with joy the tidings of a neighbouring altar and church. We have in fact only one part of a sentence, the rest is in nubibus.

"Since that period a regular mission has been established, about three miles distant, at Redhill, near the station of the Brighton and South Eastern lines of railway, by Lady Mostyn. That excellent lady is devoting herself with unbounded energy and charity."

We are not told to what good work it is that this excellent lady is devoting herself. We must supply the omission from our own imagination.

"Already the congregation numbers one hundred and fifty or more, and the good Abbé Reinaud, by his and [sic] indefatigable exertions, has given consolation to many a troubled mind, and cheerfulness to the desolate hearth; at present the chapel is an outbuilding in Lady Mostyn's grounds, and though temporary, is carefully and nicely fitted, and the altar beautifully dressed and cared for."

This extract is a fair sample of the entire book; and we can only express a hope, that if, as the author threatens us, we are to be inflicted with an annual re-issue of this *Hand-book*, the period intervening between the present publication and that of next year may be spent by the compiler in a diligent study of the rudiments of the English tongue. It is time that men should bear in mind, that all Catholics are not called upon to turn authors, and that in fact, a Catholic may be a most pious, estimable, and useful member of society, without the necessity of appearing in print, to bring disgrace upon himself, and to provoke the angry criticisms of outraged common sense.

III.—*The Genius of Christianity, or, the Spirit and Beauty of the Christian Religion.* By Viscount de Chateaubriand. Translated from the Author, with Preface, Notes, and Biographical Notices of the Author, by Charles J. White, D.D. (Second Edition). London: Dolman, 1856.

The translation of Chateaubriand's masterpiece, is really a great undertaking; not only for the service rendered to literature and religion, by making it more generally accessible, but on account of the difficulty of the task. Those who are acquainted with this writer, will be aware that although his style has all the apparent simplicity which is given by high polish and purity of idiom, it is still quite the writing of a poet, meant not merely to express the writer's thoughts, but to enhance them by the delicate word-painting which it requires nice appreciation and great skill to render into another language. Yet not in some degree to succeed in this, would be to fail in doing justice to a work avowedly addressed to the feelings and to the imagination as much as to the reason. The Author has given us the plan of his work in the following quotation from Pascal. "With those who have an aversion for religion, you must begin with demonstrating that it is not contradictory to reason; next show that it is venerable, and inspire them with respect for it; afterwards exhibit it in an amiable light, and excite a wish that it were true; then let it appear by incontestable proofs that it is true; and lastly, prove its antiquity and holiness by its grandeur and sublimity." This idea has originated in a deep knowledge of the human heart; it is not new to us in one form or another; it is the object which Mr. Digby has pursued in all his works, with far greater research and originality than Chateaubriand, with a wealth of illustration to which the great French writer can make no pretension, and a depth of poetic beauty which he has not surpassed. The peculiar merit of the *Genie du Christianisme* is the rapidity of its style, the power of its condensation which is combined with all the embellishment of a luxuriant imagination. It is difficult in our short space to give an idea of the multitude of topics touched upon in this work, or rather the variety of aspects in which the subject, in itself so vast, is presented to the reader; the whole system of Christianity, its mysteries, sacraments, and laws, are set forth, and their fitness and grandeur

vindicated ; the influence of Christianity upon the world at large, upon politics, morals, philosophy, science, literature, the fine arts ; upon the material prosperity of nations, its worship with all its beauties and harmonious accordance with the wants of men. The Existence of God, proved from His own works, the immortality of the soul, as evidenced by the very nature of man ; the Scripture history of the human race, with all its corroborations ; all these great subjects are touched upon and developed into ramifications which we cannot give. The Author does not insist, does not argue ; it is not his purpose to excite opposition ; he makes his point, heightens its effect by contrasts taken from Pagan or Infidel philosophy, and passing on to the next topic, brings from that also a new ray of light to bear upon the magnificence of his subject. Upon the wonders of creation bearing witness to the power and goodness of God, Chateaubriand pauses ; the recollections of the traveller rush upon him, nights and days spent in the fairest scenes of earth and the loneliest, supply him with exquisite imagery, and we are carried away by the beauty of his style. Again he yields to his feelings, when, in a last appeal to those of his readers, he dwells upon the supernatural charity of the clergy and religious orders, and, as a crowning instance, classifies their different missions to the heathens, giving a most happy summary of their labours, sufferings, and achievements. We can readily believe the effect produced by such a work as this upon its first appearance, nor do we doubt its importance at the present time. Chateaubriand wrote for the "Philosophers" of the French Revolution ; his book is the very "low water mark" of infidelity ; had he written now, his argument might have received some modifications, but against every error into which he has incautiously fallen, Dr. White has guarded us. As a translator, he has done justice to the spirit and the beauties of his Author, and by his notes and annotations, has added greatly to the value of the work.

IV.—*The Chinese Mother* ; a Drama. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

This drama is certainly more Christian than Chinese, although the scene of it is laid in China, to which country most of the personages belong. But this perhaps, is to be

more critical than the occasion requires. An incident has been selected which might doubtless find many a parallel in the annals of the wonderful missions of that strange country. This story is pleasingly represented, and will excite the sympathy of the young, for whose benefit it was intended.

V.—*Alice Sherwin ; a Historical Tale*, by C. J. M. London : Burns and Lambert.

We can heartily recommend this story to our readers as one of great merit. The period of the tale is during the life of Henry VIII. ; it commences with the riots of the "Evil May Day," and continues through that critical period when the King, determined upon the divorce of his Queen, was bearing down all opposition by his cruelty ; when violence had succeeded to craft, and the reign of iniquity had begun. The Author has thoroughly entered into the spirit of the times, and his work has all the freshness and zest of a narrative of recent occurrences. The great characters of the day,—the King and Queen, Wolsey, Campeggio, Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and others, are freely introduced ; the records of the time have been searched for details of their lives and conversation, and those smaller incidents in their career which are so full of interest, and indeed of edification ; for, we need not say that the Author has taken the just and catholic view of these times ; and their boisterous gaieties and rough splendour are well contrasted with the under current of struggle, and fear, and anguish,—and as these become unavailing, the deaths of the martyrs close the scene solemnly. With these greater events are mixed up the fortunes of humble characters ; a good stirring story, which is set off, and not encumbered, by considerable antiquarian knowledge.

VI.—*The Convert Martyr ; a Drama in Five Acts*, arranged from Callista, by F. C. Husenbeth, D.D. London : Burns and Lambert, 1857.

Dr. Husenbeth has done good service to the public, and especially to the young, in giving them this elegant drama : his materials were indeed rich, and he has done justice to them by his judgment in selection, and his skilful arrangement of them.

VII.—*The Heiress of Morden: A Tale of our own Times*, by Stephen Wells. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

This is an interesting and edifying Catholic tale, of fair ability, and undoubted good tendency. Though called a tale, it consists of little more than a narration of facts, which, of course adds to the interest of the story, and gives it a reality which it must otherwise have lacked. Such works are obviously calculated to be useful, and it is to be regretted that we have not more Catholic books of a similar character and tendency.

VIII.—*A Few Sweet Flowers collected from the writings of St. Teresa*. By the Very Rev. Canon Dalton. Dublin: James Duffy.

Our best acknowledgments are due to Canon Dalton for the many admirable selections from the writings of St. Teresa which he has given to the public, not the least valuable of which is the little volume now before us. Cardinal Wiseman has observed, "that Spain can defy the world to produce a woman equal in intellect, in energy, in elevation of thought, and solidity of judgment to the incomparable St. Teresa;" whose works are eminently practical, and suited for popular use. This little book contains narrations and maxims of the Saint for the different days of the week, and we have much pleasure in recommending it to our readers.

IX.—*Sir Robert Peel, a Type of Statesmanship*. By Jelinger Symons, Esq. London: Longman, Brown, Green, &c., 1856.

The object of this work is not to exalt, but to degrade Sir Robert Peel from the honours of statesmanship. Indeed, the title is altogether a misnomer, for this attack is not upon his statesmanship; each of the great acts which he succeeded in passing, is admitted to have been necessary, wise, beneficial in itself, and to have been carried through with consummate ability. Sir Robert Peel is accused of dishonesty, and to have given dexterous plausibility to a false charge against a great and good man, is the only merit we can award to the author.

It is affirmed that during his earlier career, while holding office in Ireland, Sir Robert brought forward no good measures, nor took any sound views of Irish policy; this is true,—this was indeed the blemish upon his statesman-

ship, and thus he lost that gratitude and affection which would have been balm to his after life. He was a tory, one of those to whom Catholic ascendancy was alike odious, politically or religiously ; and with him as with others, every effort to legislate or to do good, was impeded by this question. But he changed his mind ; yes, here was the difference between him and others, there was not (as our author admits,) any bitterness in his temper, any gall in his heart, and consequently, he was not obstinately blinded by his prejudice. When circumstances proved that Catholic Emancipation was needed by the nation, he conceded it ; and the proof of his conviction was in the large, and generous, and faithful way in which he acted up to it. Very similar were the circumstances when Sir Robert Peel carried the Repeal of the Corn Laws. But Mr. Symons alleges, first, that Sir Robert was too wise not to have always seen the folly of the politics which he in early life adopted ; secondly, that he changed his opinions concerning them some years before he professed to do so ; thirdly, that he never changed his opinions at all, but altered his line of conduct for the sake of keeping office. To the first we answer, that Sir Robert was not before the times in his opinions, he was a tory, not by party only, but by habit of mind,—he was a politician of a period when change was particularly abhorrent to men's minds, and when the great events by which the very existence of the nation was compromised, had prevented the due consideration which was afterwards given to minor questions of national policy. To the second we reply, that truth seldom comes in a flash of lightning, upon the unwilling, yet conscientious mind, conviction comes but slowly ; but that a deliberate intention was fraudently concealed, to the detriment of public interest and private honour, is a thing to be not lightly received of any man, utterly incredible of Sir Robert Peel. As to the third charge, of his determination to hold office at any cost, it refutes itself. Why should he have so determined ? As leader of the opposition, the idol of the Protestant and landed interest party, Sir Robert would have held a position, perhaps as powerful, certainly more gratifying to his feelings and his pride, than that which he afterwards occupied. We shall not pause to notice the insinuation that Sir Robert's father was enriched by the return to cash payments, nor to examine the questions in which he is disapproved by

Mr. Symons. The opinion of his eminent contemporaries, the regret, the gratitude, and admiration of his country, the fame which is building itself solidly up around his name and memory, reduce all such attacks as these to insignificance. Catholics are divided. For ourselves we remember the year 1829, the thrill of exultation and joy with which we heard that our cause was espoused by Sir Robert Peel, the manly courage and firmness with which he carried it through, and the storm of obloquy which then, and for long after he endured upon account of it. And if other less pleasant memories are connected with his name, our gratitude consigns them to oblivion.

X.—1. *The Lily of Israel ; or the Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary.* Translated from the French of the Abbé Gerbet. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

2.—*Nine Considerations on Eternity.* By Jerome Drexelius, S. J. Translated from the Latin of the Bavarian edition, by F. Robert, of Mount St. Bernard's. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Both these works will be very acceptable in an English dress, and the translations seem to be carefully made. This is the fifth edition of the life of the Blessed Virgin—a sufficient proof of its appreciation ; and we are indebted for the *Considerations on Eternity* of the holy Jesuit Drexelius, to good Father Robert of St. Bernard's Abbey, who dedicates his very creditable translation to the Bishop of Shrewsbury. We are glad to see that amongst their various good works, and the anxieties connected with their admirable Reformatory, the good monks can find some time for literary labours ; and F. Robert deserves our thanks for his opportune addition to our Catholic works. Drexelius teaches us, first, what is Eternity ; in what things nature represents it ; in what the ancient Romans placed their view of Eternity ; how David meditated upon it, and why we should imitate him ; how even the wicked have thought of eternity ; in what manner Holy Scripture and the Fathers teach us to meditate upon it ; how Christians are accustomed to depict it ; and how it should constitute their profound meditation ; concluding with some wholesome reflections. We can confidently recommend this work to our readers.

XI.—*Usury, Funds, Banking, &c.* By Jeremiah O'Callaghan, Catholic Priest. New York : 1856.

We have read with interest the introduction to this work, the author's "narrative of his trials and travels in regard to usury," wherein with great simplicity, the good man puts himself and his cause entirely "out of court." For the question of usury, dissection of the dead for the purposes of science, and other points which he had so much at heart ; he had no notion of considering, except as to their lawfulness in the eye of God and His Church. Nevertheless, although bishops condemned, good men advised and remonstrated, and the Holy See silenced him ; nothing could turn him from his own views. He had no thought of rebelling against the authority of the Church, but that authority when brought to bear upon his theories, he somehow could not perceive : but evaded it with a pious perversity which would be laughable, were not the whole tenor of the narrative so sad ; for Mr. O'Callaghan appears to be a man of zeal, learning and piety, who has suffered much and fruitlessly.

XII.—1. *A Memorial of the late Archbishop Sibour of Paris.* London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

2.—*A Catechism for First Communion.* Translated from the French, and revised by the Very Rev. Dr. Pagani. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

3.—*A Manual of Prayers before, during, and after Mass, for Schools.* London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

The first of the above publications is a very beautiful mortuary paper, (an excellent specimen for such announcements, which can be supplied with blanks) put forth as a memorial of the late Archbishop of Paris, with the address of the Chapter on his violent death at the back. Many persons will be glad to possess this paper, which is appropriately illustrated, and may be obtained for a few pence.

A Catechism of first Communion, revised by Dr. Pagani, needs only to be mentioned to be recommended ; and the same remark applies to the Manual of Prayers for Schools, which is published with the *Imprimatur* of the Bishop of Nottingham.

XIII.—*The Last Judgment*. A Poem, in Twelve Books. London : Longmans, and Co. 1857.

The Last Judgment is one of those subjects the very awfulness of which has hitherto defied the powers of human language. We regret to say that the poem now before us is no exception to the past experience. It has nothing to recommend it beyond the beauty of its typography.

XIV.—*Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*. By Edward Shortland M.A. London : Longman, &c., 1856.

But little, we are told, is known of the superstitious practices of the New Zealanders ; nor can we regret our ignorance. The manners and the language of a savage people may usefully afford some means of tracing out their origin : but their superstitions have one uniform character of debasement and puerility. Those of the New Zealanders are no exception ; they form indeed a marked contrast to the good sense which these people shew in all practical matters, in which they have proved themselves to be possessed of spirit and discretion, willing to learn, able to care for, and to defend themselves ; and to “hold their own,” as the phrase is, even in presence of civilization. Perhaps we are the less inclined to appreciate the information Mr. Shortland does give us,—however copious, and doubtless accurate of its kind—because we are disappointed of that which we should have desired from one who knew the country well. We should have liked to hear of the change made in the social condition of these Islanders by the introduction of the new, ennobling principle of Christianity, of their improvement, of their present state and prospects. Perhaps our reluctance to be contented with a record of the superstitions which, we had hoped, even themselves had rejected as childish, makes us blind to the importance of their preservation. Others have formed a different opinion, for this work has reached its second edition.

XV.—*Two Methods of Reciting the Beads, or Crown of our Lord Jesus Christ*, with an account of the Indulgences granted for that purpose. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

We are indebted to a member of the Congregation of the Passion for this little publication (abridged and translated from the French) the object of which is explained by the title. There seems to be a growing feeling that such simple methods of devotion are on every account the best, even for educated persons; and certainly none have been more encouraged by the Church. The devotions to which indulgences are attached are short, simple, and fervent; and Rosaries have the special recommendation that they are comprised of the best of all prayers (to which these characteristics especially belong),—the *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria*, which come to us from the very highest source.

XVI.—*Living Celebrities*. A series of Photographic likenesses of eminent public characters, with biographical notices. Maull and Polyblank, 55, Grace-church Street, and Richardson and Son, 147, Strand.

Probably many of our readers are acquainted with these admirable photographs, and to them no recommendation will be needed. The last number of the series contains an excellent likeness of the Cardinal Archbishop (the only divine who has appeared) which is considered the best that has yet been published. Nothing, certainly, could be more successful, or more pleasing; and it is put forth at such prices as place it within the reach of every one. The following biographical notice which accompanies the portrait, and may be relied upon as authentic, deserves a place in the *Dublin Review*.

“CARDINAL NICHOLAS WISEMAN was born on the 2nd August, 1802. He is descended from an English family on the father's side; on his mother's from the Stranges of Aylwardstown Castle, Kilkenny, where his mother was born. Many relatives of both his parents were long resident as merchants at Cadiz and Seville, where he himself was born. He sailed from Spain in the Melpolmene frigate, Capt. Parker, and arrived at Portsmouth Jan. 1st, 1808. After having been at a boarding school in Waterford, he was sent in March, 1810, for his education, to St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham. Thence, he obtained leave to go as one of a first colony to the English College at

Rome, where he arrived Dec. 18th, 1818. The next year he had the honour of preaching before Pope Pius VII. There he pursued, with diligence, the usual course of philosophical and theological studies, at the close of which he held a public disputation on all theology, and received the Doctorship of Divinity, July 7th, 1824.

"He received holy orders the next spring. By Leo XII. he was named in 1827, Professor of Oriental languages, in the Roman University, Vice-Rector, and finally, in 1829, Rector of the English College. In 1827, he composed and printed a work entitled, *Horæ Syriacæ*, chiefly drawn from Oriental MSS. in the Vatican.

"Dr. Wiseman visited England in 1835; and in the winter of that year delivered a series of lectures, twice a week in Advent, at the Sardinian chapel, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

"In the Lent of the following year, by the desire of Bishop Bramstone, he vindicated, in a course of lectures delivered at St. Mary's Moorfields, the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church; and the London Catholics presented him with a gold medal, as an expression of their esteem and gratitude. These lectures were published, as also two volumes of 'Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion,' and another on the Eucharist, in the course of that year. In 1840, the late Pope (Gregory XVI.) increased the number of Vicars Apostolic in England from four to eight; and Dr. Wiseman was named Coadjutor to Bishop Walsh of the Midland District, and Rector of St. Mary's College, Oscott. On the death of Bishop Griffiths, in 1848, Dr. Wiseman was made Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District, and subsequently Coadjutor to Dr. Walsh, (*cum jure successionis*.) on his translation to London. Bishop Walsh died in 1849, and Dr. Wiseman then became Vicar Apostolic of the London District. In August 1850, the Bishop was summoned to Rome; and in the following month the news of his elevation to the Cardinalate, and to the first place in the new Hierarchy, reached England. It was on the 29th September, 1850, that the Pope issued his Apostolic Letters establishing the Hierarchy, and a brief appointing Dr. Wiseman to the Archiepiscopal See of Westminster; and in a private consistory held on the following day the new Archbishop was raised to the dignity of Cardinal Priest, the ancient Church of S. Pudentiana being selected by him, for his title."

Our readers are aware that a collection of the Cardinal's Essays, from the *Dublin Review*, has been published in three volumes by Mr. Dolman.

Since the establishment of the Hierarchy, the Cardinal Archbishop has consecrated eight prelates,—Archbishop Errington, and Bishops Turner, Brown (of Shrewsbury), Burgess (R. I. P.), Roskell, Vaughan, Goss, and Vesque;

besides giving the abbatial mitre and benediction to the Abbot of Mount St. Bernard's.

XVII.—*Collections Illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in the Counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester.* In two Parts, Historical and Biographical, with notices of the Dominican, Benedictine, and Franciscan orders in England. By the Very Rev. George Oliver, D.D. 8vo. London: Dolman, 1857.

Dr. Oliver's reputation as an ecclesiastical antiquarian is so long and so universally established that it is hardly necessary in order to recommend this his latest publication, to do more than announce the welcome news of its appearance. It has long been known that he was engaged in preparing the materials, and the "Collections" will fully realize the expectations to which the author's former works had given rise. It is in fact, (especially in the second Part) an exact counterpart in style, manner, and in execution of Dr. Oliver's admirable volume on the history of the Jesuit Society in Great Britain.

There is one difference between them. The *Memoirs of the Jesuits* were purely biographical, while the historical part of the present work comprises a history of the religious establishments, and also an account of the Catholic families in the district; but both of these, of course, include many biographical details, and especially such as bear upon the sufferings undergone for the faith in the dreadful times through which our fathers have handed it down to us.

The Biographical part, however, occupies the larger half of the volume, and it is this portion that exhibits most strikingly the remarkable industry and research which are the great characteristics of Dr. Oliver.

It comprises a vast number of biographies, from the sixteenth century downwards, many of them, it is true, meagre and fragmentary, but all in their way of infinite value to the future historian. As a large proportion of the biographical notices, not only fall within the memory of the living generation, but even embraces individuals still living, his task has often been a very delicate and difficult one; nor is it in the nature of things that, in such a community as ours, his notices should have given universal satisfaction, or that he should have gone through so vast a subject absolutely and entirely *inoffenso pede*. But while, on the one hand, it may safely be said that there is very

little in these Collections against which any reasonable exception can be taken, they will be found, on the other, to contain a mass of information which no other living man could command, and which would have been hopelessly and irrecoverably lost, had not Dr. Oliver devoted his life to its preservation.

XVIII.—*The History of Normandy and of England.* By Sir Francis Palgrave, K. H., Deputy Keeper of Her Majesty's Public Records. Vol. II. London : Parker and Son, 1857.

At length, after an interval of six years, Sir Francis Palgrave has published the second volume of his *History of Normandy and England*. The present is even more massive than its predecessor, extending to nearly a thousand pages. This enormous volume comprises, nevertheless, but a part of the history of the tenth century, resuming the narrative at the reign of Duke Rollo, and carrying it on only through those of the two succeeding Dukes. The author, however, holds out a promise that in the course of this and the next year, the third and fourth volumes shall follow in quick succession, completing the work.

The volume now before us, exhibits all the well-known peculiarities of the author, all his learning and research, all the beauties, the quaintnesses, and the eccentricities which characterise him. Sir Francis, however, has reserved for the succeeding volumes, the continuation of the series of essays on the general relations of the Mediæval period which was prefixed to the first.

As the interest of the work, in our eyes, turns upon these essays, and on the questions which they involve, much more than on the personal details of the history of this obscure period, however full of life and force they appear in Sir Francis's brilliant pictures, we shall reserve till the completion of the work, the review of the entire which we have long contemplated.

XIX.—*Christianity and our Era.* A Book for the Times. By George Gilfillan, 8vo. Edinburgh : Hogg, 1857.

The doctrine of "Christianity and our Era" is briefly this ;—that, although Christianity is divine, and *was* sufficient for the uses for which it was designed, yet that its day has passed, even as the day of Judaism passed before : that the new circumstances of the world render necessary

“a new sublimner, stronger shape of the old thing;” and, therefore, that we are to look forward to a final form of divine interposition, through a new coming of the Son.

This is not a view to be argued with in our pages. We merely state it as “a sign of the times.”

XX.—*The Lives of the Chief Justices of England from the Norman Conquest till the Death of Lord Tenterden.* By John Lord Campbell, F.R.S.E. Vol. III. London: Murray, 1857.

This volume completes this great series of legal biographies, to which Lord Campbell has devoted the brief leisure of many years. The third and concluding volume of the Chief Justices contains the lives of Lord Kenyon, Lord Ellenborough, and Lord Tenterden. For the present we only record the completion of the work; but we purpose, in our next number, to examine in detail, the entire series, which, in several of its parts, has been the subject of many, and not unimportant discussions.

XXI.—*The Rosary of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* By F. W. Faber, D.D. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

We are glad to find that amongst his other reprints, Dr. Faber has not omitted to give to the Catholic public this excellent paraphrase from the Latin, which was first published fourteen years ago, while the author was yet an Anglican. The only alteration that seems to have been required was the omission of a somewhat startling invocation, (“Hail *Jesus*, pray for us!”) which was repeated after every verse in the Protestant edition. This excellent Rosary is published at the lowest conceivable price, in a coloured wrapper, with an appropriate mediæval title.

XXII.—*Collected Poems.* By Sir Oscar Oliphant. London: Hope, 1856.

Sir Oscar Oliphant has not done himself justice; a smirking portrait, and a defiant introductory notice, do not predispose the reader in favour of poems which require to be read with indulgence. For they have a good deal of the carelessness and flippancy natural to the pet productions of an amateur poet. They have, however, much which makes it worth while to overlook these blemishes; they have power, originality, poetic talent of a high order;

with many of the poems we have been greatly pleased, and can confidently recommend them to our readers.

XXIII.—*Modern Manicheism, and other Poems.* London: J. Parker, 1857.

Who is the author of these effusions?

“A poet hidden
In the light of thought,
Singing hymns unbidden,
Till the world is wrought
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not.”

We have let the poet speak for himself, not being ourselves well able to appreciate his “unbidden hymns.” Modern Manicheism is Theological, a stale protest against Calvinism, ‘Labours Utopia’ is an inflated Rhapsody, ‘Love, an Ode’ utterly unintelligible; the shorter pieces have more point, but only a very few of these repay the trouble of reading them.

XXIV.—*Era, a Romance in Rhyme, and other Poems.* By Caroline Giffard Phillipson. London: Moxon, 1857.

We are unwilling to criticize a work of such slight pretensions. Amiable feeling, and a relish for beautiful imagery, form the sole recommendation of these little poems.

XXV.—*Kirkin, a Novel*, by Octavia Oliphant. London: Hope, 1856.

This novel has reached a second edition, greatly to our surprise; whether it has obtained favour in virtue of any former writings, by Octavia Oliphant, we are unable to say; but the work before us we cannot recommend. The incidents and characters are unpleasing, devoid of truth or nature. A great effort has been made at originality; and the result has been something very odd, to say the least of it. In fact, the style both of thought and expression are often preposterous and always vulgar.

XXVI.—*May Carols.* By Aubrey De Vere. London: Longman and Co., 1857.

Mr. De Vere is never so happy as in that most difficult of all subjects, Devotional Poetry, in which Johnson regarded success as unattainable. We have seen many a



alluding to the exquisite sonnets contained in Mr. De Vere's volume of *Poems*, published two years since, endeavoured to point out the qualities of his mind, from which this remarkable aptitude for sacred poetry arises. His volume of 'May Carols' exhibits these qualities still more strikingly, and it would seem to us, with more complete unreserve.

The 'May Carols' is, in some sense, a Poetical Month of Mary. The subjects, if not exclusively devoted to our Blessed Lady, are at least grouped around her as a centre; and most of them tend to illustrate, either directly or indirectly, the true nature of that devotion to her, in which the Catholic, as it were, makes holiday in "the Blessed Month of May."

Having received the volume only on the eve of publication, we must be content with one or two extracts, as specimens, both of its devotional spirit, and of its poetical excellence.

There is great tenderness as well as dignity in the following protest against the misconstruction of our worship of the Blessed Virgin, which is common among Protestants.

"Who doubts that thou art finite? Who
Is ignorant that from the Godhead's height
To what is loftiest here below,
The interval is infinite?"

"O Mary! with that smile thrice-blest
Upon their petulance look down;—
Their dull negation, cold protest—
Thy smiles will melt away their frown!"

"Show them thy Son! That hence their heart,
Will beat and burn with love like thine;
Grow large; and learn from thee that art,
Which communes best with things divine.

"The man who grasps not what is best
In creaturely existence; he
Is narrowest in the brain; and least
Can grasp the thought of Deity."—p. 73.

We cannot deny ourselves the mournful pleasure of transcribing from the epilogue of the volume the following touching tribute to the memory of the ever-lamented Robert Wilberforce.

"The Sabbath comes ; the work-days six
Of Time go by ; meanwhile the key,
O Salutory Crucifix,
Of all the worlds, we clasp in thee !

"Truth deeper felt by none than him,
Who at the Alban mountain's foot
Wandering no more in shadows dim,
Lay down a lamb-like offering mute.

"His mighty love found rest at last
In Faith, and woke in God. Ah, Friend !
When life that is not Life is past,
Pray that like them may be my end.

"Thy fair large front ; thine eyes grave blue ;
Thine English ways so staid and plain ;—
Through native rosemaries and rue,
Memory creeps back to thee again.

"Beside thy dying bed were writ
Some snatches of these random rhymes ;
Weak Song, how happy if with it,
Thy name should blend in after times."

We had hoped to add one of the beautiful paraphrases of the titles of our Blessed Lady, '*Mater Christi*,' '*Mater Divinæ Gratiæ*,' '*Stella Matutina*,' &c., but we have already more than exceeded our allotted space. We regret the omission less, however, because we cannot doubt that '*May Carols*' will be speedily welcomed as a household book in every Catholic family.

XXVII.—*The Irish in England*. By William G. Todd, D.D.
Reprinted with Additions from the "Dublin Review." London :
Dolman, 1857.

It would not become us to speak as we should desire of this admirable reprint from our own pages. Would that the feelings of deep responsibility with which it was written—the awful sense of the dangers of our poor countrymen in England—the warm and ungrudging recognition of their many noble qualities, and the equally lively consciousness of their many shortcomings, were universal among those who have the power to aid in improving their condition, in correcting their faults, and fostering and developing their many admirable qualities !

XXVIII.—*Gwendoline and Winfred*. London : Moxon, 1857.

" By a moss bank of softest green,
 Where violets shed their odours sweet,
 And purling brooklets run between
 The groves of laurel at your feet,
 From the chill winter's icy hand
 Loosed to enliven all the land,
 Which 'neath the Spring sun shone as bright
 As tho' unknown the Frost King's might ;
 Two maidens, lovely as a dream
 Sat gazing on the warm sunshine—
 Bright Winfred, with her eyes' rich gleam
 And laughter-loving Gwendoline ;
 On whose young brow of purest snow
 Joy doth her sunny radiance throw ;
 Enlivening with its sparkling grace
 The tender beauty of her face."

It is a very difficult thing to criticize poetry ; the slight material does not justify rough usage ; and while there is such happy difference in tastes, it seems hard to pass stern censure upon what is graceful and pleasing, because it lacks some higher qualifications. For this reason we have let this poem introduce itself. The two fair sisters are heroines of a tale in verse, of which these introductory lines are a fair specimen.

XXIX.—*Official Documents, connected with the Definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, in Latin and English, with a list of the Cardinals and Prelates present in the Basilica of St. Peter on the 8th December, 1854. Baltimore : Murphy. London : Dolman, 1855.

These documents consist of the two allocutions pronounced by our Holy Father Pius IX. on the 1st and on the 9th of December, 1854, and of the Letters Apostolic promulgated by him, declaring the definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. They are noble compositions, worthy of the subject ; grand in their simplicity, full of authority and unction. We are glad to have them thus collected as a memorial of that memorable 8th of December, and as a vindication of the antiquity and truth of the glorious doctrine then finally decided.

XXX.—*Rosa of Tannenburg, a Tale of the Olden Time, for Parents and Children.* By Canon Von Schmid. London: Dolman, 1857.

This story will add to the obligations under which Canon Schmidt has laid his juvenile readers. It contains more incident than usual in his writings, and has real merit as a tale, independent of the value of its persuasive enforcement of holy feeling and religious duty.

XXXI.—*Adulterations Detected, or Plain Instructions for the Discovery of Frauds in Food and Medicine.* By Arthur Hill Hassall, M.D. London: Longman and Co., 1857.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of such a work as this; it attacks an evil almost universal, subtle and dangerous in the highest degree: it points out the methods by which the legislature might protect us from it; or if, as is probable, our government should consider the subject too insignificant to be worthy the wisdom and paternal care, for which it has doubtless more important objects, at least Dr. Hassall provides for individuals the means of, in some degree, guarding themselves against it, if they will take the trouble so to do. Not many, indeed, could use the laborious and scientific tests which the author has applied to almost every article in general consumption; but upon these are grounded a quantity of plain instructions and useful information, which cannot be too generally diffused. The suggestions made to the government for the measures best calculated to protect both the honest dealer and the public, by detecting and punishing adulteration, are admirable; they would be most effective, nor can we perceive any practical difficulty in carrying them out. We can but hope that these, or other measures equally suitable may be adopted. Surely nothing can be more urgent. It appears certain that everything we eat or drink, every article we consume, for nourishment, for stimulants, or for medicine, is mixed with foreign substances, most of them more or less poisonous. Who can tell how much of the dyspepsia, the valetudinarianism, the innumerable symptoms of a general "ailing" so prevalent in the present day, may be owing to this slow but continual process of deterioration? Again, what mean hypocritical wide-spread dishonesty is involved in such proceedings? it is painful to ourselves to reflect upon it; 'ghbours

and customers view this blot upon our commerce ! We must hope that this subject will be taken up in earnest by the government ; they can plead no lack of information or advice ; both have been supplied to them abundantly by different writers, but chiefly by the pains-taking, learned, and conscientious author of the work we now recommend.

XXXII.—*Maxims, Sayings, Exclamations of Love*, translated from the writings of St. Teresa, by the Rev. Canon Dalton. 2nd edition. London : Dolman, 1857.

We are glad to announce a second edition of this valuable little work, which we recommended to our readers on its first appearance.

XXXIII.—*A Discussion of the Question, Is the Roman Catholic Religion Inimical to Civil or Religious Liberty? and the Question, Is the Presbyterian Religion Inimical to Civil or Religious Liberty?* By the Rev. John Hughes, Catholic Priest, and the Rev. John Breckinridge, Presbyterian. Baltimore : Murphy, 1856.

We have not been able to do more than glance through this bulky volume; yet we think we can say that those who derive pleasure and excitement from these trials of intellectual skill, will find as much of both in these records as can reasonably be expected. The question was narrowed within practicable limits, the terms of discussion fairly settled, and the audience impartial. The Catholic champion, the Rev. John Hughes, is an acute and learned man, who did all possible justice to the cause of truth; but he was singularly unfortunate in his opponent; a shallower reasoner or more violent man we should not think America could produce. It is painful to see our holy religion held up and serving as a target for the vulgar jeering insolence of such a man; but if Mr. Hughes compelled himself to endure this, we will not name in comparison the personal attacks upon himself—we trust that he has been rewarded. To obtain an admitted or conclusive victory over so fraudulent and perverse a mind as that of his adversary, could not be in the power of any man; but his arguments must have impressed his hearers, and have doubtless proved to many of them a germ of truth, which will bear fruit hereafter.

XXXIV.—*Considerations on Divorce, & related Matrimonial immunities with Holy Scripture.* By a Barrister. London: Stevens 1857.

A sound and able argument upon a much vexed question, which is particularly seasonable at this time. The question of Divorce is considered solely with reference to the will of God as made manifest in Holy Scripture, and the texts which bear upon the subject are examined carefully, and commented upon with much acuteness and good sense. To Catholics, such a work is needless, the Church has given them as she ever must the true interpretation of Scripture; nevertheless, we rejoice in whatever may assist in giving a right direction to public feeling upon this subject, and have no doubt that this pamphlet will have considerable influence in doing so.

XXXV.—*The Church of the Fathers.* By John Henry Newman, D.D., of the Oratory. Dublin: Duffy, 1857.

Dr. Newman's work has been so long known and appreciated, that we have no occasion to do more than announce this new edition; it has received the author's last improvements, and is introduced in his own beautiful style.

XXXVI.—*The Mystic Crown of Mary, in verse.* By D. Rock, D.D. London: Dolman, 1857.

A beautiful little poem full of imagery and of feeling; it is written with life and fire, bearing the reader along with it in its flow. And Dr. Rock has enriched it with notes which we need not say, coming from his pen, are valuable.

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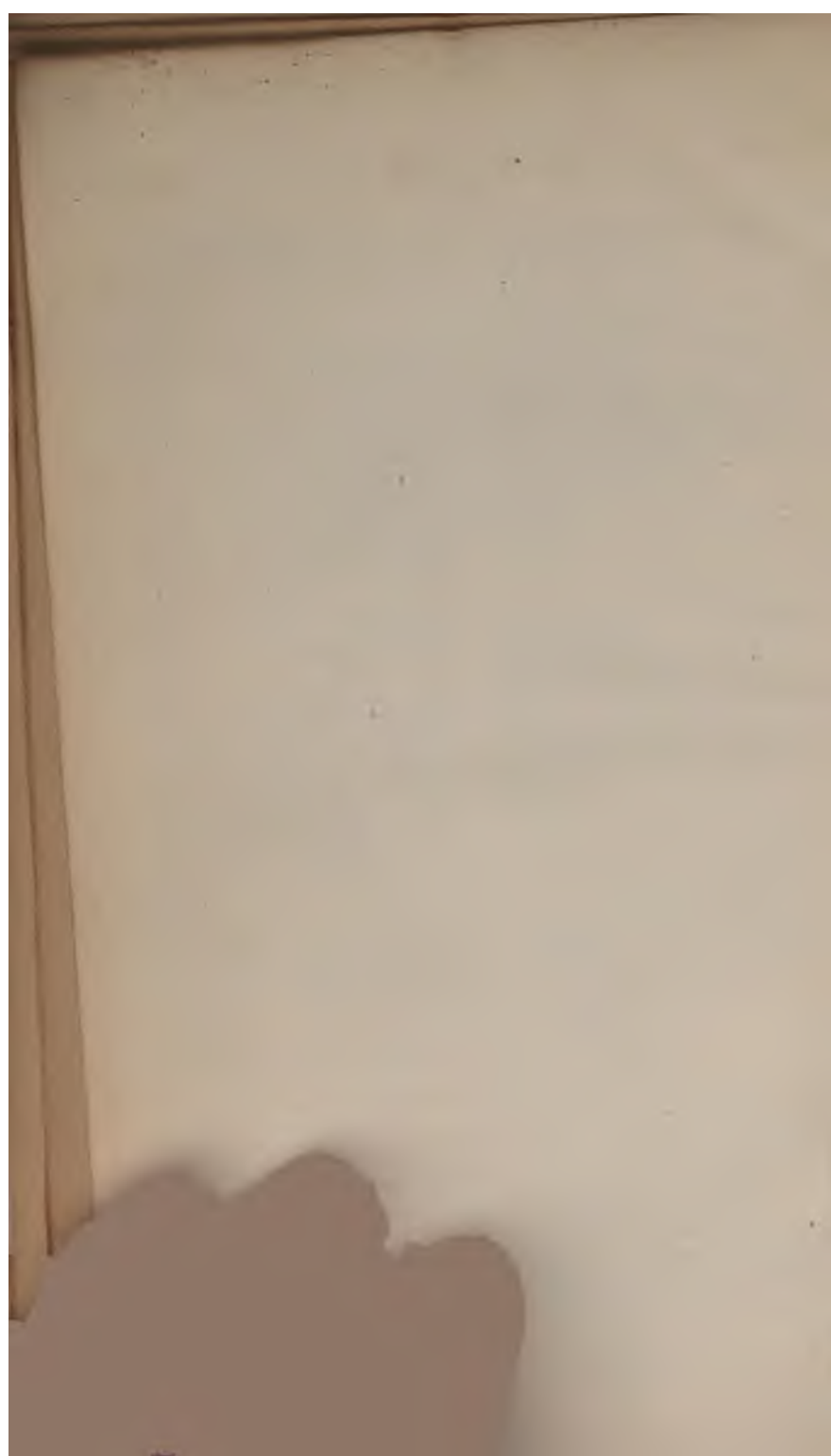
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